18: Merker G-5 (1895-ca. 1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

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The Mãsai
Ethnographic Monograph of an East African Semite People
[Die Masai, Ethnographische Monographie eines ostafrikanischen Semitenvolkes]

Meritz Merker

Berlin: 1910
Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen)
Second edition

Translated from the German by Frieda Schütze

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[Title page]

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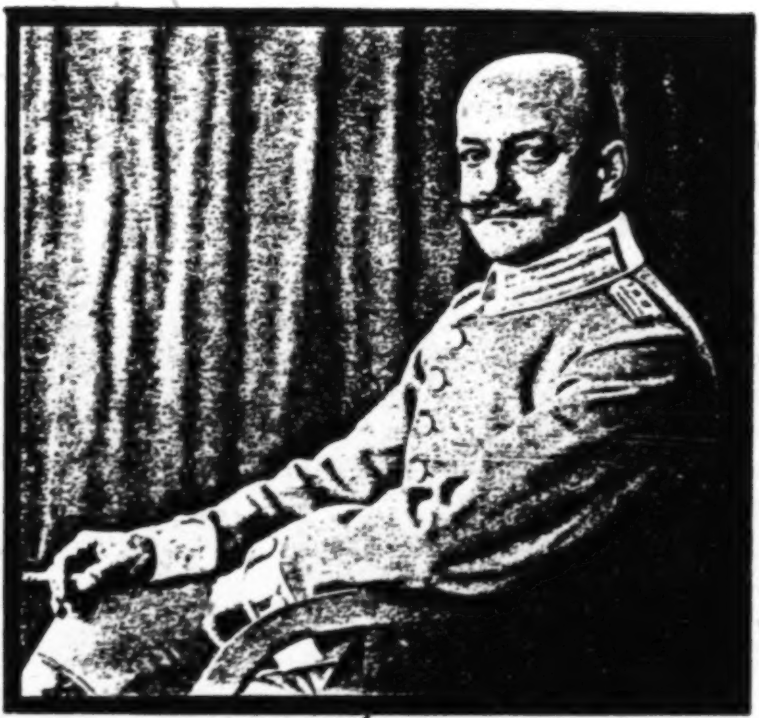

Merker

/Pages i-iv are title and dedication pages./

/v/ Foreword to the First Edition

121 Advancing culture is more and more rapidly shaping and polishing the customs of the so-called savage peoples. What it takes hold of first and smooths over most thoroughly is precisely what is peculiar to the savage, in which his doings, his thoughts and feelings are most clearly reflected. This is particularly true of those primitive peoples whose customs and views stand in sharp contrast with our principles of civilization and who must start a whole new life if they do not wish to perish. This, of [181] course, applies above all to the nomadic peoples, and especially to the militarily disposed among them, such as the Masai. Thus there is ever more urgently approaching us Europeans who live among these peoples the task of completing and perfecting our knowledge about them before it is too late.

Besides this scientific goal, the investigation of the natives of our colonies also pursues a practical purpose. The times during which we forced recognition of German rule with weapons and had to lead the natives, who, through their almost uninterrupted expeditions of war and raiding against one another, devastated the land and reduced the population, to peace by force are almost over. In serious pacifying work they must now be educated toward what, for their own advantages and those of their country, they are to become. Where and how the educator must work, enlightening and advising, to attain this goal, a knowledge of the thoughts and feelings, of the character and customs of the people, will teach him.

In the present study I am presenting only what I was able to 124 establish with certainty. In gathering these contents I observed the principle of letting the people talk freely and only then asking direct questions, when it was a matter of checking the accuracy of what had already been noted. I am convinced that only this procedure -- albeit very time-consuming and hence for the traveling investigator often enough impossible -- can produce results that are uninfluenced by the thinking of the European

/*v* cont./
124 investigators and therefore reflect, unclouded, the feelings of
the savage.

128 Concerning the origin of the first two chapters of the fourth
part, the tradition from primitive times and a comparative study
of the /*vi*/ traditions of the Masai and the Israelites, etc., it
should also be said that I *first completed the former, in the form
in which it appears*, as a result of my research, and only after-
wards did I approach a comparison with the traditions of the Bible.
As alluring as it seemed to compare immediately what was told
me by the Masai with Biblical accounts, I nevertheless had to
resist this temptation, in order to avoid letting myself be uncon-
sciously influenced in the manner of putting the questions in the
114 checking. It may be mentioned further that it was not until the
123 fifth year after the beginning of the work on the present study
773 that I came across the traditions from ancient times. That is,
these are by no means common on people's lips, but are handed
down in certain families, so that even in the larger Masai settle-
ments one finds only *very few* old men who can relate them in
detail. But even these few tell the investigator about them only
when they know him intimately and know that he also knows them
and their psyche intimately. Only when I had gone so far that
[124] the people seriously discussed the question as to whether I might
not have been one of them, perhaps from the time of their
residence in their original homeland, did I learn about those tradi-
tions. Yet it still took one and a half years before I had searched
out what is presented in the first chapter of the fourth part. I
mention this here so that other investigators who turn their atten-
tion to the Masai in other regions may not allow themselves to
become discouraged if their efforts remain for a long time with-
out the hoped-for success.

128 In the second chapter of the same part I present, among
other things, a series of conjectures -- not unfounded, I believe --
which make absolutely no claim of incontestable correctness.
Although this already clearly follows from the wording, it may
[121] be expressly pointed out here, especially for those who have some-
thing to find fault with in everything. I probably hardly need

/vi cont./

128 to emphasize that nothing was further from my mind than to want
121 to meddle in the work of the theologians and the Assyriologists. Rather, I merely put myself in the position of the expert on the Masai and a few other primitive peoples neighboring them, while I collected the quoted Biblical passages, without making a strained interpretation of them, just as they clearly stand in the Pentateuch to be read by everyone.

128 Since the main content of the two chapters is as new as it is unexpected, and since, furthermore, modern Bible research, on the basis of the Babylonian excavations, is not exactly free from very contestable interpretations, an obvious thought was that the results set down in those chapters might raise the suspicion that speculations could also have crept in here for me. I therefore had my results checked and for this purpose handed over what is presented by me in the first chapter to the linguist, Herr Jos. Deeg, staying here at the time, who commands an extensive knowledge of the language and the thought of the Masai. After the examination undertaken by him, Herr Deeg wrote me:

/vii/ "It is a pleasure for me to be able to inform you how closely the material collected by you coincides with the statements of the Masai whom I questioned most exhaustively -- and, to be sure, about all the mythological and etymological problems occurring in your work. I have examined your research analytically and synthetically (the latter by casual mentions of mythological names and later by detailed questioning in conversations with the Masai), and I was surprised by the agreement of the statements of the Masai with your results.

"I value this personally all the more since I know how much understanding for the way of thinking of the Masai, how much perseverance, is required and how much confidence on the part of the Masai is presupposed to obtain correct answers at all."

/vii cont./

104 For the spelling of Masai words the German pronunciation was generally decisive. Hence only the following signs remain to be explained:

e is the German ä sound in Wärme or in maison, to bear.
ạ is a middle sound between a and o.
oi as in Leu, boy.
y is a German j, fayance.
ṅ is the nasal n in Wange, allons.

[193] Concerning the grammar, it is to be noted that ol, el, en (eṅ, eṅg), n (ṅ, ng) are articles, the vowels of which, for the sake of euphony, may take on the most varied tone-color: ol and en are the articles of the singular, el and 'n those of the plural.

122 Before I conclude these lines, I have to pay a debt of grati-
tude. To His Highness, Duke Johann Albrecht of Mecklenburg,
as the President of the Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft /German
Colonial Society/, I owe most humble thanks for the granting of
a sum which made possible the printing of this book, and similarly
128 to the Director and Board of this Gesellschaft. Furthermore, I
have to thank Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki for
his kind assistance in the preparation of the material collected,
Herr Marinestabsarzt (retired) Dr. L. Sander, who kindly super-
vised the reading of the proofs, which I was prevented from
doing because of my return to German East Africa, as well as
Herr Professor Volkens, who looked over the botanical appendix.
I also extend heartfelt thanks to Herr C. G. Schillings and Herr
Missionar Emil Müller, Herr Oberleutnant i. d. Sch. Fonck II,
Herr Regierungsveterinärarzt /government veterinarian/ Brauer,
and Herr Kaufmann /merchant/ Meimaridis (Moschi /Moshi/),
who most obligingly lent me a large number of photographs for
the explanatory illustrations.

The Author.

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Foreword to the Second Edition

114

Five years ago, when the first edition appeared, it found an extraordinarily good reception for such a scientific work directed, after all, to a limited circle of readers, so that in three years it was already out of print. Though sharp attacks also were not lacking, nevertheless the general opinion was that it was a matter of a work of the highest scientific value and greatest colonial interest. Merker, therefore, with great enthusiasm, set about preparing everything for a second edition, and in 1907, when he returned to Africa for the third time, he was essentially finished with the preliminary work for it. The revolt in East Africa, however, prevented him from finishing it for a longer period of time; then he was transferred to Muanza /Mwanza/ and was once again impeded in his work by his duties as head of the station in this area which was new to him. Nevertheless, he was busily at work, and I had just received a letter from him with instructions for the publishing of the second edition, when the news of his sudden death reached me quite unexpectedly in February, 1908. This necessitated a further delay. At last, however, all difficulties have been surmounted, and I am able to fulfill the final duty of a friend for the cherished deceased. I am sincerely grateful to the publisher for his support and ready helpfulness, which contributed appreciably toward overcoming the not inconsiderable obstacles.

Though the present work is itself the finest monument to preserve for posterity the memory of the departed, yet we two editors feel a sincere need to devote a few words of appreciation to the one so suddenly taken from us. Herr Professor Dr. Fritz Hommel will do justice to his scientific importance; it is my duty, as a friend, to devote this obituary notice to Merker as a superior human being, to give expression to the feelings that animate all who were privileged to stand closer to him, to describe his career and to lend color to the splendid likeness that is placed at the beginning of the work.

/ix cont./

114 Moritz Merker was born December 20, 1867, in Oels, Silesia, as the oldest son of the then Oberleutnant Merker, attended the Realgymnasium in Sprottau from the summer of 1875 to May, 1885, and then joined the cadet /x/ corps in Lichterfelde. From here, in March, 1887, he entered the Füsilierregiment 86, first in Flensburg, then in Sonderburg. In the winter of 1887/88 he was ordered to the Kriegsschule /military academy/ in Glogau, but fell seriously ill there with pulmonary catarrh, which required a protracted cure. From 1890 to 1891 he was then ordered to the Schlossgardekompagnie /Castle Guard Company/, and, after this command expired, he returned to his regiment.

It had always been his aim to join the Protectorate Troops, and all during his lieutenantship he worked diligently to prepare himself for this service by studying English and Frech and teaching himself the sciences and skills that might be useful to him for this.

Finally, in May, 1895, his ardent wish was fulfilled, he received his call to the Protectorate Troops in East Africa, and, overjoyed, he set out on his journey there. He very soon had the good fortune to get to Moschi /Moshi/ on Kilimandscharo /Kilimanjaro/ in the interior and under the command of one of the most outstanding officers of the East African Protectorate Troops, the present Major Johannes. This long-experienced African /Afrikaner/ became his teacher in things African and soon his friend. The love and gratitude with which he speaks of him in his diaries are touching.

Under such excellent guidance he was soon able, when Major Johannes went on leave, to take over the administration of the station, first as a substitute and later, when Johannes was called to another position, completely. He remained in Moschi more than seven years in a row, until 1903, and his stay there was interrupted only by more or less extended official journeys that took him particularly into the Masai districts. This period was rich in struggles with the warlike tribes on Kilimandscharo itself and in its vicinity, but also rich in economic activity and scientific work. I myself became acquainted with him in 1902 in Moschi and even then was most surprised when he showed me the almost

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114 completed Masai work. It is only now, however, when I have his diaries before me, that I understand what infinite diligence, what admirable powers of observation, and what remarkable care were required for him, in the middle of deepest Africa, practically cut off from communication with Europe, to create such a mature and complete work! Only now can I fully appreciate the loss that science, that humanity, has been caused by the all too early death of this outstanding human being and scholar. And I must marvel again and again at the love he gave to his family and friends, at the sympathy with which he devoted himself to the fate of his subordinates, those close to him, at the noble wrath that filled him when confronted with meanness and jealousy, at the intense interest with which he followed important events, and at the strict standard he applied to himself.

In 1903 he went on leave for the first time, in order to bring home his beloved wife. His stay in Germany, despite his being a bridegroom and his newly married state, /xi/ was filled with the most diligent scientific activity. Rich in new suggestions and strengthened in his scientific endeavors by connections that he had acquired with the foremost leading spirits in his sphere of work, he returned, full of high hopes, with his new wife, to the field of his activity, to Moschi. His enviers, however, had been busily at work, and after not too long a time he fell victim to their intrigues. He was recalled from Kilimandscharo, transferred to Dar-es-salam /Dar es Salaam/, and here -- was occupied with the training of recruits! Naturally he was depressed, even though he received many well-earned honors from the highest places and from scientific parties. His physique, unaccustomed to the lowland climate, did not have sufficient resistance under these conditions. The same thing happened to his wife. And soon, first the latter, then he in 1906, was obliged to return to Germany, in order to recuperate from the severe fevers.

/xi cont./

In 1907 he had regained his health sufficiently to be able once more to undertake the journey out. His wife, however, was not yet able to risk setting out for the tropical climate again; and so he traveled out alone, never to return, without being able to see his beloved wife again. At first he was assigned against the rebels in the Matumbi hills; and then, when he took over the administration of the Muanza Station, there was only an inferior, unhealthy dwelling available, in which there was no possibility of sheltering his wife. And a few months later, just when a family dwelling had become available and his wife was preparing for the trip abroad, he succumbed within a few days, far from all his loved ones, to an inflammation of the lungs on February 3, 1908. Just when fortune was beckoning to him again, the treacherous illness took him off and ended a life that still seemed destined for the greatest successes!

What he nevertheless accomplished, despite all hardships, despite sickness and sorrow, even during his darkest days, how indestructible his working strength was -- unfortunately more indestructible than his physical strength -- the proof of this lies before me: seven fully worked up, comprehensive monographs on other African tribes, an enormous quantity of outlines and smaller articles begun, infinitely rich, still unexamined ethnographic material in his most carefully kept diaries! A wealth of finished works, of studies and observations, which would not only have filled more than a full lifetime extending to advanced years, but would have formed one of the most brilliant and important ones! His family and we, his friends, have lost much in him; but even greater is the loss for science. And if I succeed in preserving for it out of his literary remains even only what is now ready for the press, I shall be doing science a great service. May the work presented here find the same favorable reception as his first edition.

Berlin, January, 1910. Dr. Sander.

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/xiii/

Foreword

by Professor Dr. Fritz Hommel, Munich.

114 773 171 The reports of the deceased Hauptmann /Captain/ Merker, causing a sensation in his time, about the legends of the Masai so remarkably connected with the Hebrew early history are even today still capable of arousing the most widespread interest. The question as to whether traditions preserved for millenniums from the Arabian original homeland of the Masai people actually exist here or whether a Christian or even Jewish influence is not still to be assumed has not yet been silenced. As is known, Merker himself was unshakably convinced of the absolute impossibility of the latter assumption, and even if such an influence had nevertheless taken place, which is highly improbable in view of the reasons cited by me below, it could only have happened in the early period when the Masai were still living in the north, in the neighborhood of Abyssinia, which, however, also serves again as the basis for strong scruples.

114 177 797 773 First of all, mystification on the part of Merker, whose reliability is beyond all doubt, is completely excluded. Actually, it was only after a long acquaintance with the Masai of his region that he gained the confidence of those old Masai men who finally imparted to him the traditions otherwise anxiously kept from strangers; the distinguished Masai expert, our Bavarian compatriot Deeg, and furthermore African experts such as Schillings and Dr. Sander, are equally firmly convinced that Christian influence through the missionaries working there for only a comparatively short time, toward whose efforts the warlike and proud Masai have been very intractable up to now, is quite inconceivable. If the English Masai-missionary Albert R. Steggall, who was active there 1889-1905, says in the Expository Times, XVII, June, 1906, p. 429, that [115] Mr. A. C. Hollis, this eminent authority on the Masai living in British East Africa, related to him from a Masai boy in his service, "that the Masai from whom Captain Merker got much of his information was for some years, during the Masai famine, connected with a Roman Catholic Mission in the neighbourhood, as indeed were many others, besides those who came under instruction

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114 in the Church Missionary Society's station in Taveta" /cited in
177 English/, this, as Merker himself told me, can only refer to a
773 Masai man from whom he received other information; since for
797 [115] the many investigations on /xiv/ which his ethnological work is
based (habits, customs, names, etc. etc.), he had quite different
114 773 informants, of course. And Hollis' objection (1) that he (Hollis), who was also acquainted with the Masai of his region for many years, would then also have had to come across the traces of such early history is only an argumentum e silentio. Either the more southerly Masai (in German East Africa), with whom Merker worked, were more faithful guardians of those ancient treasures, which is not impossible, or Merker also had more luck in gaining their confidence on this point than Hollis, who, just there, did not come across the right people. Merker, however, indeed also expressly states in the foreword to the first edition that it was not until the fifth year after the beginning of his work that he came across those traditions from ancient times, which by no means commonly cross people's lips, but are handed down only in particular families and there are only ever to be found among a few old men. And then it took another year and a half before Merker had completely learned what is set down in
114 his fourth chapter. Moreover, even according to Hollis (cf. also
776 C. Eliot's introduction to A. C. Hollis, The Masai, their
782 113 language and folklore, p. xix), the monotheism of the Masai

1. Personal communication from the researcher, highly esteemed by me, whom I had the good fortune to become acquainted with in September, 1908, in Oxford (at the Kongress für Religionsgeschichte /Congress on the History of Religion/), just as I was also able to become personally acquainted with the deceased Merker in 1907, after I had previously corresponded with him, which was extremely valuable to me in view of the so highly controversial Masai problem.

/xiv cont./

114 and their imageless worship of God ("they have definite prayers
776 and they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than
782 the surrounding tribes are known to do" /cited in English/), stand
113 unquestionably, just as generally a comparison of the book by Hollis, appearing shortly after Merker's book, with Merker's Masai is the best apologia for the reliability of Merker's ethnological as well as linguistic observations.

114 Another outstanding African scholar, the praiseworthy, well-
174 known linguist Carl Meinhof of Berlin (now Hamburg), has above all, and, to be sure, for linguistic reasons, turned against Merker's designation of the Masai as a "Semite people," and with that then also at the same time against their onetime ancestral home in Arabia (2).

[113] 2. Cf. his review in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., 36, 1904, pp. 735-744.

But what the Arabist Schwally (in Giessen) said about the Masai traditions (Archiv für Rel.-Gesch., IX, 1906, p. 505), that here "features of Semitic origin are well grafted on African ones" (but "when and under what circumstances is hard to say"), also applies to the language, as I was able to convince myself by a thorough study of Hollis' book. Definite remains show that the Masai must once have been Semites, and, to be sure, Arabian Semites. This will be briefly discussed in what follows next.

174 Not only does their own tradition teach that they came from
197 the north, but this is also confirmed by a comparison of some of
[173] their number words with those /xv/ of the Cushitic languages
(especially Somali and Galla) and of Nuba. One should compare
[113] the following lists, to which I have also further added the number
words of Nandi, closely related to the Masai, from the new book
[802] by Hollis (The Nandi, their language and folklore, with Introduction by C. Eliot, Oxford, 1909):

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	Galla	Somali	Masai	Nandi	
1	toko	kau	obo		1
2	lama	laba	are	aeng	2
4	afur	afar	ongwan	angwan	4
6	dya	*leh*	*ille*	*lo*	6
7	*torb*	*todoba*		*tissab*	7
8	*saddet*	*sidet*	*isyet*	*sisi*	8
9	*sagal*	*sagal*	*naderoit, sal*	*sokol*	9
10		*toban*	*tomon*	*taman*	10
20	*digetam*	*labatan*	*tigitam*	*tiptem*	20
30	*sodoma*	*sodan*	*osom*	*sosom*	30
40	*afurtam*	*afartan*	*artam*	*artam*	40
50		*kontan*	*onom*	*konom*	50
100		*boghol*	ip	*pokol*	60, 100

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In the purely Semitic syntax, too, the Masai language is in very close harmony with the Galla and Somali, whereas in this respect the other Cushitic languages (cf. on this point my Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients /Outline of the Geography and History of the Ancient Orient/, pp. 154 f.) show far more Nuba influence. The pure Semitic substratum of the so-called pattern of the imperfect /Imperfektschemas/ can also be clearly shown as lying at the root of the entire Masai conjugation; one should compare:

1. sing. *a-sudsch*, I follow	pl.	*ki-sudsch*, we follow
2. sing. *i-sudsch*, you follow		*i-sudschu-sudschu*, you follow
3. sing. *e-sudsch*, he follows		*e-sudsch*, they follow

where, in accordance with a phonetic change to be observed elsewhere in Masai, ti is reduced to i and ki has arisen from ni, so that we may therefore presume as the oldest forms

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[193]

1. sing.	*a-sudsch*	cf.	Somali	*aqan*, I know
2. sing.	*ti-sudsch*	"	"	*ta-qan*, etc.
3. sing.	*je-sudsch*	"	"	*ya-qan*
1. pl.	*ni-sudsch*	"	"	*na-qan*
2. pl.	*ti-sudschû*	"	"	*ta-qaanu*
3. pl.	*je-sudschû*	"	"	*ja-qaanu*

/xv cont./

193 which is exactly the Semitic conjugation pattern transmitted from
197 Arabia to the Cushitic languages (for example, Arabic a-kun,
174 ta-kun, ja-kun, pl. nakun, takûnû, jakûnû). But otherwise, too,
Masai, even though its vocabulary /xvi/ and much of its grammar
19 are so greatly Africanized, shows many traces pointing clearly to
174 its onetime Arabian homeland. Among these I count the conjunctions o, "and" (from wa), and the consecutive pe, "and, so that," Hollis, p. 100, which is exactly the difference, so characteristic for Arabic, between wa and fa, or the remnant of a formation of singular nouns by the ending -a (il-akir, stars, ol-akira, a single star, Hollis, p. xxi), or the double function of the particle ma (both "not," likewise in Somali, and also "that," cf. Arabic mâ, "not" and "that which"), or also individual characteristic words that can scarcely be taken as later loanwords, but are to be regarded as ancient remnants, such as sararua, navel, Arabic surra; sero, forest, Arabic sarw, forested mountains (originally cypress forest); kunoni, blacksmith, Arabic kain; remet, spear, Arabic rumḥ; moruo, older man, husband, Arabic maru'; ure, to fear, Arabic wara'a; sun and day fem. (night and moon, on the other hand, masc.), cf. also Arabic śams, sun fem., and the expression al-lail wa 'n-nahâr (1),

> 1. Nahâr is an old (later no longer recognized as such) feminine form of the form fa'âl from nûr, "light"; lail is the masc. of laila (older lailot) with the same meaning, "night."

193 night and day, next to al-jaum wa 'l-laila. Pointing quite
197 specifically to the South Arabian Mahra language (thus the dialects
174 of Frankincense Land), from where so-called Ethiopian also stems, are some plural formations of the Masai, such as eng-aftin from eng-af, il-apaftin from ol-apa, etc. (Hollis, p. 25), cf. in Mahra ebelûten (from aybel, flint), haidenten (from haidên, ear); likewise Ethiopian enta (fem.), "which," and Masai enna, fem. of elle, as well as the feminine article en (in contrast to masc. ol).

000 According to Hollis, p. 275, the Pleiades are only six stars among

According to Hollis, p.275,
/xvi cont./ the Pleiades are only six stars among
821 the Masai, likewise in the pictorial representations of South Arabian
171 tomb inscriptions (in contrast to the seven circles of the Babylonian
174 Nergal symbol); the name of the bearers of the religious tradition
192 of the Masai, *el-kiboron*, coincides strikingly with the expression for priest, *kabīr*, in the old Minaean inscriptions of Yemen (2).

[576] 2. Quite remarkable also is the correspondence of the Masai custom that when one is inside with her he plants his spear in front of the hut so that another will not enter (Merker, p. 109 and p. 158) with the similar custom among the southern Arabs (here only staff instead of spear) given by Strabo (Book 16). -- Also that the "speaker" stands at the head of the warriors is reminiscent of South Arabia (cf. *ḳail*, chief, actually speaker, as well as *saijid*, "master," probably has the same etymology, cf. Syrian *sewād*, speech).

192 The specifically Ethiopian word *dengel*, "virgin" (originally prob-
197 ably "young woman" in general), is the same as the Masai *en-dangile*, "young woman" (after the circumcision); tongs, *el-*
194 *garamet*, is the Arabic *el-kullābat*, and cowbell, *eng-gurugur*, the Arabic *al-gulgul*, *en-abere*, spear, perhaps the Arabic *el-ibra*, needle. The name of the liana species *mogongora*, from which the Masai take a fragrant wood for therapeutic purposes (Merker, p. 27 and cf. p. 196, *ol-magirigirieni*, a vanilla-scented perfume), is very reminiscent of the South Arabian name for frankincense, *mugr*, just as in general the reiteration of the second half of a word, popular among the Masai (for example, *gadardar*, a /*xvii*/ tree name, *airaīaraī*, a shrub), is likewise in turn a peculiarity of Ethiopian, where it is used especially for the formation of color names (waraḳrīḳ, gold-green = Hebrew *jeraḳraḳ*, *ḥamalmīl*, green, but also *dabarbīr*, backlike = hill, and the Tigre plant names *gondefdafe*, *endufduf*, *amferfaro*, and *handugdug*). All these
[114] are definite traces that make Merker's naming of the Masai as an originally Semitic and then, more specifically, an Arabian people seem fully justified.

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171 773 To come now to the early histories, it is to be emphasized at the outset that, for any Semitic people, every time we come to the early period, through linguistic comparison, research into names, and literary remains, we are already able to uncover a well-established stock of myths that come very close to the Biblical early history (dragon fight in connection with the creation of the world, tree of paradise and serpent, first parents, flood) and furthermore, as religion, a moon cult (worship of the stars) to be described [233] almost as henotheism. But we come across exactly the same thing, in its most original form, among our cattle nomads, the Masai, whereby it should further be noted that also among the oldest Semites, whom we have to think of more as nomads than as agriculturalists, cattle, as their mythology clearly teaches, must have played a great role, not perhaps the small livestock or the camel and the donkey, to say nothing of the horse, which only became known from Elam to the Semites here around 2000 B.C.

174 171 773 192 There is also the fact that among the Masai we find a series of positively ancient traits that bring us close to the East Arabian original homeland of all West Semites, and which otherwise come to us most clearly only in the religion of the ancient Chaldeans (and then transformed into the more polytheistically stamped one of the Babylonians). To these belong first of all the struggle of the deity with the dragon Nenaunir on the morning of creation; when Merker compares the word for dragon, en-diamassi (fem.), with the Babylonian tiâmat (later popular pronunciation somewhat like tiamas), it is certainly not merely an accidental homophony, since the word for paradise, kerio, also goes back to the Babylonian kirû, "garden," which in the Hammurabi period must still have sounded like the uncontracted kiriu (cf. similarly Nabû Nebo, at that time still Nabiu, and many other examples) (1).

1. When in Masai en-diamassi also means fetus, embryo, Arabic again offers a striking analogy here; cf. Arabic el-gânn (from el-gânin), "demon," but el-ganîn, "embryo."

/*xvii cont.*/

174 Now in ancient Chaldean astrology this original dragon is the
171 female lion-headed dragon with a long neck localized on the later
773 picture of the crab and which, on the cylindrical seals, looks like a lion's or dragon's head sitting on a pole (her husband is the so-called vulture-dragon, the Kingu of the Babylonian Epic of Creation); according to Hollis (p. 265), however, *nenaunir* means "the one /fem./ on the pole" and she was originally a lion (or half lion, half human being with which one /*xviii*/ should compare the Chaldean counterpart of the twins, the Janus-headed centaur that has a lion's and a human head). Furthermore, the name of the morning star, *kilegen*, which is precisely the Babylonian *girgilu*, "hen," belongs here; cf. the name of Venus, *Nin-dar-anna*, mistress of the hen of heaven (also masculine, corresponding to the nature of the morning star as contrasted to that of the evening star, *Nin-dar-a* of Gudea), which, as *Gaĺan-Gir-gi-lu*, already occurs in old Sumerian hymns (C. T. XV, 23, cf. Reisner, *Hymnen* /Hymns/, p. 138, lines 126 ff.). The sacred number of Istar (South Arabian masculine Astar), fifteen, also plays a role in connection with Masai births; among the previously neighboring el-Gargures people (cf. the Abyssinian Guragues?) for the birth of a boy the mother had to remain in the hut 30 days, for that of a girl, about 15 (30 is moon-number, cf. Babyl. Sin 30, his daughter Istar 15), Merker, p. 392, where the 15 gourd bottles with which the young man asks the father of the girl for her are also to be noted. If the three-headed serpent of paradise was called *ol-arassumet* because it lived in the reeds (= *ol-rosua*), it is also tempting to think here of a specific Babylonian word, namely, *ruśumtu*, mud, swamp (at the latter, indeed, the reeds grow).

With regard to the individuality of the Masai legends, it is entirely original and, in spite of all the connections with the Biblical early history, a wholly independent impulse from the same source. This is expressed above all in the fact that for the most part quite different names occur; thus, Maitumbe corresponds to Adam (perhaps from a collateral form of Adam, *ma'dûmu* or *maidûmu*?), Tumbainot to Noah, Oschomó, Bartímaro, and

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174 Barmáo to his three sons, Sem, Ham, and Japhet, Narabá, or his
171 double Metene, to Moses (cf. Metene and Rise = Moses and Aaron),
773 Isaac to Mutari, etc. What has not yet been noted, however, is the quite similar predilection for popular etymological explanations, which are given for every Masai name of this early history. If one compares the respective Hebraic explanations for the names Eva /Eve/ (Gen. 3, 20), Kain /Cain/ (4, 1), Seth (4, 25), Noah (5, 29), Abraham (17, 5), Isaak /Isaac/ (21, 6), Jakob /Jacob/ (25, 26), Ruben /Reuben/ (29, 32), etc., etc., up to Mose /Moses/ (Ex. 2, 50) and Samuel (I. Sam. 1, 20) with the name interpretations of the Masai myths, likewise often far-fetched, for example, Naiterogob (= Eva) called her second son Nabe because he had moved (ebe) violently in the womb, or Nairascho gave birth to a son and called him Serea because the ox slaughtered by the father after the birth was spotted (sera), then with this fondness pervading the one side and the other to explain in some fashion all the ancient traditional names, one must exclaim in astonishment with Adam: This is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh (that is, parallel organic further development of a common tendency of early times, namely, the same natural disposition). The objection of skeptics that missionaries (whether of more ancient times, say, of the first Christian centuries, or more recent ones is immaterial) told the Masai those stories in the Biblical style (and together with those Biblical etymologies) and the latter then changed them in accordance with their understanding and mental life, that is, /xix/ assimilated them completely into their own national experiences, and, to be sure, also freely copied the interpretation of the names, completely misses fire here: it would be almost a greater miracle than the simple assumption offered by Merker that the Masai brought all these traditions from their Arabian original homeland, and that they (these ancient traditions) run parallel with the Hebraic ones and both are based on a Chaldean or East Arabian original

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174 that has been lost to us (1).
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> 1. With regard to the references to those Biblical populár etymologies cited above only with numbers, at least an example should be given for those who do not happen to have an Old Testament readily at hand. Genesis 25, 25 says: "the first of the twins that came out of the womb was red (admôni, play on the word Edom) and was (rough) like a hairy garment (se'ar) and they named him (therefore) Esau ('esau, where the accord between se' in se'ar and 'es in 'esau is sufficient evidence); after that came out his brother, whose hand took hold of Esau's heel ('akeb), and they therefore named him Ja'kob." Actually, however, Jakob /Jacob/ goes back to a more complete form Jakob-el (in which God is the subject, therefore roughly: there follows on the heel God, that is, he rewards or punishes).

Indeed, in any case the matter is and remains amazing enough even so, but the imageless monotheism of the still so savage Masai, disputed by no one, is also a marvel and, up to now, unparalleled among the peoples of Africa.

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I come now to the early history itself, which Merker, in Section II of his sensation producing Fourth Part, has already compared, bit by bit, with the corresponding features of the Biblical tradition. It should be noted in this connection that the deceased, who, as he told me himself, had no longer concerned himself with the early history of Genesis since his childhood, did not recognize all the correspondences at once, but rather had overlooked a few very important ones. Sellin, who himself wrote a brochure in 1905 on "die biblische Urgeschichte /the Biblical early history/ (in the Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen /Biblical questions of the time and controversial ones/, by Boehmer and Kropatschek, Lichterfelde,

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773 published by Edw. Runge, first series, No. II), had already called
171 attention in his review of Merker's book in Die Reformation, Year
[014] 4, 1905, pp. 418-421, to the parallel between the lame-hipped Schagarda and Jakob /Jacob/, Genesis 32, 26. Far more important, however, is the fact that the Masai, from the creation of the world to the flood, exactly like the Hebrews in Gen. 4, count seven ancestors, the seventh of whom had three sons, whose correspondence to the Biblical ones is illustrated in the following table /in the original source the table appears in part at the bottom of p. xix and in part at the top of p. xx; in the translation below, the footnotes for each of the two parts will appear at the end of the part/:

Maitumbe	Adam
Sindillo	Habel /Abel/ (2)
Serea (3)	Henoch /Enoch/

2. Instead of Kain /Cain/. Since among the Masai the first murder is put shortly before the flood (for the motivation of same as judgment), there also fails to take place here the story of Kain and Habel, which, to be sure, by way of allusion, recurs again in Genesis (at the end of the 4th chapter) (cf. Jabal = Habel /Abel/, Jubal = Kain /Cain/ and Tubal = Naemah /Naamah/, as the original text probably read); but it is to be noted that Sindillo had a brother Sisia, from whom the blacksmiths are descended (Kain /Cain/, of course, means "blacksmith").

3. He builds the first kraal, just as, Gen. 4, Kain /Cain/ builds the first city for Henoch /Enoch/, which he names Henoch, after Henoch's name.

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Schagarda (1)	'Irad
Lemajan	Mahujaël /Mehujael/
Learin	Metusalah /Methusael/
Lengeni (2)	Lamek /Lamech/

1. Also Ol-Ogarde, where one should compare the consonance with 'Irad (LXX Γαιδαδ for Γαιραδ).

2. Thus perhaps presuming Lamkan instead of Lamek (cf. Gen. 5 Kainan /Cainan/ instead of Gen. 4 Kain /Cain/). Here I have tacitly inserted Lengeni instead of his brother Tumbainot (= Noah, cf. dombo, ark, Hebr. tebah), which is fully justified, since Tumbainot had three sons by Naipande: Oschomó, Bartímaro, and Barmao (= Sem, Ham, and Japhet), but also by the widow of his adopted brother Lengeni, Nahaba-Logúnja (cf. with this double name the two wives of Lamech, Ada /Adah/ and Zilla /Zillah/), three more sons (who, according to the views of the so-called levirate must properly be regarded as sons of Lengeni), Lesita, L'olgesan and L'os-sero (= Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal). Thus, even among the early ancestors of the Masai there were already circulating similar duplicate reports (or variants of myths), like the parallel lists of ancestors, Gen. 4 and 5, among those of the Hebrews. -- Apparently in order to reach the sacred number seven, Gen. 4 omitted Noah, whereas the Masai storyteller, on the other hand, the Lengeni = Lamek (inserted above by me instead of Tumbainot); the number ten in Gen. 5 (cf. Berosus) was reached on the basis of God (read Edom instead of Adam) and the God-incarnate mediator (Seth = λόγος = Adapad).

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773 171 A further correspondence not noted up to now is the four plagues after the flood (Merker, pp. 383 f.): 1. sickness (after the first theft), 2. dung beetles (after the negligent killing of a suckling donkey), 3. grasshoppers (after the deliberate killing of a cow) with famine following that, and, 4. pestilence (or the *urgeg* epidemic); one should compare this with the expanded list of the ten plagues, Exodus 7 ff., in which the above-mentioned four plagues of the Masai are all represented, and (as my former student, Dr. Otto Weber, pointed out to me) in the number four, the four plagues of the Babylonian account of the flood (lines 187 ff.), lion, jackal, famine, and pestilence.

With regard to the imparting of the ten commandments from the mountain of God, what is characteristic of the situation for the Masai tradition is that it is not a figure corresponding to Moses that proclaims the sacred laws, but an angel, namely, the *mal'ak Jahve* of the Old Testament, and, to be sure, in the form of a human being (cf. Daniel 7, 13, and the Adapad, i.e., the Marduk of Eridu in the Babylonian myth) with two wings and but a single leg (3).

3. The description of the angel as a one-legged creature is probably only the naïve expression for lame-hipped or limping, whereby one is immediately tempted to think of the lame fire god of the Greeks (the Chaldean Nebo, as Nusku-Gibil, is also a fire god) and of Ex. 37, 26 /*sic*; see Gen. 32, 25/ (where, according to the correct interpretation, despite 37, 32 /Gen. 32, 25/, not Jacob's hip, but rather that of the angel wrestling with him was out of joint). Lame-hipped Schagarda = Irad (*'I-jrad* means "the fire came down," cf. Babylonian *Arad-Gibil*) also corresponds to Nebo-Nusku, cf. my brochure: Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das alte Testament /The old Oriental monuments and the Old Testament/, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1903, p. 30. The Egyptian illustration of Ptah and Osiris goes back to a similar idea.

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773 171 on account of which he could only move forward by jumps, with the help of a stick; he was called ol-Dirima /xxi/ (from diriman, crutch), a name that has been preserved in the Arabic darrâm (walking along with a limping step). Among the neighboring people of the el-Marimar (cf. the Nubian Wa'wa' people of the Aeg. inscriptions, which phonetically has arisen from Warwar and has been preserved in the present-day name of Berber, north of Khartoum), God is called Sita (cf. the Biblical Seth, Gen. 5, and what was said about him above, p. xxi, note 2, end), who is supposed to have been worshiped in the form of a male figure with but a single leg and thus probably corresponds to this ol-Dirima.

I do not believe that this Masai story of the lawgiving must necessarily presuppose a knowledge of the proclamation of the Ten Commandments by Moses, to which, indeed, for completion, the so-called Book of the Covenant also belongs (1), but rather that, long before Moses, it was a traditional feature of the original tradition that when commandments were given by God this was always done in tens, the sacred number of the divine "herald" and scribe of God, Nebo; moreover, probably most of the Mosaic commandments already existed before Moses, and the mission of this man of God, who surely belongs to history, was only that of announcing them to his countrymen in a new arrangement and augmented by the Book of the Covenant.

> 1. With the end of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 23, 19 = 34, 26, "thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk"), cf. the same abhorrence toward taking meat and milk together among the Masai, Merker, pp. 42 and 306.

114 773 171 This brings me to the last point, namely, the placing together of the Masai patriarch ol-Eberet with the Hebrews and, what seemed disastrous to me from the outset, the old Masai Ameroi tribe with the Biblical (originally probably Eranite-Hittite) Amorities attempted by Merker in Section III of his Fourth Part.

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114 773 171 If one considers how common Arabian tribal and personal names, such as el-ʻÂmir, ʻAmâra, ʻImrân (from ʻAmirân), are, there is not the slightest reason, in connection with the Ameroi, to think of the Amorites, who have played a role only in Palestine and came from the north. More likely ol-Eberet, if not to be compared with, say, the Arabian al-Abrahat (Abyssinian Abraha, which, in any case, is generally equated with the Hebraic Abraham) or another similar-sounding Arabian name, might be identical with ʻEber, the mythical ancestor of the Hebrews, especially since ol-Eberet's son Geréua sounds remarkably similar to Eber's grandson Reʻû (LXX Ρεγου, hypocorism of Reʻû-el, Reguel) Gen. 11, 18, which again, however, only points directly back to East Arabia, the original seat of all the western Semites, since the district ʻEber-Peleg (2) roughly coincides with the Arabian district of Jemâma.

773 171 174 While the Masai early histories, as they finally became available to Merker after prolonged effort, are still being carefully guarded by a few of the older people, there are also among the myths generally widespread among the Masai, such as also became known to Hollis in British East Africa, some that are to be regarded as clear echoes of the sacred myths. Among these I count /xxii/ what Hollis relates (p. 270) about the god Naiterukop (the word, however, has the feminine article, thus the originatress of the earth, the foremost of the land), where therefore the Eve of the Masai has become a deity, whereas the reverse would be much less understandable; or the lowering of the cattle from heaven (Hollis, p. 270; cf. Merker, p. 359), or the story of Le-eyo's disobedience (Hollis, p. 271), in which I see a faint reminiscence of Merker's account of the fall, so strikingly coinciding with the Bible. If one considers how widespread the placing together of the tree of paradise and serpent was in the ancient Orient (up to the Greeks), then the preservation of this particular

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2. Cf. in this connection my Grundriss /Outline/ (Munich, 1904), p. 184, note 1.

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773 171 174 feature among the Masai, with all the rest, is not so astonishing (1).

> 1. Incidentally, I should like to point out that the name of the old medicine man Lesigiriëschi, Merker, 25, 386, is certainly to be compared with the name i-Sigiriaischi, which the Somali bear among the Masai (Hollis, p. 30).

114 773 I conclude these considerations with the certain expectation that now, when my deceased friend's book comes out for the second time, the early histories of the Masai will no longer encounter the skepticism to which they were exposed when they first became known, but that they will now be duly appreciated for their as yet incalculable importance to the history of religion, as they deserve to be. And I repeat once more [174] [177] that a Christian or Jewish influence, perhaps even in early times (at all events through the Christian Nuba of the third century A.D., or through the Jewish Falascha /Falasha/ on the borders of Abyssinia), from the older northern dwelling-sites of the Masai, is quite out of the question, since one would then, as Merker already emphasized, necessarily have to expect not only connections with the Biblical early and patriarchal histories up to the lawgiving, but also with the later parts of Biblical history (and above all some allusion to the Gospels, if Christian missionaries are to be considered). The previously discussed connections with the Chaldean early histories, and, to be sure, at points not touched on by

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the Bible (2),

2. Perhaps one of these is also the noteworthy accord between the name of the primeval dragon (diamassi = tihâmat) Nenaunir, and Ki-Nunir, "place of battle," an originally mythical locality of the ancient Babylonian East Tigris region (Kvirinta of the Zendavesta, where the three-headed dragon Dahâka-Zohak was defeated; cf. in addition the three-headed serpent of paradise of the Masai) near Sirgulla; cf. also the stake of the tree e'naunir, Merker, p. 373, and the abovementioned (p. xvii) Masai etymology of Nenaunir, with which may then perhaps be put the Babylonian giš-ku-nir (from giš-ku nu-nir), a weapon of the god Nebo, probably to be thought of as having a dragon shape (cf. my Grundriss /Outline/, p. 379, footnote 6).

completely exclude any doubt.

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/1/

First Part

I.

000 The Semitic immigration to Africa. -- Only traces still give evidence of the oldest immigrants. -- Later immigrants: Wahuma and Watussi, Tatoga, Masai, Egyptians. -- The Masai as Semites. -- Somatically the Jews are not Semites.

174 The Masai belong to the great Semitic family of peoples whose ancestral home is the Arabian Peninsula, as the nursery of the Semites. Famine, as a consequence of overpopulation, with which the productive capacity of the poor soil could not keep pace, was probably the reason that gradually, in the course of millenniums, drove the individual Semitic peoples out of that ancient area of habitation and forced them to seek new pasturelands. The stream of peoples thus forced out of the north of the Arabian Peninsula took essentially two routes: one part wandered across the African-Asiatic land bridge into the dark continent, the other kept to a northerly course and remained in Asia.

According to the picture that the interior African Semite peoples present to the investigator today, one can not assume that still existing communities or even merely unmixed individuals have been preserved from the oldest immigrants. On the other hand, it is to be expected that with a thorough investigation of the sedentary Negro peoples (1)

1. I designate as Negro /Neger/ or Nigritian /Nigritier/ the big-boned African peoples whose bodily structure is thickset to heavy, whose facial features are "Negroid," that is, exhibit thick, protruding lips and broad, low noses, and whose skull is rather markedly prognathous. One cannot as yet trace their origin beyond the borders of Africa, hence for the time being they are regarded as original inhabitants of Africa.

/1 cont./

174 around the equator traces of them will still be found. Such traces (2)

> 2. I found such traces in Iraku and Umbugwe, but the material collected does not yet permit any definite conclusions.

may exist in the presence of a greater number of individuals in whom, through the energy of hereditary transmission, a pronounced Semitic type has been preserved; furthermore, in the presence or, probably /2/ more accurately, predominance of the basic ethnographic traits peculiar to the Semites, and finally also from remnants of their language. I purposely put the latter only in third place here, because up to now too much value has been attached to it in the determination of races, even of mixed races, and linguistics still much too often claims for itself alone the decision as to which human race a people is to be included with. That a people might change its language by no means stands isolated in history. One merely thinks of the Visigoths in Spain or -- what is closer to us -- the Germans in Hungary and in the Baltic provinces, in order to realize what a few decades can accomplish in this respect. But what the peoples nowadays relinquish drop by drop was reached more rapidly and thoroughly in antiquity, where often enough all the mental life proceeded from the priests of the state religion.

But let us return to the interior of Africa.

With regard to the Semitic peoples of East Africa, at present we still lack the necessary foundations to determine precisely the sequence of their immigration.

000 For example, there are the Wahinda and Wahuma, whose place in the Semitic immigrations to Africa is still very uncertain. Those who have recognized them as Semites regard them as the oldest traceable immigrants. I must reserve judgment, since I do not know these people personally, and I shall limit myself to offering the following for consideration. The somatic characteristics of both nations, the energy in preserving the purity of

/2 cont./
000 their blood, their ruling position over inferior peoples, the scattered
residing of individual families among the Negroes seem to me to
indicate that they can not be regarded as the last remnants of a
people that has perished in their present homeland or near it. If
one may assume that perhaps as commercial agents of the already
sedentary oldest Egyptians they pushed up the Nile into the heart
of Africa and settled down there, in my opinion this would explain
not only their physical and psychical characteristics, but also the
circumstance that they speak a Bantu dialect, and furthermore
their relationship to the other African Semites. An analogy to this,
which, however, because of the European occupation could not
come to the same expression, was formed by the position that the
Arab traders achieved in several places of Interior Africa, and
which, without any obstacles, undoubtedly would have probably
quickly developed into the leading role of chiefs. The social
position of the Wahuma over the Watussi could then be based on
the fact that the former left Egypt later and, as a consequence of
the blossoming out of the culture there, represented a refined layer
of population, or, however, also on the fact that they belonged
to a higher caste.

174 Among the rest of the Semite peoples of East Africa I take as
101 one of the oldest of the ones still pure, relatively little mixed
[144] with Negroes, or only in certain castes, the Tatoga, of whom the
ones living near Iraku and Ufiomi /3/ are called Watatúru by the
coastal peoples and the sedentary neighboring peoples, El atataru
by the Masai, whereas those living in the neighborhood of Usukuma
are designated as Wagamrita or El gamrit. As far as I could deter-
174 mine, they are the oldest traceable inhabitants of the East African
[648] steppes, from which they were then driven out by the Masai.
[231] Robbed of their livestock, they became hunters, and then when the
[224] first Masai bands themselves became impoverished and substituted
[361] hunting for stock raising, the Tatoga sought to become sedentary.
[178] This was not easy for them. According to the recollection of the
people, they seem to have made the first attempts to become
sedentary at Meruberg /Mt. Meru/. They were driven from there
by the increasingly impoverished Wakuafi, the second immigrant

/3 cont./

T 174 band of Masai people, and then sought new places of residence in
the neighborhood of Usukuma. Friction with the natives there
T seems to have been the reason that part of them wandered back to
[361] the southeast again and, after a futile attempt to move into
[178] Umbugwe, settled down in the vicinity of Iraku and Ufiomi. How
[241] little they succeeded in accomplishing the transition from nomads
[181] to agriculturalists is clear from the fact that they are the Blacks
just about the most degenerate in filth that I have ever come across,
and that they still always live by sponging from the long-sedentary
neighboring peoples.

M 174 The Masai, to a description of whom the present study is devoted, immigrated to Africa later than the Tatoga in my opinion. In the second chapter of the fourth part I arrive at the postulation that the immigration of the Masai may not have taken place after the period of the fourth dynasty of the Pharaohs.

One of the last Semitic immigrations by way of the Isthmus of Suez in antiquity is that of the Egyptians (1), who there became the founders of that high culture. They closed the gate of Africa for further immigrations of larger masses of people. From then on, therefore, the stream of peoples went from Arabia essentially to the north. True, there was no lack of attempts by Semites driven out of Arabia later, following the old routes, to penetrate into Africa. But mighty Egypt prevented this -- fortunately for those peoples. The old Israelites should therefore have been grateful to the Egyptians for halting their migration, instead of complaining that they were drawn on by them for labor, which, to be sure, may indeed not have been easy for them as

1. Linguistically, too, the affiliation of the Egyptians with the Semites is now definite, according to the results of Erman and Sethe. [At the least they are a mixed people with a strong Semitic strain.]

/3 cont./

174 free and work-shirking nomads (2).

> 2. I in no way want to maintain here that the stay (as well as the entering and leaving) of the children of Israel in Egypt described in the Hexateuch is historic; rather I suspect that this recital has two or more events worked up in it: the first great encounter of the old nomadic Hebrews with the Egyptians, and the later military encounter between Egyptians and Jews, especially in the Ramses II period.

/4/ On the point of the affiliation of the Masai with the Semites a few more words seem necessary, especially since by earlier travelers -- insofar as I know their works -- they were always taken for Hamites. With respect to its race a people is to be judged from three points of view: according to its somatic characteristics, its psyche and its visible expressions, and, finally, according to its language. In the first direction Dr. v. Luschan has already recognized the Masai as Semites. On the second point, I believe it is to be proved in the following, and, concerning the language, a study by Deeg, unfortunately still not yet published, will furnish lucidity on it.

000 May I be permitted here to advance to a still rather widespread misconception. When the layman hears of Semites, he thinks, as a rule, of people who outwardly are similar to, or closely resemble, the modern Jews. Now this is completely false, since the Jews, in general, are no longer Semites. They were this as a strong nomadic people; but already during the transitional stage from nomadism to a partial, occasional sedentariness there began the blood mixing, which, after complete sedentation, became especially vigorous and through that the bodily form very greatly changed and developed into a new one (1).

> 1. The Bible in various places tells about the mixing of the Hebrews with the Hittites. First

/4 cont./

000 /footnote 1 cont./ of all, the immigration of the Hebrews into the lands of the Hittites in Canaan led to extensive mixing, which -- as Ezra reports in the 9th chapter -- was also still common later on, both among the people and also among the priests and Levites. The fact, however, that the mixing of the two peoples began long before the Hebrews became sedentary is reported in Genesis 26, 24 /sic; see Gen. 26, 34/, according to which Esau's wives Judith and Basmath /Bashemath/ were Hittites.

Prof. Dr. v. Luschan has found the following results from an immense amount of material of 60,000 measurements: 50 per cent of the Jews exhibited the Hittite type and only 5 per cent are 'good long-skulls,' that is, Semites; 11 per cent are blond and show Aryan blood-mixture, which perhaps came from the Amorites. The other 34 per cent show the manifold mixed forms, concerning both the measurements of the head and the color of the eyes and hair. (F. v. Luschan: "Die anthropologische Stellung der Juden /The anthropological position of the Jews/." Correspondenzblatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, No. 9 and 10, Year 1892.) Then Dr. Maurice Fishberg has further investigated the blond element in Jewdom. According to him, probably only a small part of the present-day blond Jews stem from the blond-haired Amorites (about 3 per cent of the Jews), whereas a very much greater one owes its blondness to the mixing with Slavs in the Middle Ages, especially through secret mixing, but also through forced marriages and conversions. (Dr. Maurice Fishberg: "Lur Frage der Herkunst des blonden Elements in Judentum/ On the Question of the Origin of the Blond Elements in Jewdom/." Zeitschrift f. Demographie und Statistik der Juden, 1907, No. 1 and 2.)

/4 cont./

174 142 The Semites are tall, slim figures with agreeable, finely chiseled facial features, narrow, often large, but not unhandsome noses, and small, not rarely actually pretty feet and hands.

000 Among the present-day Jews the pure Semite type is probably not frequently represented. The Jews of Aden seem to me to exhibit it still at its purest. On the other hand, the majority of the present-day Jews show more or less clearly /5/ characteristic features of the Hittite race, of whom we know that one of the tribes affiliated with them, the Mitani, formed a mighty realm as early as the beginning of the second millennium, the boundaries of which extended south as far as the Lebanon, and which may earlier have already sent ahead swarms of people to the south. About the fate of these forerunners neither Egyptian or Assyrian accounts nor their own monuments or inscriptions give us information, so that for the present we probably may assume that they merged with foreign peoples -- of the Semite race -- whereby they passed on to them their unhandsome somatic characteristics. We know the latter in their original state only from the monuments left to us. According to them, the Hittite type is characterized by markedly brachycephalic heads, dark hair, dark eyes, large hooked, fleshy noses, a markedly receding forehead, prominent cheekbones, large bones, and, conditioned by that, a heavy bodily build.

174 142 Now we find the somatic characteristics ascribed above to the Semites represented neither in each Masai nor their totality in the majority of the Masai. Rather, the latter shows the above [illegible]e in a more or less coarsened form, which, nevertheless, a practiced eye recognizes without difficulty as Semitic and is able to distinguish from that of the Nigrito-Semitic or Semito-Nigritic mixed peoples and which even the novice will not take as "Negroish."

174 121 May it already be said here in advance that I regard the Masai as descendants of those nomadic Semite peoples who belonged to the pastoral tribes of the most ancient Hebrews. I believe I have proved this surmise in the following -- especially in the fourth part of the present study.

/5 cont./

II.

000 The East African steppes as habitation area of the Masai people. -- Their immigration in three corps. -- Their battles. -- Division and distribution of the land among Masai, Wakuafi, Wandoróbo and their attitude toward one another. -- Influence of the Masai people on the sedentary tribes. -- Mixture with Negroes. -- The somatic characteristics of the three branches of the Masai people show their racial connections, the ethnographic ones their social connections.

131 Between the 34th and the 38th degree of longitude and the 3rd degree north and the 7th degree south latitude, in German and British East Africa, we find large steppes, which are often designated as the Masai steppes after their inhabitants. They are bounded by hilly lands that are mostly thinly populated, especially by sedentary Negro tribes, and are more or less well cultivated.
133 The terrain formation of the steppes is sometimes flat, sometimes undulating or rolling, sometimes hilly and, in this case, usually determined by volcanic activity. This stands out especially drastically on the Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, Kilimandscharo /Kilimanjaro/, Meru, and Ol Donjo l'Eñg ai, on the latter of which, for example, on a narrowly circumscribed space /6/ between the steep slope of the Mutiek Plateau, the Gilef and Timbati mountains, hill follows hill and almost every one bears or conceals the ruin of a crater, a landscape such as we are familiar with from photographs of the moon.

13 The extent of the steppes, in connection with the existing
[182] amount of precipitation and water sites, made them a more than adequate region for a stock-raising nomadic people. The very saliferous soil produces excellent fodder grasses and provides salt licks in countless places.

17 As far back as the history, the memory and tradition of the
131 people of these regions extend, and certainly still many, many
centuries longer, these steppes were, and are up to the present
174 day, the arena of the Masai people. On the migration, or, more
accurately, slow push, they came from the north, out of the

/6 cont./
174 original homeland, which is to be sought in the northern part of
the Arabian Peninsula. Only at the equator did the march to the
south stop. Here the Masai found not only steppe regions such as
they required for their herds, but also tribes of people such as
they needed, as victims of their war expeditions, for their own
survival.

000 The agriculturalist finds his sustenance in the soil; the one
who carries on agriculture and stock raising finds in the former an
adequate livelihood, even during periods that are unfavorable for
stock raising, and he can, through the more stable trade relations
that he owes to his sedentariness, acquire the new breeding animals
that are needed to prevent too extensive an inbreeding of the livestock.
On the other hand, a culture-poor nomadic people that
lives solely and only from the livestock is in a much more unfavorable
position. Merely to protect the herds from degeneration,
a constant supply of breeding animals on a large scale is an urgent
necessity. Moreover, because of the rinderpest, periodically
appearing and in Africa, unfortunately, almost never dying out,
and other epidemics, ruin very often threatens the stockbreeder,
if in such cases he has no opportunity to replace his losses as
quickly as possible and to obtain vegetable food in the meantime.
Steppe peoples are aggressive, and for culture-poor peoples in
[101] general might always comes before right. There now live in the
mountain lands lying on the borders of the steppes, and in the ones
enclosed by them, Negro tribes who, in relation to the Masai,
held together by firm organization and a high degree of tribal
arrogance, and exceedingly mobile, are very immobile, for one
thing, but then also are bound together within their own tribes
only by a greater or lesser degree of herdlike obedience. They
[439] are accustomed to seeing, even in their sedentary neighbors,
their born enemies; they live constantly at war among themselves,
even in a small space, since often each village is independent,
and thus must have been desirable neighbors for the Masai, from
whom the latter could at any time obtain both vegetables and,
what was of special value, livestock.

M 174 D 174

/7/

In three mighty corps that followed one another at long intervals, the Masai people came from the north drawn toward the equator. The long separation from one another in space and time, their different length of residence in the new East African homeland, and the different shaping of their fate conditioned by that make them appear to us today as three branches of the Masai people.

D 174 [101]

The remnants of the earliest immigrant band are the *Asá*, more generally known under the name of *Wandoróbo* /Wandorobbo/ (a Bantu formation from the Masai word El doróbo = the poor), of whom they form only a part.

D [233] D [648]

Although the tradition of the Asá has nothing to say about a former possession of livestock, one must nevertheless assume, especially on the basis of their ethnography, that they immigrated as stock-raising nomads and, as such, took possession of large parts of the steppes. Wars among themselves, livestock epidemics, and, finally, the pressure by the Tatoga weakened the Asá to such an extent that it was easy for the second band of Masai, the *El kuafi*, the first sections of which were the *El lumbua*, and the later ones the *El muli*, when it came in, to drive out the ruined ones altogether.

D [224] [735]

A part of them found refuge among the neighboring agriculturalists, with whom they merged, another part among their oppressors, who adopted them as members of the tribe; the rest, however, withdrew into the forests and bush of the steppes, where still today, in great poverty, they make a poor living by hunting.

M 174 184 648 [731]

The fate of the Asá, however, was not to be spared the El kuafi either. After a rather long period during which they competed with the Tatoga for dominion in the steppes, the rinderpest appeared again several times and, as before, brought poverty and death. And again, as before, the one misfortune did not remain alone. The third band, the *El másai* (sing. *ol másanī*), immigrated here from the north, and it looked as though it would rapidly complete, by means of bloody fighting, the destructive work of the epidemics. But the presence of the Tatoga, who in places were just as powerful as they were feared, diverted the bellicosity of the Masai. They joined the El kuafi for the common fight against the former.

/7 cont./
000 against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni)
174 of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
184 been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition
669 tells -- a girl named Matangó, from the family of the ol oiboni
619 Sitonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
726 his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi
[173] warriors sent to Sitonik and went away with her lover. When she
bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and
at the same time refused to obey Sitonik. With this the wars began
between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the
entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically
even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at
Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where
later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /8/ resi-
dence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of
[466] Meruberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with
the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them
and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place
near Ngurumán, north of Lake Natron; the rest of those conquered
still live there, mixed with Wasegedju from nearby Sonjo. The
[361] remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to
be found in Taveta, Kahe, Aruscha-tschini. The first battles
between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity
of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi; the ones conquered fled to Ngujuka and then farther to Useguha and Mañga, where they founded a settlement under the chief 'Lemá.

174 The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
184 into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
619 became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
[361] foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
[721] part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming
[231] into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live
[101] wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

M /8 cont./
174 the name El muli. Those who became sedentary, however, are
184 designated by the Masai as El lumbua and also as El kuafi --
619 probably because they constitute the main part of the old El kuafi.
[101]
[361] The caravan people, accordingly, call them Wakuafi, while they make no distinction between El muli and Masai and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

M
[144] In contrast to the El muli, who have remained pure, the El lumbua of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the somatic features characteristic of the Masai people; in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

D A last group,[1] finally, became hunters, the El asiti. This is
174 the second branch of the Wanderobo; the third and most recent,
M the El gasurek, arose from the Masai themselves, in that those
174 impoverished by livestock epidemics were forced to a new means
184 of subsistence.

Even up to 17 years ago the Masai were the lords of the vast
M steppes in German and British East Africa, when the European
634 occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by
635 them is divided into three provinces. The Kisoñgo Province em-
[648] braces those steppe regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilimandscharo and Meru. North of this lies the province of Loita, and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Naiwascha, the province of Ol bruggo. In earlier times a part of Loita called Es serenget seems /9/ to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (ol oscho 'bo = a province) is divided into districts (eñ gob = the land), and these again into areas. Most of their names are proper names that can not be translated; others are chosen from local peculiarities, for example, springs, brooks, hills, mountains, trees,
M etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual
[101] provinces or districts and then speak of Kisoñgo-Masai, Loita-Masai, Serengeti- or even Kiteto-, Moibo-, Sogonoi-Masai, etc.
M Earlier travelers often mistakenly took this designation for tribal
192 names. Similarly, the word ol oikob has been misinterpreted,
101

[1] [The reference is to the last group of the original Kwafi--Analyst]

M /9 cont./

192 in that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of ol oikob-101 Masai and ol oikob-Wakuafi. El oikob (sing. ol oikobani) means killers, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the Wandoróbo, Wakuafi, and the Masai blacksmiths (el konono) designate their oppressors, the Masai. Fischer mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land"; this, however, would be called: ol opén l eñ gob.

M The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful, 619 sedentary cultivators. Wherever they found peaceful neighbors after 184 their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where 181 they remained in close contact with the Masai and were exposed to their constant raids, the old bellicosity remained in them. An example of this is the population of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ in the M Great Aruscha /Arusha/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very con-[144] siderable mixture with Wadschagga from nearby Kilimandscharo, they have completely kept their original character traits. Their imperiousness, rapacity, and cunning equal that of the Masai; in M courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numer-[648] ous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and Masai M is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow tribes-829 men, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil 619 and own only a little livestock. They are foes one minute and [241] friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to [231] each other, for the Masai cannot do without them as suppliers of [438] vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties [731] again raged so destructively among their herds.

While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize D their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at 105 all among the Asá. Most of them, just like the El asiti, timidly and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Masai, they live in a certain

D /9 cont./
105 dependency on them. A caravan traveling across the steppes certainly does not remain hidden from the Wandoróbo roaming about
everywhere. /10/ Their betrayal soon causes it to fall victim to
the spoils-hungry Masai. Through their poverty and the contemptM
ible endeavor to make up for the lack of slaughter animals through
[829] the killing of game, the Wandoróbo, to be sure, stand especially
[177] low in the estimation of the Masai, yet the latter do not deny the
connection with their old fellow tribesmen to the extent that they
do not grant individual Wandoróbo, as well as El lumbua and El
muli, admission into their community.

M In recent times those Masai who, after the loss of their live-
101 stock, have become detached from the larger community and live
184 in small kraals in relative poverty, still generally reckon them-
177 selves as belonging to the El dorobbo, without, however, counting
themselves within one of the three branches -- Asá, El asiti, El
gasurek. Often they live together with a few Wakuafi, sometimes
one also finds one or several Wandorobo families among them.
Their property consists of a few cows and donkeys, a couple of
goats and sheep. Since they cannot subsist on these, they also
cultivate maize, batatas, etc. here and there and devote themselves to hunting with bow and arrow.

M The influence that the Masai people exerted and still exert
648 on the settled peoples who live on the borders of the steppes
dominated by them for centuries is very great. Just as formerly
it was the Wandoróbo, now it is the Wakuafi and Masai to whose
influence the surrounding peoples must submit. What qualified
M
[181] the Masai for this lordly position is their relatively high cultural
level; what made possible their reaching this position, their strict
organization and their war-mindedness. This is not the place to
analyze why the culture of the Masai is a higher one than that of
000 individual Negroes surrounding them. It should only be pointed
out that among almost all of these, in contrast to the former,

/10 cont./

000 superstition and belief in spirits are to be found in the grossest forms, just as all the crimes resulting from these, such as abortion, infanticide, etc., are everyday occurrences. But
648 even a people standing culturally higher than the Masai, with
721 their absolutely quite low culture, would never have arrived at a dominant position peacefully living side by side. The means of attaining it were the wars waged constantly and ruthlessly.
[177] Their daring raids greatly impressed the Negroes, which is why the latter, in order to be taken for Masai themselves and to be feared as such, adopted their attire on war expeditions.
144 The involuntary admission into these Negro tribes on the part
177 of many Masai women and children, who often fell victim to their neighbors during the constant wars, as well as the compulsory intercourse of those who found help and refuge among the adjacent agriculturalists when the periodically recurring epidemics had carried off their livestock, created circumstances
000 that took shape in the direction of a general Masaization. To the young Negroes the free, lazy existence of the Masai warriors, devoted only to war and raids, seemed worth aspiring to, and the girls found the handsome slender Masai figures more desirable /11/ than the men of their own tribe, who, in their often hideously ugly and wild Negroishness and through the frequently total lack of care of skin and body, stand in coarse contrast to the agreeable, often finely chiseled, and handsome features and the shapely limbs of the former. Thus the Masai
144 gave much of their blood to other tribes, and today in almost all
177 the peoples who have come into close contact with them one finds figures which at first glance one could take for pure Masai.

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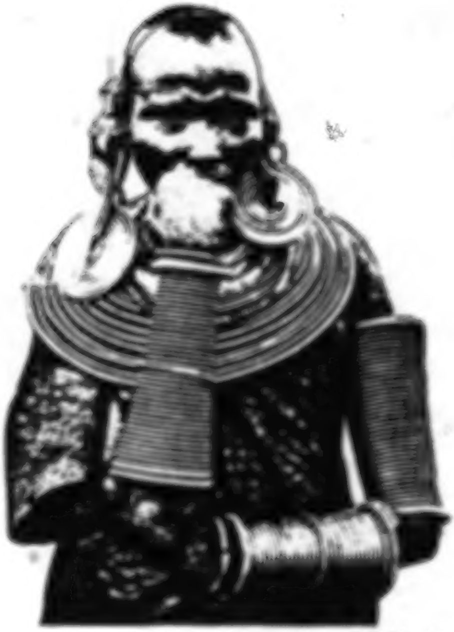

Carl Müller phot.

Ill. 1. Masai woman from below Kibongoto.

177 That various customs of theirs and words of their language also found entry among the Negroes follows automatically.

619 144 142 114 While some travelers recognize at least a certain relationship between the three branches, others claim to have observed such great somatic differences between them that one might be doubtful about their racial unity and ask oneself whether the Wakwavi and the Wakuafi of certain colonies should not be counted among the Negroes. This error is explained by the fact that those travelers have come into contact with them only superficially, /12/ drew conclusions going too far from isolated individuals to the generality, so that they regarded the Wakuafi, strongly mixed with Negroes, as pure, and Negroes strongly mixed with Masai blood as Wakuafi.

/12 cont./

619 142 144 [727] [171] [582] [562] In connection with the somatic view of the three Masai branches[1] the following is to be considered. The band that immigrated last, the true Masai, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They practically never subscribed to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not marry Negresses and did not take Negroes into their community.

291 301 142

Fonck II phot.

Ill. 2. Three Masai women.

619 142 144 [178] [361] [727] Therefore they most clearly show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Masai people. The same was true of the Wakuafi until the time when they became sedentary. Then, however, they needed not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on war expeditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakuafi and Negroes is very different in the individual

[1]. [i.e., the Masai, Wakuafi and the Wandorobo --Analyst]

M /12 cont./
619 Wakuafi settlements. In general, naturally, the mixture is greatest
142 where the Wakuafi have already been sedentary longest, least and
144 often scarcely /13/ noticeable or even not at all where they did
[361] not become sedentary until the last half of the nineteenth century.
M The cattle epidemics, which constantly brought new Masai elements
[731] to the Wakuafi, had a restraining effect on the mixture. In many
cases one can quite accurately determine whether and what kind of
foreign blood a single individual has by careful questioning about
D the family tree. Among the Wandorobo who live far from the
144 Negroes, in the midst of the most inhospitable bush of the steppes,
for the most part probably no mixture with Negro blood has taken
place, at all, against which, to be sure, such with the Sacska, belonging to the tribally related Tatoga, must be assumed with certainty on grounds of a historic and linguistic nature, as well as
according to the tradition. Degeneration through inbreeding also
seems excluded from the outset, for they constantly had an influx
of Masai women and children, whose husbands and fathers had
perished in the famine following a cattle epidemic.

M If one examines the somatic characteristics of the three Masai
D branches from these points of view and with the elimination of all
142 cases in which a mixture has been proved or is not excluded, one
[144] comes to the conclusion that one has before one a homogeneous
race. Their characteristic traits are the following: the bodies are
tall and slender. They do not, however, appear unattractively
thin, but rather give the impression of elegant, flexible mobility.
The thin, fine bones are surrounded by well-developed muscles,
which, to be sure, stand out clearly, but, in conformity with the
slenderness, not obtrusively. One sees especially beautiful forms
among young girls. They are gracile, slender figures whose limbs
show only just enough roundness in order to make them appear
comely. Shapeless, unlovely ampleness one really finds only
among older women. The skin color varies between deep dark-brown and light chocolate-brown. The heads are high and narrow,
the oval face often has finely chiseled, attractive features and is
less prognathous than among Negroes, not infrequently even
orthognathous. The high, narrow forehead is well arched, the

/13 cont./

M D 142 eyes are almond-shaped, straight or somewhat slanted. The nose is extended, narrow, and, at the root, flat or very moderately deep-set compared to the forehead. The alae are narrow and very flat, the nostrils roundish to longitudinally oval, less often transversely oval. The bridge of the nose is straight, sometimes slightly convex. The lips are full, without appearing actually protruding. Protruding, thick lips are something so rare and striking that they earn their owner the name Lebeleb -- thick lip (or actually: uproar, loud noise). The ears are small, except for the hyperplasia of the upper edge of the ear and ear lobes caused by the wearing of heavy ornaments. The hair is evenly distributed over the scalp, which is most clearly shown on recently shaved heads. The hair often appears "tufty," but this is artifically produced. Only at a length of from one to three centimeters does it curl slightly and /14/ almost never becomes completely curly. The arms and especially the legs are very long, the wrists thin, hands and feet, especially among female individuals, small, narrow, and delicate, the fingers are slender and often strikingly long and narrow, the fingernails long, narrow, and slightly arched.

M D 619 174 Even if the racial membership of the three branches were to be traced anthropologically, one can determine an even closer connection ethnographically, which must lead to the conviction that all three belong to the same people. The difference in their principal occupations, to be sure, seems at /Ill. 3 appears here/ first glance to indicate a sharp division. As has already been pointed out above, however, one can easily explain these differences by the consistent behavior of a people of similar customs and habits under unlike external circumstances. M D 174 619 233 262 The predilection for stock raising, based on the eagerness for a meat diet, and the nomadic life necessarily growing out of it were common. While the Wandorobo had to endure it when their livestock fell victim to epidemics and raids of the strong Wakuafi, the latter, under pressure from the still mightier Masai, had to flee from the open plains to fixed residences in the mountains. The Wakuafi protected

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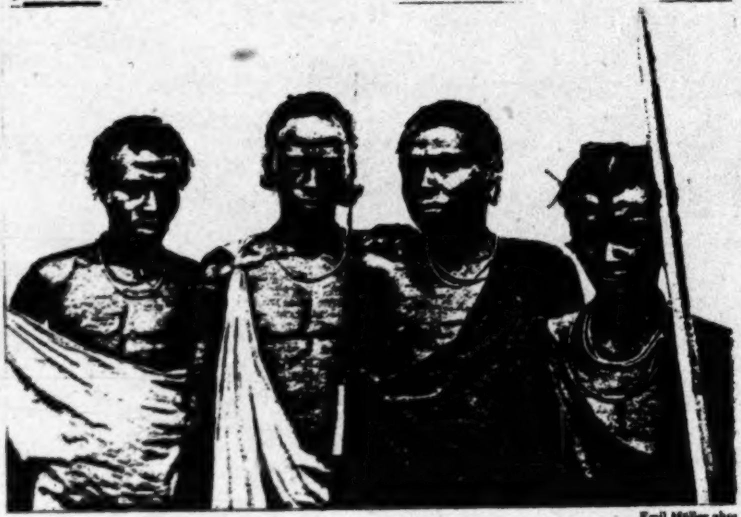

Ill. 3. Young Masai. 2 and 4 pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

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The Wakuafi protected what remained of their livestock by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandorobo, by sacrificing their herds, were able to continue their fancied nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the meat diet.

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/15/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Masai and Wakuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Masai dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Masai probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandoróbo, the El

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gamrek speak only the language of the Masai, whereas the Asá and

D /15 cont./
197 the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words
197 are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El
802 asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general
184 always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One
D 197 finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their reli-
802 gious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both
D sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no
M other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga,
771 closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all
304 three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one
619 finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the dif-
[191] ference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for
D M the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their
174 619 descent.

[844] The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the
[796] 'L aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El meṅgana, each of which is
D made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every
M 614 *Ol kuafi and Ol massani*, is a representative of one of these lineages.

613 If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the
D Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi,
M we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people;
128 the stressing of individual differences that have developed among
the Wandoróbo in the course of time and under the influence of
changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/

Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The Eṅ gidoṅ lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborōn lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613 Every tribe (eṅ gischomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

/16 cont./

614 and sublineages (o̲l̲ g̲e̲l̲a̲t̲'̲ a̲t̲e̲). According to the religious legend, 613 the relationship of the three tribes to one another is that of brothers, whereas the lineages of a tribe stand in relation to them as sons to the father. This is the basis for the view that the persons belonging to a tribe stand in a kindred relationship to one another, for which reason, for example, marriage between members of the principal lineage and of one of its sublineages, as well as between those of the sublineages of the same principal lineage, is not permitted.

The division that seems to have the greatest claim to accuracy, according to unanimous reports of the Asá, Wakuafi, and Masai, is the following:

Tribe: 'L aisḗr.
Lineage: Eṅ gidoṅ or El oibonok,
" El bargenetti,
" El bartimaro;
Sublineage: El bedē̲s,
" El dibiliti,
" El e̲goio,
" El barsabuggo,
" El morinjero,
" El barsaṅga,
" 'L eng-adji-nanjugi,
" El gumarin,
" El barsiṅgo.
Lineage: El ugumoi;
Sublineage: Es sidaio.

/17/ Tribe: El múleljan.
Lineage: El mŭ́gurēre;
Sublineage: El barsindē,
" El barsereṅgo,
" El barsĕ́gero,
" El bartelle,
" El kibujuni,
" El barnagua.

/17 cont./

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613
Lineage: El masaṅgua;
Sublineage: El muiṅgo.
Attached to the El mǘleljan tribe:
Lineage: El mamasita;
Sublineage: El monấi,
" El gejaní,
" El marawasch,
" El bar-laṅata.
Lineage: El mắgesan;
Sublineage: El kiborṓn,
" El bartelēle.
Lineage: 'N darasero;
Sublineage: El meboní,
" El gidogu, also called 'L aisi.
Tribe: El meṅgána.
Lineage: 'L oitajuk;
Sublineage: Es seroigínigi,
" El barsois,
" 'L endjage,
" El gissikol,
" El mohono or El moschono,
" El magarau,
" El barmaṅgig,
" Es sumaga,
" El barsellé;
Lineage: El marumai;
Sublineage: El goré,
" El maguberia,
" El bodjus,
" El gurá,
" El eberẹt (see later IV, I),
" El merắni,
" El mossedjua,
" Es siria.

M /*18*/
614 The 'L aisḗr and El mū́leljan to a certain extent stand in con-
[186] trast to the El meṅgana, whom they half-mockingly, half-abusively
also call 'N dalata-gutok (1)

M
[192] 1. *'N dalata*, gluttons, *en gutok*, the mouth;
by putting the two words together the idea of
the first is supposed to be intensified.

or Eṅg-adji-nagúl-alai (2).

M
[192] 2. = the house of the hard teeth; *nagúl* = hard,
el alai, the teeth.

and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as Eṅg adji
M el masai. As the reason for this, tradition relates that the El
[173] meṅgana were once separated for a longer period of time from the
[784] other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because
they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the
killing of female animals for consumption. This gave rise to the
M above nicknames, which, freely translated, mean "greedy gluttons."
613 The El bedḗs and El goré are not infrequently designated as El
aisegela, a name formed after that of a war leader, Os segḗl. As
the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the
M two sublineages were once notorious cattle thieves.
791 The most outstanding lineage, not only of the 'L aiser tribe,
but of the whole Masai people, is the *Eṅ gidoṅ*, because both the
[613] family of the chief (*ol oiboni*) and that of the sorcerer (*el goiatek*)
[754] belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct,
since the *ol oiboni* does not rule directly and does not exercise any
M real executive power. He rules only indirectly; the firm belief of
[829] his subjects in his prophetdom and in his supernatural ability of
sorcery gives him an influence over the destinies of the people.
Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Negro rulers, are
D foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a pa-
[791] triarch, in whom the Wakuafi and Asá also see their head. The
people speak of his saintly person in timid awe, and no one would

/18 cont./

791 dare to appear unsummoned before the mighty one. Thus, the Masai living on the military station of Moschi /Moshi/ remained hidden during Zendeo's presence when the latter visited it at the beginning of 1896, and my Masai servant did not dare deliver a message either to Zendeo or to an attendant sitting beside him.

The aim of the chief's policy is the unity and strengthening of the Masai. [648] By letting the rapacity of the warriors spend itself in expeditions against foreign tribes, he protects his own people from devastating civil wars for which the endless friction of the districts among themselves would give continuous occasion. This influence makes possible for him the belief that a victory is attainable only through the secret power of the war medicine that he alone knows how to manufacture, and a defeat must inevitably come if he predicts it. Neither he nor his closest relatives go to war. [755] He gives remedies against epidemics and sicknesses -- as a rule in the form /19/ of magic medicines -- and orders supplication [782] feasts in honor of the Masai god 'Ng ai. He reads the prophecies [787] from an oracle game of the kind of the counting off of buttons. From a neat's horn provided with a leather cover (Fig. 1) he takes a handful of river pebbles, puts one or several of them aside, and throws back the rest. After he has repeated this several times, he announces his prophetic verdict, which often enough is worded in Pythian ambiguity. The game, like the lineage, is called eṅ gidoṅ. The office of ol oiboni is hereditary and has been handed down until the most recent times from father to the eldest son of the principal wife. The badge of his office is an iron club.

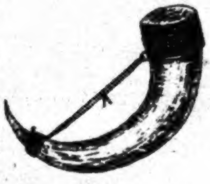

Fig. 1.

791 613 173 The Masai do not know much to say about the genealogical tree of the El oibonok. The first four or five names that it contains belong to chiefs who ruled in early times. These names are: 791 Kidoṅoi, Geriga, Bargumbe (Bamjumbe), and Lesigiriĕschi. The 125 next chiefs are historical and descend from modem times. The first of them, Kibebẹte, seems to have ruled at the beginning of the nineteenth century; he was followed by his son Sitonik, who

791 /19 cont./
175 was followed by Subet and the latter by Mbatyan. After the latter's
[619] death the Masai split up. One part placed itself under Lenana, the eldest son of the principal wife, who was born before the accession of Mbatyan, the other under Zendeo, who was the old man's favorite son and named by him to be his successor. The people relate that Lenana cheated Zendeo out of the succession in a way similar to how Jacob cheated Esau out of the right of the first-born. Whereas the deception was achieved in the latter case through the tied-on goatskin, it was made possible in the former case by the gloom of the hut in which old, weak Mbatyan was lying on his sick-bed. He thought he had Zendeo before him and instructed Lenana in the secret arts of the ol oiboni. The two are now bitter enemies,
[669] who maintain a continuous civil war, to the misfortune of the Masai people. Lenana, now a man about 49 years old, lives with his followers in British East Africa, in the vicinity of the railroad station Nairobi, whereas Zendeo, ten years younger, inhabits, with his hordes, the steppes of German East Africa. Both are merely phantom figures in comparison with their father, who had occupied an
175 outstanding place in the succession of chiefs. Under him the Masai
619 experienced their last golden age. After his forefathers Sitonik and
791 Subet had subjugated the Wakuafi, it rested upon him to keep down
726 their constant uprisings and to weaken and enslave them so that no
[669] danger from them could threaten the Masai any longer. Through a well-organized spy system Mbatyan kept himself continuously informed about the conditions of his opponents, so that the rapacious warriors could always attack those very Wakuafi settlements in which a war expedition /20/ against the Masai was being prepared. The most trouble here was made by the Wakuafi of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, who found safe hiding places for women and livestock in the clefted mountain forests, while the men undertook raids on
175 neighboring Masai kraals. Finally, however, the Meru people were
619 successfully mastered; indeed, they even became so pliable that
791 they performed compulsory labor for their oppressors. One must
727 bear in mind with what deep contempt all men of the Masai people
466 look upon any kind of work, which they regard as something dis-
461 graceful, not compatible with a man's dignity, in order to

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619 /20 cont./
791 understand what such a success meant. Mbatyan demanded thou-
727 sands of workers, and they moved obediently, in endless long lines,
466 men, women and children, toward the steppe area of Kisongo, lying
[461]

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Merker phot.

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Ill. 4. Zendeo, the present chief of the Masai.

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791 west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his
727 ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby --
466 [462] a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank
175 and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes,
648 the Masai became more and more arrogant, and they extended
721 their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the
Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for
robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate
hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities
of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

175 The belief in the magic means for healing purposes which
791 Mbatyan gave those seeking help, and whose chief ingredient
755 quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the
ol mogongora liana, was so deep-seated in the people /21/ that
it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

175
791 /21 cont./
[785] recovery from their pains. Mbatyan earned outstanding merit
[232] through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung
[173] disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of
[787] Zendeo and four old Masai, Mbatyan, several years before his
[648] death, had already prophesied the appearance of rinderpest that
did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Masai by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard.
[826] That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the ol oiboni nor
the el goiatek and el kiborṓn mentioned farther below may pluck
[302] out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs.

791 The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals
621 lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of
[361] the ol oiboni with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 200 wives; the still young Zendeo has only 20 of them. No strange
[595] man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives
[623] or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (el duṅganak oiroriĕ ol oiboni) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the marches of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying
791 him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's
576 camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in
609 the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

791 /21 cont./
576 rises, goes toward him, and, with the customary greeting, extends
609 his hand to him, whereby, not this, but the wrist is grasped. After
the concluded discussion, for which there are no particular formalities, he takes his leave with the ordinary farewell.

791 In the way of food, the ol oiboni takes only goat liver roasted
789 on the fire, milk, and honey, for, through any other food, "he
[262] would suffer the loss of the capacity for prophecy and the preparation of efficacious magic charms." Of these arts very little is
[173] supposed to have been handed down to his son Lenana and still less
to Zendeo, through which it is all the more explicable that the
/22/ Masai today tell of hundreds of different kinds of miracles that
Mbatyan allegedly performed. According to them, he could fell
large trees by sheer will power, or he had the hut in which he was
to be found set afire by his attendant, and, after it had burned
down, he appeared, uninjured, out of the ashes.

756 From the Eṅ gidoṅ lineage there are further supplied, as has
[613] already been mentioned, the sorcerers or medicine men (ol goiatiki,
el goiatek), several of whom live in each district. Their office,
too, is handed down from father to son, who, however, is usually
initiated into the whole secret art only after his marriage. The
[789] most important magic charm in the life of the Masai, the war
medicine, the ol goiatiki does not know how to make. Rather, one
turns to him only in cases of illness of human beings and livestock
for which the well-known remedies fail, or which one traces back
to the sorcery of evil neighbors, as well as to determine unknown
wrongdoers (thieves, murderers, etc.).

613 The lineage of the El kiboroń of the El mǘleljan tribe, who,
[776] according to the view of all the people, are especially favored by
'Ng ai, the god of the Masai, which has made them primarily the
bearers of the religious traditions, require a special discussion.
613 Corresponding to their position with 'Ng ai, they are distinguished
157 by a relative peaceableness. The young warriors, to be sure, also
set out on raiding expeditions with the other lineages, but they
thereby seem to avoid any unnecessary roughness or brutality, in
which the others often compete. The passion for disputes, quarrels,
and vituperation, a prominent trait in the character of the young

/22 cont./

613 Masai, is foreign to them. God rewards them for their virtue by
[157] protecting their herds against predatory animals and thieves. It is
not supposed to have yet happened that one of their cattle was
613 killed by a lion or otherwise stolen. The El kiborőn are particularly
789 esteemed by all the other Masai on account of their ability to cause
821 rain. The author one day saw such a rainmaker at "work" near a
Masai kraal. He was lying on the ground under a big leather apron
such as is worn by old men, so that one could see only a slight
movement of the arms and now and then hear a soft murmur. After
a while he stood up and explained that rain would "soon" come.
Since I had had rain during the preceding night in the camp six
hours away, it is very probable that here, too, it had not failed to
appear for very long and thus saved the reputation of that rain artist.

613 The only slight differences in the customs of the El kiborőn lineage compared with those of the other lineages will be discussed in the individual sections.

/23/

II.

000 Kraal. -- Construction and arrangement of the huts. -- Stall for the livestock. -- Types of kraals. -- Polygyny; the principal wife. -- Property relations, exchange of wares, earnings; family head. -- Expelling and separation of the family members. -- The family kraal. -- Daily life. -- Work. -- Foods. -- Tobacco. -- Honey beer. -- Play. -- Household equipment.

361 In the vicinity of a few shade trees and a small brook the Masai
villages lie scattered in the burning hot steppes. They are circular
kraals (eṅg ā́n, ṅg aṅſti or eṅg anása, ṅg anás [Fig. 2]), which
are formed by a ring of huts (eṅg adji, ṅg adjidik) built close to
one another. A kraal contains 20 to 50 huts. At two places
opposite each other are found the entrances (eṅ gischomi) three to
342 four meters wide. Since the Masai, as nomads, continue to live
361 in one place only as long as they have good pastures for their live-
stock, the huts are /Ill. 5 appears here/ built easily and casually
out of material available everywhere.

/23 cont./

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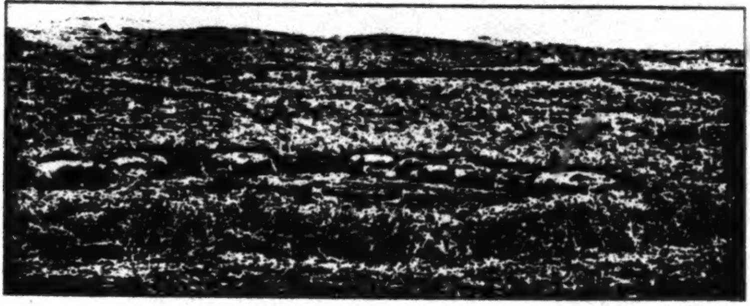

Merker phot.

Ill. 5. Kraal on the steppe between Kilimandscharo and Meruberg.

342 out of material available everywhere. Like every task in the
[462] kraal, hut construction is the duty of the women. After the site
for the individual hut (Fig. 3) is cleared of grass and brush and
then leveled, the spiral-oval ground plan is undertaken in that
[804] the woman scratches it on the ground with her foot. They do not
use any auxiliary means for measuring it; measuring by eye is
sufficient for the woman who, even as a child, helped her mother
with this work. Into the ground plan, at foot-long intervals, poles
342 (ol ōmi, el ōm) about 1 1/2 meters long are stuck in the ground
335 and joined lattice-like with thumb-thick cross-switches (ol gereni,
el gerenen). Then in the longitudinal diagonal seven to eight
supports (em bogischi) are dug in, over which a longitudinal bar
(ol ereschena, el ereschenan) is put from one end of the hut to the
[284] other. Over this the poles are arched and the opposite ends lashed
[824] together with papyrus grass (es sedja). By interplaiting finger-thick switches (en jaschoi, n jascho) walls /24/ and roof are made
342 tight. The lattice-like framework is about 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 meters
[237] high, 4 to 5 meters long and 3 meters wide. Neats' skins served
principally for roofing before the rinderpest raged among the
[731] livestock around the year 1890. Now, /Figs. 2 and 3 appear here/
[824] when the Masai herds have become vanishing small in contrast
[237] to former times, the switch framework is first packed with a
layer of dry, long-bladed grass (ol gudjeda or ol godjeda) 15 to

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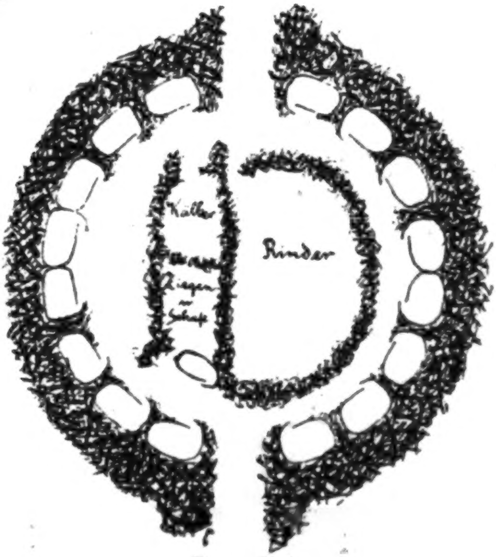

Fig. 2. (1/[illegible]).

/Rinder, cattle; Kälben, calves; Ziegen und Schafe, goats and sheep./

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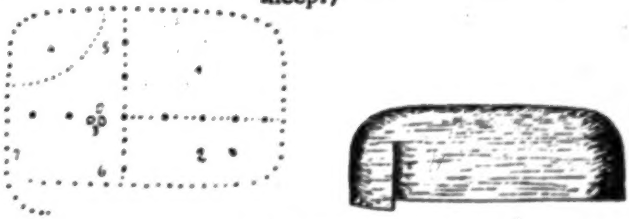

Fig. 3. (1/[illegible]).

1. Bed of the man. 2. Bed of the woman. 3. Hearth. 4. Stall for young calves. 5. Household implements. 6. Stall for young goats and sheep. 7. Firewood.

342 20 centimeters thick, and this is then smeared an inch thick with
[237] fresh cattle dung (e modjef, modiok). For protection against
[824] heavy /25/ rain, one at times also puts dried and dehaired neat-
[237] skins on that. Toward anyone entering through the door opening
[354] (eñ gutok eñg adji = the mouth of the hut) thick smoke pours from

/25 cont./

342 the nearby hearth (eṅ gema), which is formed by three stones lying
[354] beside one another in a clover-leaf shape. Good firewood is scarce
[313] on the steppe; one must therefore use the smoky brushwood. At
the opposite end of the hut is the sleeping place for the woman (e
ruat kĕtĕ = small bed) and beside it that for the man (e ruat kitok =
big bed). A latticework of poles and switches, which is covered
with grass and cattle dung, like the hut walls, close the two off from
each other and from the rest of the space in the hut. From the

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Merker phot.

Ill. 6. Masai hut.
The carbine standing by the hut belongs to a soldier of the Protectorate Troops.)

342 latter a separate entrance leads into each of these compartments.
[352] The bed consists of a pad of dried grass over which two dehaired
[237] neat-skins are spread. Opposite the door is found a small enclosure
(ol ale l el ascho) into which young calves are put for the night.
[233] There is often found beside the door yet another enclosure (ol ale l
ol baleion) for young goats and sheep, if these are not housed in
small pens built beside or on the hut.

/25 cont./
342 small pens built beside or on the hut. The door opening of the hut
is closed off at night by means of a neat's skin hung over it or a
thorny branch dragged in halfway.

361 /26/ The individual huts are very close to one another. The
space between two of them amounts to scarcely half a meter, so
that in the evening the entire ring of huts seems closed except for
417 the entrances. For protection against wild animals and enemies,
361 the kraal is surrounded by a stout barricade of thorny acacia
351 branches, with which the entrances are also obstructed after the
824 livestock has returned from pasture. In the place enclosed by the
[233] huts one finds a ring-shaped thorn-barricade in which the livestock
stays during the night: large livestock, calves, and small livestock

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Ill. 7. Masai hut. Plastered with cattle dung.

361 /26 cont./
417 are separated from one another by thorn barricades, and the huts
351 are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of thorny
824 233 branches placed around them.

One distinguishes between kraals for the married (eṅg aṅ el
621 moruak) and such for the warriors (ol manjata). In the former live
361 the married men (ol moruo, el moruak) with their families, in the latter the warriors (ol moráni, el móran) with their mothers and the half-grown, uncircumcised girls /27/ (en dito, n doje). One sometimes also finds several kraals built together into one. The author found a village that consisted of five kraals built next to one another, three of which were El moruo kraals. A dense thorn-barricade extended around the entire kraal complex.

595 The married man on the average has five to six wives, wealthy
[556] men have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they
[736] are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of widows who may not marry again or who have not remarried and

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Merker phot.

Ill. 8. Small pen beside the hut.

595 /27 cont./
[736] see in their position as secondary wife lasting or temporary maintenance. Each wife has her own hut, in which she lives with one or several small children and manages an independent household. The woman married first is the principal wife (en abore eṅg ai) (1)

1. = the first in the kraal.

and remains such until death; then the woman married next after [422] her steps into this position. The principal wife is supported the best, in that the husband surrenders to her a large part of his cattle for the usufruct and treats her with distinction before the other wives by means of gifts of ornaments and clothing, as well as by better service. /28/ Her eldest son has prerogatives in the right of succession. The principal wife exercises supervision over the other wives and keeps them at the work when they neglect it.

422 The domestic community does not have any common property. As property there comes into consideration first cattle, goats, [554] sheep, and donkeys. The size of the herd is the gauge for the social position of its owner, the father of the family. The cattle [428] handed over by him to each of his wives for care and usufruct remain his own, and only when the wife has a son about ten or twelve years old do they pass, with his consent, into the latter's possession, and sometimes into his ownership. /III. 9 appears here./ A presupposition for the latter, however, is that the boy [591] is not needed in the tending of the paternal herds. For as soon as he receives the livestock, he must leave his father's kraal, along with his mother, in order to lay out a small new kraal for himself at a distance of several kilometers. This is supposed to prevent the two herds from coming together, an opportunity which otherwise the son would often enough take advantage of 422 423 to steal from the father. Huts and household implements, both only of slight durability and little value, theoretically also belong to the father of the family, but in practice to those of his [462] wives who use these things. The woman builds the hut, whereby the children or other women help her. What is not used in

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/28 cont./

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Ill. 9. Small pen on the hut.

592 What is not used in her own household in the way of milk, meat, and skins /29/ /Ills. 10 and 11 appear here/ /30/ is her housekeeping money, with which she buys vegetable foods and such household objects as she does not make herself. She is not supervised in this in any way by her husband. It is beneath his dignity to interfere in these affairs.

443 437 [illegible] Approximately every three to six days caravans of old women, accompanied by a few old men and laden with maize, bananas, batatas, etc., arrive in the Masai kraals. Then there begins an hours-long haggling and bargaining with the customary market-woman shouting. Each one tries to sell her goods as advantageously as possible, that is, exchange them for just the articles that she needs. Often the caravans come from a distance of four to five days' march and then remain in the kraal for a couple of days before they set out for home.

/Illustrations from p. 19 of the original source./

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Merker phot.

Ill. 10. Hut complex.

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[illegible] phot.

Ill. 11. Thorn hedge of the kraals.

/30 cont./

592 422 [434] The earnings of the sons who are growing up to become warriors consist of captured livestock and in the main passes into the father's herd. Actual separate goods for the individual members of the family are only clothing and ornaments, for the sons also their weapons, and further for boys the livestock given to them by the father, for youths and warriors the share of the captured cattle which they keep for themselves.

592 593 The family head is the father of the family. If an older man of his family also lives with him or in the same or a closely neighboring kraal, the two share in the office of the head in such a manner that in all decisions people listen to and heed the counsel of the elder one. Legally the head can be deposed by his brothers for mismanagement and incompetence, but this seems to take place only very exceptionally. The head makes the decisions in all family matters. A right to kill and penalize the members does not belong to the father of the family: just as he is not responsible for their debts and misdeeds, neither may he sell or pledge them. The [731] [567] fact that during the famine caused by two cattle epidemics that followed each other in a short time around the year 1890 children and women were given into slavery by their relatives does not prove anything to the contrary. When the corpses of many thousands of the starved lay in the steppes and there was no food of any kind for the survivors, no escape remained for them other than to give themselves or their relatives as serfs to such people as could feed them.

593 591 613 Individual members may detach themselves on account of bad treatment. One who detaches himself flees to another of his lineage or to the one from which his mother stems and purchases his admission with a few cattle that he has stolen from his father's herd and taken along. If he found acceptance in the latter, he must return to his own as soon as he becomes a father.

If a girl is expelled, she may freely choose her future abode, irrespective of tribe or lineage. Wherever she finds admittance /31/ she usually remains permanently, in that she marries a member of this lineage. That is, the men and girls taken in remain nonmembers of the lineage, despite their admission, so that they can enter into a legal marriage with members of the lineage concerned.

/31 cont./

593 concerned. One who is expelled from the family because of bad behavior is, as a rule, taken in again upon payment of a head of cattle or a goat. Moreover he hands over the animal to a man friendly to his lineage. The latter takes it to the father of the one expelled and requests reacceptance for him. If it is refused, the one expelled seeks and finds acceptance in the same manner as the detached one. Detachment and expulsion occur only in very

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Merker phot.

Ill. 12. Kraal of the married.

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[592]
[888]

rare cases and have no influence on the right of succession. The rights of the head over the individual members of the family lapse legally upon their marriage, but not yet practically, since, conditioned by attachment and respect for the elder, lasting concessions are made to him in questionable matters.

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eṅg aṅ el moruak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, es-
pecially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups. For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps, dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in: in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at
8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
731

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good
breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has to leave it beforehand.

/32 cont./

512 When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture,
[462] the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted
[351] in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which
[252] the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e modi, 'modio) are
[415] not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary
[439] tribes or also from the Wandorôbo, who presumably learned the
potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In contrast
262 to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, especially
[241] since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they
buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not
262 engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however,
272 are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by
[158] healthy people uncooked, as fresh (eṅ gule) or sour (eṅ gule naoto):
boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with
pulverized grains of ol lodoa (Maesa lanceolata). Sheep milk is
especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of
cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted
[158] state. Milk mixed with fresh or /33/ cooked blood (en jiwốt) is
greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup
[234] for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by
agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagolgol). Fat,
[252] rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially
[263] meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is
prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various
spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in
[252] one day cooked meat and milk /Ill. 13 appears here/ together
[253] (1).
[263]

[171] 1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol mokotan spice (bark of

/33 cont./

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 13. Women cleaning the kraal.

262 Albizzia anthelmintica) always used in the cooking of meat is
272 supposed to cause severe diarrhea. Therefore milk that is offered
[453] is often refused in the hope that a meal of meat will be obtained
[263] on the same day. One who wishes to partake of both foods in one
day -- and where is there a Masai who could resist an invitation
to a meal of meat?! -- vomits first before eating the meat, for
which he produces the necessary stimulus by means of a blade of
grass stuck in the throat. If one has eaten cooked meat today,
then /34/ one first drinks some blood in the morning before the
milk, not out of considerations of health, but rather because it is
believed that the livestock would give less milk as a consequence
of neglecting this custom. Bringing milk into contact with meat
[231] is most scrupulously avoided, because, according to the general
view, through that the udder of the cow from whom that milk
came would become permanently diseased. For this reason the

/34 cont./
262 272 Masai only most reluctantly and infrequently sell cow's milk, for the buyer indeed could in the above-mentioned manner make their cows sick with it. [136] The Masai scorn any kind of game meat, as well as birds and even fish, of the latter of which species of Barbus, Chromis, Clarias, and the sheatfish-like Synodontis occur almost everywhere in larger brooks.

252 262 263 The preparation of the principal vegetables is the following: batatas (ol muruṅgu, el muruṅguni -- Ipomoea batatas) are cooked in water with a little steppe salt (e munján), then drained, mashed with a whisk (ol gibere, el giberen), and stirred with fresh milk. The finished dish is called el muruṅguni. Unripe bananas (ol marigo͡i, el marigo -- Musa paradisiaca) are peeled, cut up, and cooked in water with salt. After they have been drained, a little butter (eṅ gorno) is added. Unripe dried bananas (ol kitâuo, el kitâuón) are cooked in water, drained, and then stirred with milk and butter. Maize kernels (ol ba͡iegi, el ba͡ieg) are cooked in water without the addition of salt. Beans are cooked with salt. One distinguishes ol bombo͡i -- el bombo (Dolichos lablab), eṅ giú --eṅ giún (with which both Cajamus indicus and Vigna sinensis are designated), furthermore os sigorio͡i -- es sigorio (Phaseolus vulgaris), ol gámuri -- el gámuri (Phaseolus radiatus). Eleusine coracana (en dabá -- 'n dabán, or en drigá -- 'n drigán or also called eṅ guruma -- 'n guruman) and Sorghum vulgare (ol birirí -- el birirín) are cooked to a thick porridge and lightly salted. Dioscorea abessynica (ol geré -- el gerén) and Colocasia antiquorum (which the Masai on Kilimandscharo designate with the Dschagga /Chagga/ word maduma) are cooked in salted water.

Honey (en aischo -- 'n aischi) is eaten unmixed and is also 276 used as an addition to various medicaments. [439] They buy tobacco (ol gumbâu, Nicotiana rustica), which the Masai consume in quantities, from sedentary Negroes, who put it on the market in loose, bast-wrapped packets (Fig. 4) of various sizes or in the shape of solid balls about five centimeters in diameter. [415] → For the preparation of this, the tobacco leaves, picked ripe, are tightly packed, tied up with

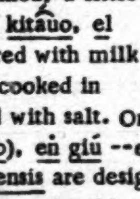
Fig. 4

/34 cont./

276 other leaves, for example, from the banana, and thus left to ferment for several days. Then they are hung up to dry in the shade or in the hut, and, as soon as they are sufficiently dry, they are packed together in the above-mentioned packets. To make the ball tobacco, on the other hand, /35/ one lightly pounds in a mortar the fermented and dried leaves, after they have been sprinkled with water, without, however, thereby breaking up the leaves. The very moist mass is then shaped into balls, which are left to dry in the sun. The [435] Masai pay a goatskin for two packets of about half a pound each or for ten balls. Only the old people use tobacco. The men smoke, sniff, and chew it, while the women content themselves with chewing and sniffing. The tobacco intended for smoking is coarsely cut. The tobacco pipes (Fig. 5) consist of a thin wooden tube about a foot long (os sarian) and a conically shaped clay or [322] wooden bowl (ol mōti). The latter is carved by the Masai them- [439] selves, whereas they buy the clay bowls. For chewing one uses the same tobacco and chews it with a little pea-sized piece of natron salt (e magát). To prepare the tobacco for snuff, the smoking tobacco is first cut as fine as possible and then ground to powder with a round stone in a piece of gourd shell. To this one

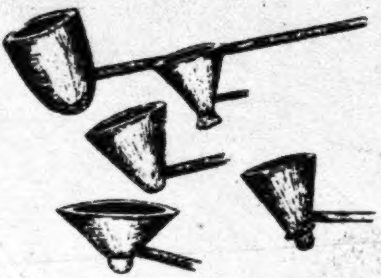

Fig. 5. (1/2)

[415]
[531]

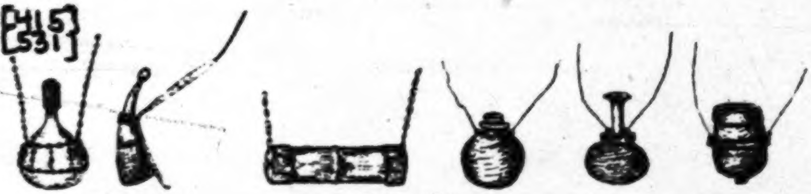

Fig. 6. (1/3)

/35 cont./
276 adds some natron salt and beef fat,
frequently also pulverized bark of ol
amora (Ocimum suave Wild.), and
mixes the whole by further grinding.
[415] Small boxes (en dulet -- 'n duleta)
[237] made out of wood, bamboo, cattle
[531] or sheep horn, or even out of the
[136] horn of the Rhinoceros bicornis,
which often are quite attractively
carved and decorated with beads,
[273] serve as snuffboxes (Fig. 6). They
[415] are worn around the neck on thin
→ chains made out of iron wire.

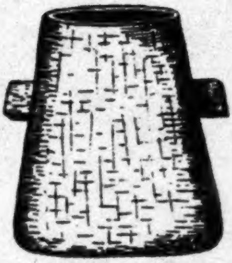

Fig. 7. (1/10.) Vessel for the preparation of honey beer.

273 Another luxury, also intended
only for married men, is a kind of
honey beer (en aischo namga) (Fig. 7). One dissolves honey in
[824] water and adds a piece of the root of the steppe aloe, os suguro͡l,
/36/ or a peeled and cooked piece of the root of the so-called
liver-sausage tree (1)

(ol darbo͡l -- Kigelia aethiopica), both as a taste corrective and
to hasten the fermentation. The mixture is allowed to stand and
ferment three to five days in a warm place, say, in the vicinity
[824] of the hearth fire. Before it is drunk, one often puts in a few
bunches of leaves from the ol gonjet bush, I suspect in order to
stop the vinegar fermentation. The honey beer is quite strongly
intoxicating, so that a drinking bout usually ends with complete
[439] drunkenness. Other brews, which the sedentary Negroes bring to
the Masai for sale and which are made out of bananas and Eleusine,
maize, or sorghum, are milder. The Masai do not distinguish
these with names, but rather call them generally ol márua.

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1. Named after the resemblance of the fruit to a liver sausage.

/36 cont./

512 [264] [462] [517] At one o'clock in the afternoon, the noon meal is eaten, after the men who have looked after the cattle in the pasture have returned. After the meal one takes a nap, plays a little game, or picks up some manual work (making articles of clothing or adornment, clubs, gourd bottles, etc.). The principal game 524 of the Masai is the board game (en dodoi, en dodo) (Fig. 8). Two rows of six to ten depressions or compartments running side by side in a longitudinal direction are carved into a thick board about two feet long. The rules of the game are as follows: the board stands between two players; to each of them belongs the row facing him (ol mátua, el mátuan). Now each one places in each compartment (eṅ qurtṓto, 'ṅ qurtṓt) of his row four stones (os so͡id, es so͡ido) (2).

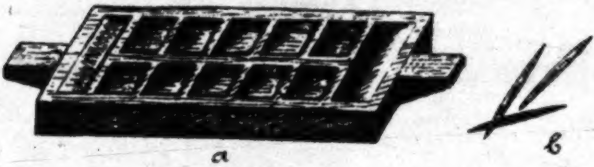

Fig. 8. (³/₁₀.

2. One uses for this round river-pebbles or the fruits of the ol gŭ́laṅgulu (Caesalpinia Bonducella Roxb.).

The player who starts takes the four stones out of one of the compartments of his row and puts one of them into each of the next compartments to the right. From the compartment in which he placed his last stone and in which there are now five, he removes these and, as before, places them in the next compartments, whereby he passes from his own row to that of the opponent. He proceeds in this manner until the last of the stones taken from a compartment happens to fall into an empty compartment.

/36 cont./

524 Now the partner starts in the same way playing in his row, /37/ to let the other play again as soon as he has placed a last stone in an empty compartment. The one who places a last stone in an empty compartment of his own row takes it and the ones lying in the adjacent compartment of the opponent's row for himself, and so on until, according to the rules, no more stones can be taken out of play. The one who has removed the most stones has won the match and gives himself a point. Serving as counters [802] [237] are small, finger-thick, and spindle-shaped ivory sticks 15-20 centimeters long (ol alai, el ala) (1).

1. As tooth generally is called tusk of the elephant, ivory.

Before the game starts, there is an understanding as to how many points are to be played. Women never play this game, warriors rarely. The latter usually prefer the eǹ gehé ('ǹ gehén), which is played in much the same way, except that in any case about eight players for each side take turns and each row has 40 to 50 compartments, which are not chiseled into a board, but are scratched into the ground.

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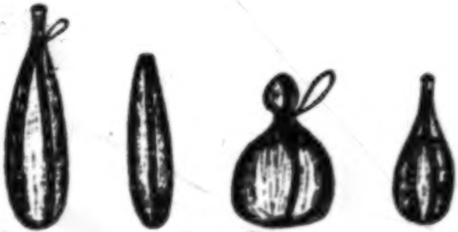

Fig. 9. (1/10.

512
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262 When the livestock has come home from pasture, it is milked, as in the morning, and after that the evening meal, consisting of fresh milk, is taken.

/37 cont./

415 The household equipment is quite paltry. Except for two or [356] three earthen pots there is found first of all a number of gourd bottles (Fig. 9) of various sizes: for milking, the ol ódi, el odio; for storing milk, the ol buguri, el bugurta and the larger e mala, 'malasin; for making butter, the en diagologol; and for honey beer, the e' mikoroloro. Some have a bulging, others a slender [531] [237] bottle shape. They often have sewed on them longitudinal strips of neat's leather, which are trimmed with cowrie shells (2)

2. The shell of the procelain snail, Cypraea moneta, which even today takes the place of money in many parts of Interior Africa: on the Nianza /Nyanza/, for example, 1000 cowries have the value of two rupies, two pesas (at an exchange rate of 1.40 marks) = 2.84 marks.

415 322 (os sigirai, es sigira). To make these vessels one puts the ripened and externally hardened bottle gourds, the only plant that the Masai grow near their kraal, and, to be sure, on piles of goat and sheep dung, either in water or to dry on the hut roof until /38/ their contents soften, and then removes these by poking and twirling with a brush made out of a neat's tail (ol kidoṅgoi). Later, the [237] cleaning is done after daily use through rinsing with cattle urine. As the reason for this peculiar "cleaning" the women whose duty this work is say that the vessels rinsed with water soon become foul-smelling and the milk stored in them does not thicken as evenly as with the use of urine, but rather deposits a layer of water. Since, with us, the gourd bottles soon take on a sourish, disgusting odor, they are often perfumed, and, to be sure, through fumigation with twigs of the ol orien acacia, through which the milk too is given a tate pleasant to the Masai. /Figs. 10 and 11 appear here./

415 [439] The Masai buy wooden bowls (eṅ girá, 'ṅ giran) (Fig. 10), out of which one eats, from sedentary tribes, while they themselves make the honey pots (ol ũlul, el ululi) (Fig. 11). On each [239] of the two openings of a wooden tube approximately a foot long

18: Merker--50 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/38 cont./

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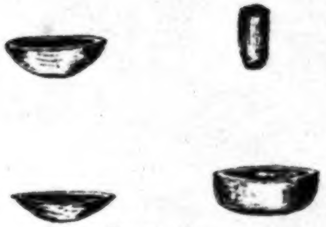
Fig. 10. 1/12

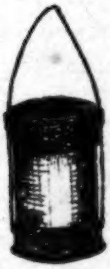
Fig. 11. (1/10)

[237] and 20-25 centimeters thick, one ties a piece of fresh neat-skin, then removes the one, after it has dried and become hard, as a

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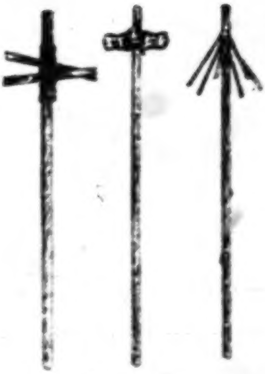
Fig. 13. (1/8

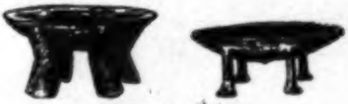
Fig. 12. (1/10)

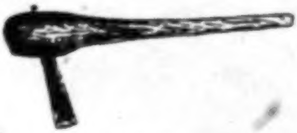
Fig. 14.

Fig. 15. (1/10)

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[237] cover and /39/ ties it with a thong (eṅg gṅe, ng gnda) to the finished container. Smaller and larger pouches (ol bẹne, el bẹnea) of neat's leather serve for storing solid foods. In every hut one also
352 finds round, four-legged wooden stools 2-3 feet high (Fig. 12)

/39 cont./

352 [322] 412 (ol origa, el origasch), on which people sit to eat. The stool is made out of one piece, in that one first roughly hews the block with an ax and then carves it with the knife. A few cooking spoons (en giligo, 'n giligoni) (1),

[192] 1. Formed from the Dschagga /Chagga/ word giligo; the Masai do not have a word of their own, since they were unfamiliar with spoons in former times.

stirring sticks for thick porridge (ol gurtet, el gurteta), whisks (Fig. 13), 1 ax (Fig. 14) (en dólu, 'n dolú), and a couple of knives (Fig. 15) (ol alem) complete the kitchen equipment. Nowadays

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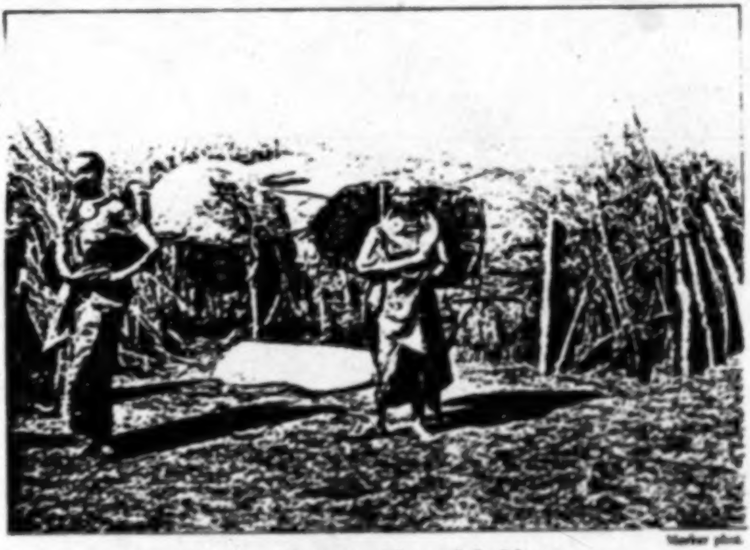

Merker phot.

Ill. 14. Woman with pack holder.

412 [237] spoons (formerly only the sticks and whisks) are also carved out of wood by older people. The whisk has various shapes; sometimes it consists of a stick on whose lower end is stuck a vertebra from a

/39 cont./
412 [237] goat or sheep. Other shapes consist of such a piece of a thin tree trunk, which bears on its lower end a wreath of branches, or also of a wooden handle on whose lower end, in slits placed crosswise,
[326] sit two short cross-sticks. The blacksmiths make ax and knife.
372 [824] A little board (en dauale) /40/ of soft wood and a twirling stick (ol birón, el birondo) of hard wood (1)

1. Especially from the ol nai[illegible]cus Sycomorus) and ol desse[illegible] Dioscoridis).

serve as fire-lighter (Fig. 16). To make fire, one holds the little board firmly on the ground with both hands, while another kneels before it and, twirling on it with the stick, produces the necessary
[237] friction. After approximately half a minute, when the fine shavings rubbed off the board smoke, one shoves on some dried cattle-dung. As soon as this starts to glow, one puts brush on it. Once the fire is burning in one of the huts, the people come here from the others, a stick of firewood in hand, in order to fetch fire for themselves.
415 482 With the household equipment also belong the large leather pouches

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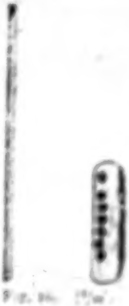

Fig. 16.

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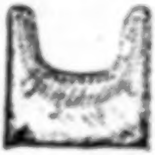

Fig. 17

415 482 (Fig. 16 /sic: see Fig. 17/) (ol benne, el bennia), which in former times were loaded only on donkeys, but now are also carried by the women on their backs, just like the leather bags (e moggage, moggageni), when they set out to buy vegetables.

/40 cont./

415 Now and then the receptacles are also replaced by two pouchlike
492 pack-holders (ol deretai, el derêta), one tied on the other. These
[283] have the oval shape of a shield and consist of a wooden frame that is covered with a plaited work of leather thongs or ropes. Otherwise they serve to hold the pack loaded on the donkey and some-
285 times also on oxen. Mats are unknown; dressed neat-skins take
237 their place. Mortars are also unknown.
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III.

000 Closer family relationships. -- Kinship designations. -- Terms of address for relatives.

602 Since every tribe and every lineage are descended from a
[613] tribal ancestor, the tribal and lineage members consider themselves
[614] more or less distant relatives. The family, one's own as well as, ascending, those of the father and of the mother, forms the closer
[611] relationship. The child follows the father's family (father right).
[672] Relatives are not responsible for punishable offenses, fines, or debts of a relative. Legally they need not support them either in connection with impoverishment or release from captivity; it is such a general custom, however, that probably no one ever evades it.

601 /41/ The Masai language is poor in particular kinship designations: most of them are made up of words for father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, etc.

Father: baba.

Mother: jêjo.

Another wife of the father: eṅg afhji e jêjo.

Principal wife: e' ṅgorojoni kitok, that is, the great woman, or en altero eṅg aṅ, that is, the first in the kraal.

Every other wife: e' ṅgorojoni.

Brother (1):

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1. Brother and sister come from the same wife, half brother and half sister from different wives of the same father.

/41 con./

601 ol alasche or ol alahe (pl. el alaschana or el alahuna).

Sister: eng anasche or eng anahe (pl. ing anachara or ing anahara) or en didan or en ditan (pl. ing dojan).

Half brother: ol aijoni le baba (pl. el aijok le baba), or ol aijoni l'eng ainji e jejo: ol aijoni = the son or the boy.

Half sister: en dido (or en dito) a baba ('n doje a baba), or en dido eng ainji e jejo.

Father's brother: ol alasche le baba.

Father's sister: eng anasche e baba.

Mother's brother: ol alasche le jejo.

Mother's sister: eng anasche e jejo.

Brother of another wife of the father: ol alasche 'l eng ainji e jejo.

Sister of another wife of the father: eng anasche eng ainji e jejo.

Son of the father's brother: ol aijoni l ol alasche le baba.

Son of the father's sister: ol aijoni l eng anasche e baba.

Daughter of the father's brother: en dido (2) ol alasche le baba.

Daughter of the father's sister: en dido eng anasche e baba.

Son of the mother's brother: ol aijoni l ol alasche le jejo.

Son of the mother's sister: ol aijoni l eng anasche e jejo.

Daughter of the mother's brother: en dido ol alasche le jejo.

Daughter of the mother's sister: en dido eng anasche e jejo.

Son of my brother: ol aijoni l ol alasche lai.

Son of my sister: ol aijoni l eng anasche ai.

Daughter of my brother: en dido ol alasche lai.

Daughter of my sister: en dido eng anasche ai.

My grandfather: ol akuja lai.

My grandmother: koko ai.

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2. Not infrequently one also hears en dido l ol alasche le baba: the l apparently should be interpreted, not as a grammatical irregularity, but as a concession made to euphony.

/41 cont./

601 The grandfather designates the grandson as: ng akuja.

/42/ The grandmother designates the grandson as: eǹ gerai eǹ gerai ai, that is, child of my child.

Father-in-law: ol abudani lai.

Mother-in-law: eṅg abudani ai.

Brother of wife: ol abudani or ol alasche le 'ṅgorojoni.

Sister of wife: es sidani ai or eṅg anasche e ṅgorojoni ai.

Wife of own brother: e' ṅgorojoni ol alasche lai.

Wife of the half brother: es sidani ai.

Different ones of these designations are terms of address among relatives, with the exception of the ones for father and mother, who 551 are addressed as baba or gojo. Most terms of address by far are formed from names for animal species: if one has given the one concerned a gift of a bull, one calls him b-alihoni, from ol olihoni, the bull; after the gift of an ox or a cow, ba-'geteǹ or ba-'giachi (ol geteǹ, the ox; eǹ geteǹ, the cow; 'ngiachio, the neat); of a heifer, ba-'n dasso (from en dasso); of a calf, ba-sche or ba-he (from ol or eṅg asche); for a donkey, ba-sigiria (os sigiria, the donkey), for a male calf, ba-moȯi, for a buck goat or sheep, ba-meregesch, for a mother sheep, ba-ger, for a she-goat or sheep, ba-ndare; for a she-goat, ba-gine; for a female sheep or female goat that has not yet had young, ba-ssben; for a kid or lamb, ba-lelo, for twin lambs or kids, ba-mao (1).

1. El mao, the twins.

551 576 (601) With all these designations may be addressed: the brother by the brother, the half brother by the half brother, and -- if the one addressing and the one addressed are the same age -- the father's brother, the son of the father's brother, the son of the father's sister, the son of the mother's brother, the son of the mother's sister, the son of the brother, the son of the sister. Male individuals who are close friends and the same age also use these terms of address, as soon as they have given each other the first head of livestock. The later gift of a head of livestock of another kind does not alter the form of address.

/43 cont./

601 [431] [551] As soon as the man marries another woman, each of his children present her with a head of small livestock and call her accordingly, ba-ger, ba-gine, ba-niare, ba-suben, or ba-lelo. The term of address for father-in-law is always ba-getek, for mother-in-law, ba-ger.

Brother and sister call the sister and half sister en gito. Brother and sister call the brother and half brother esiljo. The form of address for the father's brother, baba; the mother's brother, abula; the sister of the father and of the mother, lelo. The brother of another wife of the father is addressed as baba, if he is old; by his name if he is younger. The sister of another wife of the father is called lelo if she is old; en akitok if she is younger. The latter (pl. 'n akitwa) is also the term of address on the part of /43/ unmarried men for a woman in general. The uncle calls the nephew abula, the niece 'n gabulalja. The aunt calls both en gerai ai = my child.

601 605 For the terms of address of those relatives whom we designate as male and female cousins in the narrower and broader sense I was able to construct the following rules from a very large number of examples:

1. If the relationship is derived from the mother's father or from the husband of the father's sister through consanguinity or relationship by marriage, the boy calls his male cousin abula, boy and girl call the female cousin en gito before her circumcision and 'n gabulalja afterwards. The same designations are customary for (friendly) members of the lineage of the mother and of the husband of the father's sister.

2. If the relationship is based on consanguinity through the father's brothers or on membership in the same lineage, the male cousin will be called arabá by a boy, the female cousin 'n githa by boy and girl, both before and after her circumcision.

The girl calls any boy standing in a cousin relationship to her, according to one of the two rules, ol aisiho 'ng ai = the one given (me) by God.

/43 cont./

601 605 [431] The designations abula, en gijo, arabá, and 'n gība are used only as long as the above-mentioned terms of address are not affected by gifts of livestock. This explains why they are used only among children. This does not apply to the address of ainchy 'ng ai, because the girl is not in a position to make the necessary gift of livestock.

601 The son and daughter of the brother or of the sister are addressed, as long as they remain in childhood, with ng gerai ai = my child. The address for the grandfather runs ng akuja, for the grandmother koko. The grandfather calls the grandson ng akuj'ai; [431] [651] the grandmother, koko ai. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law are called by name or the terms of address derived from livestock designations.

IV.

000 Conjugal relations. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Bride price. -- Evasion of the bride price. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Wedding. -- Beginning of the marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

581 The conjugal relationships are very loose, and in some views about them the Masai stand in unfavorable contrast to their sedentary 595 [071] Negro neighbors. As among the latter -- and, to be sure, without exception (1) --

1. The so-called monogamy of the Wandrogwe is in practice the boldest polygyny.

polygyny prevails among the Masai. The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason. 581 [583] [618] There are no temporary or trial marriages; rather, marriage is a more stable relationship. The woman through the marriage passes into the family of her /44/ husband, but not into his lineage; rather she retains membership in her own lineage.

/44 cont./

584 A betrothal in earliest childhood is not infrequent among the
Masai, though also not common by far. In such cases the father
of the boy, several months after the birth of a girl, asks for her
[572] for his son. Such a betrothal is in no way binding; rather it seems
to have only the value and purpose of strengthening a friendship
between the two fathers and assuring each other of mutual aid in
case of impoverishment. It probably need scarcely be mentioned
that in connection with a betrothal in early childhood it is only a
matter of the betrothal of the boy to his later first, that is, principal,
wife. Usually the betrothal to the later principal wife is
not entered into until the boy is 20 or 22 and the girl eight to ten
years old. For the former, his father makes the proposal to the
mother of the girl, after the bridegroom himself has made sure
of the girl's consent. As soon as the mother has then obtained the
consent of her husband, she anoints the head of the bride with
butter or beef fat, as a sign that the betrothal has been accepted
and the girl is now betrothed. As such she is called esanke.
During the period of betrothal the couple do not come together;
the bridegroom avoids the kraal in which his bride lives, but, if
he should enter it, the girl hides from him. Thus the two live
completely separated from each other, and, to be sure, in two
different warrior kraals. The bridegroom, first as young warrior
[561] (ol barnoti, el barnot), then as actual warrior (ol murani, el
moran), lives with his companions and a corresponding number of
young girls in one kraal, the bride, on the other hand, with other
578 young girls and warriors in another, distant one. If the girl be-
843 comes pregnant during this time, it is regarded as a disgrace and
usually leads to dissolving the betrothal. If the latter, by way of
exception, is not the case, the betrothed must marry as soon as
possible. Otherwise the girl awaits her confinement in the hut
of an old woman from among her relatives, and after the nursing
period is over she goes to another, distant warrior kraal, in the
582 hope of finding a husband there. Only when the warrior is tired
of the military life, when his physical strength falls behind that
of the majority of his companions, does he think of getting married,
in order not long afterwards to exchange the military life

/66 cont./

582 for the contemplative idleness of the married man. But before the
583 marriage takes place the bride price is to be paid first.

As bride price (en dogitin = the things, each part of them, en dogi = the thing) he first pays the bride's father five pots of honey from which beer will be brewed, furthermore three cows and an ox. The bride's mother receives a male and a female sheep. The ox and the male sheep will be eaten at the feast taking place on the
[601] wedding day. Around that day, more often afterwards than before,
[561] the /sic/ bridegroom father brings the father-in-law a cow and the mother-in-law a female sheep that has not yet had young, whereupon the former call each other ba-gené (1).

1. Cf. Second Part, III, terms of address for relatives.

while the bridegroom and the mother-in-law call each other ba-ger
585 from now on. Every wife married later receives at the wedding
[595] from the principal wife of her husband a year-old heifer, whereupon
[431] the two call each other b'-asche, from the eldest child of her hus-
[591] band two goats or sheep, hence the address ba-ndare, and from the
[601] smaller children of four to six years old and upward a goat or a sheep each, through which the address ba-gine, ba-nchen, or ba-
583 lelo is brought about. During the period immediately after the wedding, the mother-in-law receives from the son-in-law several more pots of honey, skins for clothing, and iron wire for making
[78] leg and arm ornaments. In the family of Chief Zendeo he receives, so he told me, only a cow as bride price for one of his daughters, while the mother of the girl gets two donkeys, a bull and a cow with calf. Since the last rinderpest it has happened not infrequently that a man is not in a position to pay the customary bride price. He then gives the father-in-law only one cow and leads her to him on a rope twisted out of grass. Whereas the bridegroom or young married man delivers the gifts of livestock himself, he always sends the honey by a woman. She is either a wife married previously, his mother, his older sister, or a wife of his brother. Only when the distance is very great does he deliver the honey himself,

/45 cont./
583 not alone, however, but with the support of a friend. The honey pot
is hung on a horizontal pole, one of them grasping each end. It is
not the weight of the pot that makes this method of carrying necessary,
but an ancient custom, about whose meaning I have discovered
[556] nothing. Wealthy people often also pay up to four cows more than
usual, which is then regarded as the highest price that may be demanded.
Beauties, as well as daughters of distinguished people,
that is, of wealthy and influential people, often stand above the
[587] average price. The price for childless widows and for childless,
divorced women is the same as for young girls. For a widow who
bore daughters, on the other hand, only a male and a female head
of cattle are paid. In order that her father does not receive bride
price twice, however, he gives back from the first one as much as
the second one amounts to. For the second, third, etc. wife, just
as much is paid as for the first. If the bride price is in part deferred
for the bridegroom, the woman nevertheless passes into his possession
provisionally, and likewise the children born before the final settlement
of the bride price belong to him. If, however, he then absolutely
[586] refuses to pay the rest, the father-in-law or the mother-in-law
has the right to take back the daughter with her children in
exchange for the return of what has already been paid. The cattle
paid as bride price must be plain black or white. With the payment
[606] of the bride price, the bride withdraws from her family. In /46/
some lineages, however, there still prevails a -- so it seems --
formerly general custom, according to which the father-in-law does
not lose the right to interfere in the domestic relations of the young
couple until the son-in-law has further given him a bull. The relatives
of the bridegroom need not contribute the payment of the bride
price, but usually do it if it is necessary. The bride does not get
a dowry, just as the bridegroom does not receive a gift from his
parents or parents-in-law. If one of the betrothed dies before the
583 marriage or dissolves the betrothal, the portion of the bride price
586 that was paid is returned. If the husband turns the wife out or the
marriage remains fruitless, this has no influence on the bride price
paid, while a possible remainder not yet paid remains unpaid. On
the other hand, if a childless woman leaves her husband, the

/46 cont./

583 [586] father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter admission. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them; in this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

[431] [607] [574] On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the bridegroom gives the eldest brother of the bride a year-old heifer, each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of wives occurs, but does not result in a valid marriage, any more than does wife stealing. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her maternal hut as soon as she reaches marriageable age and runs to her love. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one course remains to the bridegroom, to leave the kraal with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will oppose with weapons anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time it deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consumed a cow, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony, [613] they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the El magesan and El kiboron do not have this possibility of self-help, for both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

582 614 178 [731] [613] In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe of her bridegroom. The livestock epidemics of the last 20 years, however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of Masai, have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, /47/ a man may marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, whereby in individual districts there is the further prerequisite that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

582 [214] [178] [585] [613] [561]

/47 cont./
by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age class (1)

1. Cf. Chapter IX of this part.

(ol boror) or to his age-class association (ol adji). The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the older sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the Masai are poor in livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between foster brother and sister is not permitted; this is regarded as [613] incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage: it is precisely in membership in the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

[562] [328] Moreover, a marriage between relatives of blacksmiths and those of nonblacksmiths is not permitted.

[587] Widows (eŋ goliai, ŋ golia) or divorced women who have living sons may not marry again, but live with men who belong to the age class of their deceased husband, if there is no other obstacle to [565] marriage between them. Difference in standing is in practice an obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man. [596] The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

585 The wedding feast, allegedly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal in which the bride's parents live.

/47 cont./

585 People gather in the vicinity of this kraal in the cool morning hours under a large shade tree, to which each of the participants brings something edible and potable, a sheep, a goat, a pot of honey, a calabash of milk or honey beer. The children belonging to the family of the bride and to her relatives drive up a head of cattle belonging to the bride's father. The head of cattle is immediately slaughtered [302] to feed the guests. Bride and groom are festively adorned, that is, above all /48/ rubbed on the upper body and head with a paint made out of beef suet and red ocher. Those present sit in a large circle, one half of which is formed by the bridegroom with the men and the other by the bride with the women and children, so that the bride [153] and groom are opposite each other. Whereas the guests partake heartily of the foods, the bridal couple may not take anything because they would become sick from it, would get a rash around their mouths, but rather they must bear patiently a flood of good teachings and advice. After finishing the banquet and the dance following it, which does not come to an end until shortly before midnight, everyone retires: the bride goes with her mother into the latter's hut, the bridegroom together with other warriors into another one. On the following day people again assemble for dancing. On this day only two sheep are slaughtered: the bridegroom brings one, his father-in-law gives the other. Women and girls rub their bodies and skin aprons with the fat of the animals. After the meal the bride is handed over to the bridegroom and the two move into their new hut, to which the man's mother brings a small child from the neighborhood. The man takes the child from her and puts it on the lap of his wife, who gives the [842] child milk to drink out of a gourd bottle. This ceremony is supposed not only to express the wish for numerous progeny, but it is also believed that it has the magic power to bring them forth.

In some regions it is customary for married people to remain together immediately after the wedding, and the wife may not leave the hut either on the wedding day or for the following five days. In others the wife goes for a time, 20 days to two months, to her mother or mother-in-law, or, if her husband already has several wives, to his principal wife, in order to be instructed in the work of the household and, with the help of her hostess, to build a hut of

/48 cont./
585 her own. Where a jus primae noctis is customary -- frequent, but
not general -- it belongs to one or two old comrades-in-arms of the
young husband. One who does not grant the jus primae noctis when
it is claimed is insultingly called ol alomâni or ol ŏmlacho (formed
from a-lŏm, that is, refuse). He refuses others what they have a
right to and must expect them to steal a few head of cattle from him
in the next few days without his being entitled to raise a complaint
about it. One who does not want to go along with this old custom,
which is said to happen, has the wedding take place without any
festivity, in order to avoid it. The bridegroom simply hands over
the bride price, whereupon the bride, without any ceremony, follows
[591] him into his already completed hut. This dwelling lies either in the
kraal of his father or in the warrior kraal occupied by the young
husband up to then and remains there until all his age mates are
married; only then do the married couple build their own kraal.

/49/ After the married couple have moved into their home, the
wife may not leave it for the next two days. It is customary for the
husband to present her with three cows and a bull during these days,
and on the third day she accompanies this livestock to the pasture, but
does not stay there. During the next three days the wife does no work;
not until the fourth day does she start it, and to be sure, with the milking
[822] of a plain black cow. According to the Masai explanation, the
plain black is the symbol for quiet seriousness, whereas bright colors
signify gaiety and lightheartedness. The woman is supposed to perform
her duties with seriousness and not neglect them, lightheartedly
rambling about, and make her husband angry by idle gossip.

763 If the marriage is dissolved by the husband's death, the widow
587 may, if she is willing, become the property of his eldest brother or
half brother; she may live with the former, whereas the latter may
marry her legally after the expiration of three or four months. Upon
586 the death of the wife, the husband pays no compensation. A divorce
may be brought about if the man drives out the woman or if the
woman runs away from the man and refuses to return. In the first
instance, the divorce is preceded by a family consultation in which
the head of the family pronounces the divorce. The woman must

/49 cont./

586 then temporarily move to her mother's, and the man has the right, in the course of the next four or five months, to state definitively [587] whether or not he wants to have the woman back. If he demands her return, she must obey; otherwise she may marry again at the end of [581] the stated period of time. The parents must then pay back the full bride price to the divorced husband, though he may refuse to accept it, and, to be sure, with the legal consequence that all the children that the woman may still bear belong to him.

Her male relatives seek to persuade a runaway -- not divorced -- wife to return, at first amicably, and, if this is of no avail, by a beating in the presence of the husband, while the husband, in that he keeps the children to whom the woman gives birth, hopes to achieve her return by means of mother love. It is said that only in the rarest cases is there a lack of success, especially since no [587] pleasant fate awaits the resisting woman. She may not legally marry [83] again, and, if she goes to another man in order to remain with him [85] permanently, the children arising from this affair belong to the man whom she left. Though the principle is valid that all children remain with the father, he almost always keeps only the boys and leaves the girls to the mother. The latter also takes along any male suckling and keeps him, but only until he is weaned. Then she must return him to his father. Divorce during a woman's pregnancy does not occur. If two divorced spouses wish to remarry, /50/ the woman returns to the man without any ceremony. Divorce is generally rather rare. Usually the man lets the woman from whom he wishes to be separated live peacefully in one of his huts, but he does not pay any attention 834 to her. Barrenness is not grounds for divorce, nor is marital infidelity [586] on the part of the woman, a concept with which the Masai ethic is not familiar (1).

1. /The following footnote is a translation of the Latin of the original source./ A husband entrusts his wife to the guest at night, while he himself spends the night outside the dwelling. To keep the wife from the guest is considered insulting. Wives are accustomed to sleeping at any time with interchanged

/50 cont./

837 /footnote 1 cont./ husbands. Babies to whom a
[851] woman has given birth from thus living with
another man belong to the husband, even though
they also call their genitor father.

847 They abort an immature fetus when the woman has been made pregnant by another who is sick or old or feeble. Remedies in the form of a potion are used, which are said to be innoxious during the first two months of pregnancy. After two months of pregnancy they wait for parturition and kill the newborn child.

833 They are accustomed to having intercourse lying on their sides, the woman's upper knee placed over the man's loins. They do not customarily cohabit except at night. They are afraid of coitus in daylight, lest the man's blood transferred to the vessels of his wife would retain nothing but water.

[864] Boys and girls already begin to practice cohabitation at the age of eight to ten.

514 It is considered extremely shameless to break wind in the presence of women.

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Confinement. -- Festivities in connection with the birth. -- Twins. -- Deformed child. -- Killing newborn children. -- Behavior of the woman in childbed. -- The newborn child. -- Childhood. -- Children's games.

843 As soon as the woman feels pregnant, the spouses separate until
853 after the nursing period, which lasts approximately 1 1/2 to 2 years.
183 Another man may not touch the woman during this period, any more
than her husband. This stipulation, however, seems to be little

/50 cont./

843 observed, since as a rule a new pregnancy ends the nursing period.
[853] The pregnant woman removes the ornaments that she previously
[183] wore, in order -- as the Masai explain this custom -- not to entice
men. During the first five months of pregnancy the woman lives as
[262] usual with respect to food and drink. Then she is given a broth of
lung, liver, and kidneys cooked with a bitter-tasting tree bark (2)

2. From *Albizzia anthelmintica*.

called *ol mokotan*, and milk, only the latter during the last month.
Through this the woman is supposed to become as exceedingly thin
as possible, so that the birth will proceed easier. She may not eat the
meat of fallen livestock. The husband during this time need not
subject himself to any special diet or special acts, but he may not go
to war, for it is believed that he would die on the way. Shortly be-
fore the delivery the husband may not leave the kraal or its immediate
[732] vicinity. If he should tease a crippled person or mock him because
of his infirmity, the awaited child would come into the world af-
844 flicted with the same defect. /51/ For a successful delivery the
[782] pregnant woman prays: *'Ng ai ndaba 'ndubuggu en tiamasi* (1)

1. Or *en diamasi*.

= "God let come out healthy -- the monster," as the unborn child is
called. The woman gives birth in her hut, which on this day may be
entered only by women and girls. A midwife (*eñ gaitoijoni*, *b
gaitoijok*) provides or performs the necessary assistance. If the new-
born child is a boy, the midwife calls out that blood should be drawn
from an ox as food for the woman in childbed; in the other case,
from a heifer. Through this the father also learns the sex of the new-
[782] born child. During the birth process the women who are in the hut
or standing around it cry to God for help and assistance in shrill, often
845 plaintive voices. The birth of a boy is more desired than that of a
[842] girl, but the greatest joy prevails at the birth of twins, especially if
both are boys. In that case the woman often keeps only the first-born
child with her, while the second one is nursed by another suitable

/51 cont./

845 wife of her husband; often, however, she also nurses both herself.
[301] Soon after birth the twins receive a leather cord trimmed with cowrie shells hung around their necks, an expression of paternal pride, so that everyone will immediately recognize the child as belonging to
[203] a pair of twins. To be sure, the Masai living in a circle of two to three days' march are well acquainted with each other and are immediately informed of every bit of news through the constant intercourse between the individual kraals. "Every Masai coming from farther away, however, upon seeing a child unknown to him, always asks first of all: "Who is his father?" The birth of triplets is said not to occur. After the birth of a deformed or dead child, the young mother is beaten by the women of the kraal and the father over-
[843] whelmed with abuse from the other men. The woman is punished because it is assumed that she practiced sexual intercourse in far ad-
[784] vanced pregnancy and through that injured the fetus. But then an unnatural birth or a stillbirth is also regarded as a punishment of God for a sin, especially as one directed against a relative, a fellow lineage or tribal member, be it through inflicting an injury or
847 neglecting a bond of friendship or love. They admit the killing of newborn children only in case the child comes into the world very frail or was conceived out of wedlock by an old, sick man. There can be no doubt, however, but that they also kill deformed children immediately after birth, for one never sees cripples among them.

844 During the birth process the women of the neighborhood have streamed together in front of the hut of the woman in childbed, in order to bring her milk or also flour. First of all the other wives of
[826] her husband hasten there, as well as the women of her kin, her lineage or tribe. Good /52/ breeding demands it of them and they comply in order not to be subjected to the mockery and abusive language of the others. When the child is brought into the world, the women of the kraal sing and dance, in order to thank 'Ng ai for the successful birth, for which they receive an ox from the father of the newborn child, which they immediately consume outside the kraal.

[illegible]

006 any guest is welcome. In the lineage of the El kiboron every newborn

851 [613] /52 cont./ In the lineage of the El Kiborŏn every newborn boy is exposed to an ordeal through which it is supposed to be shown whether or not his begetter belongs to another lineage. In the evening, when the livestock comes home, the child is laid in the entrance of the kraal so that the entire herd of cattle steps over it. If the little one is killed during this or so seriously wounded that it dies from it, it is regarded as a bastard.

846 In most districts the young mother is not obliged to live isolated in the hut for a specific number of days, but leaves it as soon as her condition permits, often the very next day. In others she may not go out of the hut during the first ten days after the delivery, during which time the woman who assisted her then does all the work for her. For four days following the birth neither fire nor household objects may be carried out of the hut. During this time the woman smears her forehead daily with white clay. She does the same when, before the ensuing recovery, before the complete reversion of the genital parts, alone or with the infant, she goes out of the immediate vicinity of the hut or of the kraal. Until the newborn child can walk, the father may not eat any food in its hut and may not enter it during the first ten days after the birth. If he has had sexual intercourse with one of his other wives, he may not touch the baby the next day. If the mother dies during the nursing period, another woman nurses the child, whereby her own children with respect to it enter into the relationship of foster brothers and sisters, regarded as consanguinity, or else it is fed cow's milk by means of a bottle.

854 The newborn baby is given a sleeping place beside that of its mother, whose leather apron serves it as an underlayer. Here the child rests, and, to be sure, on its side, not lying on its back, usually only as long as the mother is sitting beside it and during the night. Otherwise she carries the little one around with her, and, to be sure, on her back as a rule, more rarely straddling her hip or on her arm. The latter way of carrying is customary only with very small children, say during the first month of life. Even while the mother is working, her child remains on her back, held fast by her upper apron. Only if the little one makes its discomfort known by prolonged crying does she take it to a woman nearby to be quieted or sets it -- if it is somewhat bigger -- on a clean and safe spot on

/53 cont./

854 the ground. The father almost never carries the child on his arm, but only picks it up now and then /55/ for a moment. As soon as the child cries, even slightly, the mother, or in her absence another [533] woman, gives it the breast. If this does not help, one tries to quiet the little one or lull it to sleep by rocking it in the arms or by singing. One such familiar lullaby is the following: oh, jejai, tobolo l aiserif baba telai lńg an ai kitok ai; in free translation: Oh, you my little samal, I say to you, grow and become big in my big kraal. 539 854 583

Another song, which, like most songs, first originated during the singing and refers to recent events, runs roughly: "What then do these El mulelyan want here (two women belonging to the tribe of the El mulelyan were standing nearby), they who did not bring the woman in childbed (that is, in this case, the woman singing the song) anything to eat? The Mulelyan are fools because they are not pleased about the children. In the future the woman in childbed will have to sit down in the shade in order not to feel so hungry, or she will /54/ have to ask for food in the kraal of a warrior who brought home booty from a war against the El detua." In the last words there is mockery insofar as the brother of one of the two El mulelyan women, along with other warriors, had been recently driven back by the El

142 301 854 291 ←

Merker phot.

Ill. 15. Masai woman with child on her back.

/54 cont./

539 533 854 [101] datua (1)

1. The Masai give this name to the inhabitants of the Umbugwe area on the southern end of Lake Manjara.

during an attempted livestock raid.

861 The child is probably never beaten before it is at least two years old. But even at an older age beatings are very rare and then never cruel. Boxing the ears or blows on the head are generally forbidden because they might in jure the health. If correction is necessary, the mother -- and, to be sure, only she -- strikes the child rather lightly on the training surface with the belt that she wears after each confinement. [292]

855 As soon as the children are weaned, they are left to themselves the whole day and, appear in the maternal hut only for eating, drinking, and sleeping. They develop rapidly, are lively, bright, and often quite pretty, if their faces are not marred by running eyes. The latter is very common, for the countless flies in the kraals prefer to settle on the nostrils and eyes of the children. It is only natural that they quickly lose their childish innocence, if one pictures the life that surrounds them. 857 524 There is a time, however, when they still enjoy naiveté and amuse themselves with childish games. Little girls like to play with dolls or also "cooking." A foot-long fruit of the *Kigelia aethiopica*, similar to a liver sausage in appearance, is the doll. Sometimes it is carried on the back, sometimes held at the breast, then anointed with water or earth, in place of fat, or, with the assumption that it is crying, rocked in the arms or on the back. For cooking, they make themselves small clay pots out of the clay of the termite hills, place them on three small stones, and fill them with grass and leaves, which are supposed to represent their favorite foods. They also imitate the grinding of flour by rubbing sand between two stones. With the fruits of the *Solanum campylacanthum* they play at catch in twos or by turns, whereby the one who drops the "ball" must let the other drink a couple of swallows of milk out of his gourd bottle. Boys and girls also play "husband and wife"

/54 cont./
857 524 together. They build a small hut about a foot high in the customary
shape, and, since they themselves cannot get into it, they place a
few little stones in the doorway as their children. A pile of the
aforementioned Solanum fruits represents their stock of cattle and
donkeys, and another one of small stones signifies their herd of goats
and sheep. Small pieces of wood represent the calabashes and other
household equipment. The boy now drives the livestock to pasture,
while his little wife cooks the food. Then he returns /55/ home and
the two eat together. Meanwhile they decide that the pasture is no
longer good and they must move on. But the Solanum "donkeys" are
unable to carry the things, so they quickly tie a bast string to a piece
of dry cow dung and thus make a sledge. Then everything is piled
on it and the journey starts. In a few minutes the sledge is broken
857 526 and the game is over. If several boys are together, they like to play
war. They divide up into two, three- or four parties of equal strength,
and each builds its kraal out of twigs, in which the livestock, as
previously described, finds its place. Then the parties make surprise
attacks on one another, the one steals the livestock of the other,
the latter pursues the victor in order to recover the booty from it,
and so on, until a few blows falling too roughly end the game, and it
degenerates into a little row. Small boys often go out hunting with
sharpened sticks and small bows and arrows for lizards, rats, and
similar animals. They are then very proud over a success, and
dance, sing, and boast, as they see this done by the warriors when
they come back from an expedition. In the last two or three years
before circumcision a fight for a piece of meat set out as a reward
for the winners represents the favorite game of the boys. Two
opposing parties fight over it, armed with sticks.

145 Puberty sets in at about the age of 12.

/55 cont./

VI.

000 Names -- Male and female names. -- Meaning of the names. -- Giving names to male individuals, festivities, examples of names. -- Giving names to female individuals, festivities, examples of names.

551 A great part of the names used today is of ancient origin. Some brave warrior or an esteemed man, whom perhaps an old man has known or who lives on only in tales, had a certain name, which is then given again and again to children or adults. Its meaning is not known, perhaps that hero was also named after another, without anyone's knowing an explanation for the meaning and origin of the name. Other names are derived from origin, descent, experiences, -- physical or character traits, trees, etc., or signify flattery or, finally, refer to personal favorites in food, clothing, ornaments, and weapons. In these names, too, the attachment to the old can be recognized, since the designations from which they are formed are often no longer used today at all and also are only little known. Male and female names are known, and others are given in unaltered form to both sexes. The names of more generally well-known, older men are also /56/ feminized by prefixing the syllable en or eng. When parents use the names of their children who are at a young age, they add to the male name lai, to the female one ai, that is, my. Deceased persons who left no descendants are not mentioned by name, but rather one says the deceased son or the deceased daughter of N. (852) There are no special names for twins. A child born with extra fingers or toes is often given the name Negianaujik. If one asks anyone his name, he usually looks away and lets another one standing beside him answer.

553 Usually before a boy's upper incisors come through, but at this time at the latest, his mother chooses a name. The day of this name-giving is often -- not always -- celebrated with a festival, the ol genañ l en dunehe, to which the married men and women among the relatives are invited and are regaled with beef and honey beer. For [302] the festival the child's head is shaved for the first time, as is the mother's for the first time after her confinement. The hair of both is placed under the latter's sleeping place. Toward three o'clock in the

/56 cont./

553 afternoon the festive company sits down in a circle under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal, half of it made up of the men and the other half of women. The infant to be baptized sits on the lap of its mother, who, along with the other women, is still deliberating over the choice of a name. A neighbor suggests that they should name the boy [illegible], that is, the short one, because he is still quite short for his age, whereas another reminds them of the joy that the mother had when she found an ostrich egg on the steppe a few days before her delivery, and opines that they might give the little one the name [illegible] (from [illegible] = the egg). After the women have been chatting back and forth in this manner for a while, amid laughter, an older brother of the woman (1)

1. That it is he who does this, and not the husband, is probably to be understood as a survival from matriarchal times, and likewise that the mother, not the father, gives the first name.

gets up and asks her what the child should now be called. She mentions the name Ol [illegible] = cattle owner (2). [551]

2. Obsolete in this meaning: the name Ol [illegible] now means that its bearer, for the price of a head of cattle, had his freedom purchased from the slave state into which he had fallen as a result of a cattle epidemic and famine.

which the old one immediately announces to the gathering, whereupon the latter give a cheer for the "baptized" infant and cry out [illegible] (acquire cattle and small livestock). Then the mother hangs a chain of large and small beads ([illegible]) around the little one's neck. Now the entire company stands up and moves in single file toward the entrance of the kraal. Here lie the thorny branches that are pulled into the entrance at night to shut up the kraal. They are danced around with short

/56 cont./

553 555 538 791 stamping steps, whereby, singing. It is prayed to 'Ng ai that he may let the boy become big and /57/ make a strong warrior out of him, one who will capture much livestock and then in old age may own a kraal as large as this one is here; then the people enter the kraal where the men again apply themselves to finishing the honey beer, while the women amuse themselves with dancing, for which they sing with shrill voices songs of praise and prayer for 'Ng ai. The success of a festival is judged by the degree that the men's intoxication and the women's gaiety reach at the end of it. Soon after the first name-giving, the second follows, at which the boy receives a name from his father, by which only the latter calls him. More rarely

137 535 291

C. G. Schillings photo.

Ill. 18. Dancing women.

553 a small festival is also celebrated here. The most important name-giving does not take place until the child can walk. On this occasion the boy receives the name that he bears as his principal name for his whole life, and, to be sure, an elder brother of the mother or,

/57 cont./

553 lacking such, some older man of her lineage or tribe, gives it to him. The festival that is celebrated in this connection is very similar to the one described above at the first name-giving, but considerably more sumptuous. It is never lacking, whereas the other one is often omitted.

He receives his next name as a warrior, after his return from a campaign in which he has killed or seriously wounded one or more enemies. /58/ In full battle array, but without weapons, the [514] [536] warriors assemble toward evening in their kraal; they squat together, with a large number of young girls standing around, while those of them who are to receive the warrior baptism perform war dances with astonishing endurance, spear and shield in hand. After the new names have been agreed upon and have been called out to the ones concerned, they are celebrated in improvised texts. The names refer to warrior virtues, military events, or even costumes that the ones honored today wore on the last campaign. This festivity is repeated on each of the next four or five days in a neighboring kraal, to which the ones newly named wander with a number of their comrades and a crowd of young girls. Thus the new names quickly become generally known and familiar.

551 Names that the mother or father give to their small sons, besides the ones previously mentioned, are the following: Keigo = the long one who can reach up high; Lesegge, from en segengei = iron wire; [illegible], after the like-named area; Jilala, after a former chief of this name; Barsaiho, after the cloud of dust that the cattle stir up while being driven, may the son acquire so many cattle that their cloud of dust is very great; Ol shgonko = pesa, the copper coin commonly used in East Africa and worth two pfennigs. For a time it was [301] very popular among the Masai as an ornament and was worn on a small chain or on wire in the upper rim of the ear; Lebeleb = thick lip. Names that boys received as principal names at the age of four or five are: Lemeroni = the clever one; Kaboga or Saibog = the fat one; Naonakari = the goat-milk drinker; Aolaja or Mmaraja = darling; Ngaija = given by God; Nadikeri, after a tree called olkeri, whose

/58 cont./

551 names are names: Ol oschoenga = the herd owner; Ol ngonja kitok = big head; 'Lebati, after a like-named area; Seidim = the one who can do everything; 'Leilingo = the one who acquires many cattle; 'Lemusiru, from ol musiru = the baobab (Adansonia digitata).

As warrior names I found: Kitiaxia = the brave one; Meyeaqua = the seriously wounded one; Jabgai = the thin one; Ol gindigi = the joy-bringer; Ol aipuki = the terrible one from whom everyone flees; Mairi-ol-ngera = lion-skin cap; En dindiri = big spear; Saba-o-naiga = the ornamented one; Megenjenaiga = the gaily clothed one; Mesuloggo = the fleet-footed one; Pienaiga = red cloth; Karienaiga = white and red cloth; Selenjo = the impetuous one.

552 As a married man, the man is named first of all after his first-born child, son or daughter, for example, menye Seidim or baba Seidim = father of Seidim, menye Leilingo or baba Leilingo = father of Leilingo, but only as long as the child is living. After its death he is named in the same way after the eldest of his living children, and so on. After the death of his father and grandfather, the older man also adopts their names.

/59/ The name that the boy received as a baby he bears only until he is given his principal name. In later life he bears this as well as his name received as a warrior and that of his father. Sometimes the one is more often used, sometimes the other. One must therefore know just about the whole family history of a man in order to know immediately who is meant by a name mentioned in conversation.

553 The Masai are not quite so extravagant, though still always very generous, with the names that a girl and woman bear. At the age of a few months the girl is given her first name by her mother. This name-giving is celebrated in exactly the same way as was described above for that of a boy. Despite the fact that the girl can never acquire livestock herself, the wording of the festival saying for a female infant to be "baptized" is the same and in this case means: may your brothers and your later husband give you much livestock.

/58 cont./

553 As soon as the girl can walk she is given a second name, and, to be sure, by her father. For this a festival just like the preceding one is celebrated in some regions, in others a smaller one, in which only the older women of the kraal take part. On this occasion the girl sits beside her mother or, if the latter is expecting a child, beside another wife of her father. Only the father calls the girl by this name; all other people and even the mother call her by the first one, which therefore remains her principal name. More rarely one finds the custom that the girl receives yet a third name during childhood. Where it exists, the mother, as well as the relatives and friends of the girl calls her by the first name, the father by the second one, and casual acquaintances and strangers by the third one. This third name-giving is also celebrated by means of a little festival.

The girl receives the fourth name, as a wife, from her husband immediately after her marriage. Only he calls her by it, or in place of it also simply "my wife," e' ŋgorojeni ai, whereas other people designate her as before or as the wife of N. After the birth of her first child the woman is named after it, for example, ŋgoto Sendēo = mother of Sendēo. If the child dies, the mother is again named as she was before its birth. In later life she is always named after her oldest living child or simply Koko, that is, old one.

551 The author found as first names of girls: Setuuaŋgo (from ol ssuaŋgu = the banana, sweet person); Sailege = the one who can milk well; Siom, this is what one calls the smacking of lips when drinking milk to express its tastiness; Sikoni, after a like-named cow; Saniai, after the name of a plum-like fruit; Sagen = favorite food; Sangeti, from the word engeti = the stick; Kidjabo = the nimble one; Sadoiga, a word whose meaning is unknown.

/59/ Second names for girls are: Nasoti, contraction of nanna ai = my mother; Ei gotai ai = my darling; Senongu = the light-skinned one, whose skin has the color of dark coffee with milk; Sakasoni or Songoroi = the curly one; Sainan, after a like-named ones; Sarrinnga, named after a cow. Of unknown meaning: Nakita.

/33 cont./

551 Third names for girls: [illegible] or = the sweeper, from [illegible], to sweep; [illegible], Ol [illegible], [illegible], after like-sounding trees; [illegible], from [illegible] or [illegible] = to rain through into the house; [illegible] = the way; [illegible] = the one who fell down ([illegible] = to fall; [illegible] = I have fallen); [illegible], after a similar sounding call with which one calls back the goats and sheep that have strayed from the herd in the pasture; [illegible] = the thick-footed one.

[585] Names that women received after their marriage are: [illegible], that is, the wife who comes from the Arusa area, as the Masai call the Gross-Aruscha /Great Arusha/ area at Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where many Masai found refuge in the famine. [illegible], after a former great warrior named Ol [illegible]; similarly formed [illegible] from Ol [illegible].

VII.

000 Circumcision of the boys. -- Point in time. -- The circumcision years, festivities at the end of them. -- Day of circumcision. -- Operation. -- Feast. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound. -- Circumcision of the girls. -- Point in time. -- Operation. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound.

881 [815] According to the belief of the Masai, circumcision was introduced by a command of God. After circumcision boys and girls are regarded as adults. The former are supposed to be circumcised as soon as they are strong enough for participation in a war expedition, that is, at the age of 13 to 16. Sometimes it is somewhat earlier, if the boy is particularly well developed, somewhat later if the father, lacking any other labor force, cannot spare him in the tending of the small livestock. Circumcision takes place later for poor sons of poor people or for propertyless orphans. [402] Namely, for the meat feasts held by the circumcised youths each one in turn has to provide a head of cattle; he must therefore either own it himself or have a father who will give it to him. [564] If he lacks both, the boy first tries to acquire a small stock of cattle by tending herds for the well-to-do, and until then he remains uncircumcised. Such boys are called ol [illegible]. This word means "herdsman," but signifies that it is a matter of someone who tends the livestock of other people for pay, like the Biblical word "hireling."

/60 cont./

881 [791] The circumcision of boys is a public affair and is ordered by the ol oiboni. With the issuing of his order, the circumcision years (? ol [illegible] ? [illegible]) begin, that is, the following four to five /61/ years during which the boys may be circumcised. In all

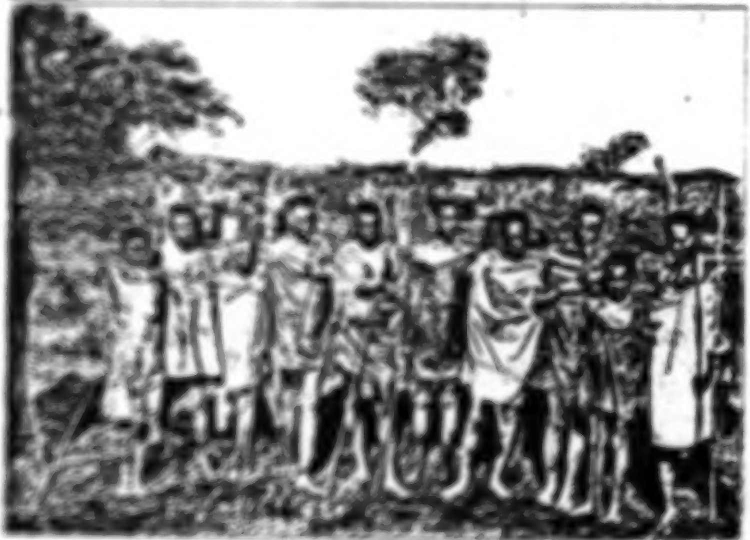
[634] the districts the old men now hold consultations and set a definite day (1)

[613] 1. The circumcision of the boys belonging to the lineage of the El kiboron always takes place on the 30th day of the Masai month.

for the circumcision of the first division of the boys in question. Similarly, later, in the following years, the circumcision days, usually only one in each year, will be determined for the following divisions of boys. It should be mentioned here, beforehand that all boys circumcised during a series of circumcision years form an age class (ol

[561] [791] boror) and that this age class is given a definite name by the ol oiboni. The circumcision period is ended by the ol oiboni ordering the en [illegible]. This is a festival which is celebrated by the first boys in

291 742



Bl. 17. Masai boys.

C. G. Schillings phot.

/61 cont./

881 question for the next circumcision period. These choose for this, as the site of the festival, a recently built family kraal, which is

[292] then designated as ehg aś 'n aibage 'l aijok. Decked out with a

[535] costume in imitation of the warriors, but without weapons and, in-

[533] stead, a long stick in the right hand, the boys amuse themselves with dance and song in the vicinity of the kraal. When they crowd into the kraal after the first dance, in order to moisten their parched throats with milk, they are /62/ sprinkled with honey beer by an old man standing at the entrance and congratulated with the words: en dobollo, en daret ijôk, en dabe loncho, that is, roughly: may you become ever more numerous, make us rich, and bring prosperity to the country. During the festival the boys choose a spokesman or speaker (ol aigwenani) from their midst, whose task is to train them in comradeship and corps spirit. When the festival has lasted two days, the boys move into the various neighboring areas in order to

881 repeat it there. In this way an ol gebâta often lasts a month. It is

842 also to be mentioned that very many women appear at these festivals, and especially all who have up to then remained barren. The former appear in part as mothers of the celebrating boys, in part as companions of the barren ones, and the latter for their part come in order to have themselves pelted by the boys with -- fresh cattle dung, because through that they will become fruitful, according to a con-

881 viction prevailing generally among the Masai. In each of the following four to five circumcisionless years ('l ari ondumyaki 'l aijok) a

[231] similar festival is celebrated. It should be mentioned further that the cattle whose meat is used to feed the participants at the ol gebâta festival are not killed, as is customary, by a stab in the neck, but rather by suffocation.

Let us now consider the circumcision festival:

[301] A few weeks beforehand one already sees the boys, adorned with as much ornamentation as possible, singing and dancing every day in their own and the neighboring kraals, through which they express their joy over soon being able to enter the privileged standing of the

[302] warriors. On the day before the operation the boy's head is shaved, and the hair is thrown under the bed of the children in the maternal

[292] hut. The boy takes off his skin cape and ornaments and dresses himself

/82 cont./

[881] [292] in a long leather apron reaching to the feet (ol [illegible], ol [illegible]), which his mother has made for him for this purpose. On the following day all the boys to be circumcised appear before sunrise at a place in the vicinity of a kraal, chosen by the three or four operators needed each time. The warriors also assemble there at the same time in order to be present at the operation. Since the latter is very painful, the coolest part of the day is chosen. The boys pour cold water over each other, in order to become numb. The operation, [752] [887] which is professionally performed by old men, especially Wandorobo, is the following /the following paragraph has been translated from the Latin of the original source/:

[881] [304] After the outer skin of the penis has been drawn back and the inner lamella of the foreskin nearest the back of the glans has been cut around with a knife, the glans lies in an elongated sheath, which is then cut on top so that the glans passes through. Half of the skin that thus hangs far down below the glans is removed, and the rest grows together within 14 days and, after healing, looks like an uvula (1).

1. The following should also be mentioned here /the rest of the footnote has been translated from the Latin/: In order to look cut (circumcised), boys sometimes smear the glans with the juice of an herb of the genus Euphorbia, called "ol [illegible]." The swelling glans prevents the foreskin from sliding forward.

[812] /83/ A finger-long, pointed, and double-edged knife serves as instrument. During the operation the boy sits with legs apart on the [752] leather apron spread out on the ground. After it, the wounded part is washed with milk, which, caught in the apron together with the blood lost, is carried by the circumcised boy, who strides backwards for this, into his mother's hut and is poured on the ground there. An [866] [626] agent to staunch the blood is not used. During the circumcision itself the parents of the boy remain in their hut, for if the latter moans or cries out from the pain, they are punished with abusive

[illegible] /83 cont./
words and blows by the assembled warriors, because they did not rear their son to have the hardening and self-control necessary for a warrior, while the weakling is reviled for a long time afterwards as _olkirre_ = coward, or _olkiliel_ = the bad one. After the circumcision all the men of the neighborhood gather in the kraal, where they are [illegible] regaled with meat and honey beer by the fathers of the ones just circumcised, after the latter have kindled a fire with juniper twigs (_Juniperus procera_). The festival is called _ol ogôr l ol aiyok geenka_, that is, the festival of the circumcised boys. [illegible] Unbelievable amounts (1)

1. I once observed that my four Masai boys together at an evening meal ate over 40 pounds of lean meat.

of raw or half-cooked meat slightly roasted at the open fire are consumed in the shortest time by the married men and women, whereas the warriors neither eat meat nor drink honey beer, but only take [522] some fresh milk. People joke and laugh and everyone seems to [521] want to outshout the others. The warriors boast of alleged heroic deeds in former wars and discuss the prospects of the ones circumcised that day on their first military expedition, which will perhaps take them to this or that region, where they themselves had made an attack only a short time before. The fathers dream of their sons' future heroic deeds and are happy at the thought of the rich booty with which [illegible] the budding warriors will augment the paternal herds. Suddenly the glances of a few who had just been joking darken and turn toward a distant hut at whose door a solitary old man is sitting. They jump up and go toward him with quick steps. The angry expression on their faces matches their rough and abruptly uttered invectives and threats, in which one hears the reproaches that the old man has brought up his son to be a weak coward, who during the circumcision betrayed his pain by a twitching of facial muscles and a half-suppressed groan, which they, however, jestingly compare to the roar of pain of a bull being cut. The old man has quickly fled from their imprecations into his hut, and his attackers vent their wrath on two gourd bottles of honey beer left standing, which they knock over and [illegible] /53 cont./

[516] [562] people underfoot. The one now married had also wanted /tr/ to regale guests with it on that day, but no one came to him whom we showed himself to be a [illegible]. While the old people, as long as [536] [613] there is something to eat and drink, are only interested in that, the warriors, already early in the afternoon, start to dance and sing with the young girls and amuse themselves in this way into the night. Not until about ten o'clock do they go back to their kraal, to which the girls presently follow them, after they have begged for a little more milk, which they take along to their lovers. /Pl. 15 appears here./

[886] The circumcised boys, soon after the completed operation, went into the huts of their mothers and stayed there for seven days, until a superficial healing of the wound has taken place. In order to hasten this, they are particularly well cared for and are given only milk, [411] [625] blood, and meat. During the following period, until complete healing, they roam in small bands with bow and arrow -- they do not use the ordinary bows, but ones only about half as long, made only for this occasion; the arrows used with them have a wax ball at the tip -- through steppe /tr/ and forest, in order to shoot small birds, the skins of which they string by the heads on a cord, which they place garland-like around forehead and occiput. Between the bird [301] [302] skins the ol sipolio (sing. ol sipolioi) -- as the newly circumcised ones are called during their convalescence -- stick an ostrich feather on each side of their heads and paint their faces with white clay (en turoto). On the first day they go out, they slaughter a white goat-[262] buck on the steppe. After they have roasted and eaten its meat, they throw the gnawed bones into the fire. This meal is called ol giné l ol barnoti (ol giné = the goat buck, ol barnoti means the one with whose invitation they make the feast). Every evening after their excursions they return to the kraal and to the huts of their mothers.

[illegible] As soon as the young girl, who until then has lived in the warrior kraal in the most unrestrained freedom, concludes from certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

/Illustration from p. 64 of the original source./

[illegible]

Ill. 10. Boys just circumcised [illegible]

881 | 871 | [85 cont.]
indications that she is about to become a woman, she returns to her

882 | 871 | 301

[illegible]

Ill. 19. Young Masai girls.

881 | (871) mother's hut. If several girls of the kraal are in the same situation, the mothers agree [86] on a definite day (1)

(841) 1. The circumcision of the girls belonging to the El kiboron always takes place on the 24th day of the Masai month.

for which they then secure an old woman experienced in circumcision. Otherwise they wait a few more weeks; perhaps a girl who is ready will will be found, since one need not necessarily wait for the aforementioned indications, etc. If by chance a circumcision of the boys is about to take

/88 cont./

[881] place, they wait until that day. Shared pain is half the pain, and a certain coyness is part of good breeding among the brown Masai maidens too. The circumcision of boys and girls on one day takes place at different spots, and, while no female creature may come near the boys' place, so too no man or boy may enter the hut where, in the presence of her mother, the daughter is circumcised. On the day before the latter's head has been shaved and her hair tossed under the skin of the bed. She has removed all her ornaments and has clothed herself with a long apron (ol [illegible], ol [illegible]), which her mother has made. The latter is now trying /89/ to make the parts coming into question numb with cold water and, during this, encouraging her little daughter sitting on the ground with beating heart. The operation is a simple excision of the clitoris and is performed with a sharpened piece of sheet iron (ol [illegible]) such as is used to shave the head. Then the small wound is washed with milk, which, together with the blood shed, seeps into the ground. A blood-staunching agent is not used here either. Until complete healing the girl remains, as en [illegible] (pl. en [illegible]), in the hut of her mother. Instead of the bird skins and ostrich feathers that the boys put on, she wears around her forehead a ring plaited out

[302] →

[301]
[378] →

[762] →

[371]
[361]
[142] ←

Jos. Georg phot.

Ill. 30. Half-grown Masai girl.

[304]
[412]

[762]

[301]
[302]

/87 cont./

881 [301] [302] of grass (ol máriaas), into the front of which she sticks an ostrich feather, and, just like them, paints her face with white clay. On the circumcision day the women of the kraal arrange a feast among themselves, for which the girl's father has given a head of cattle and her mother has brewed honey beer. As soon as the bridegroom [583] of the en siangiki (pl. en siangikin) -- this is the title for a circumcised girl and for a young woman -- learns that she is well again, he brings her father the last remainder of the bride price, whereupon nothing more stands in the way of the wedding.

The above-mentioned years counted as circumcision years for the boys do not come into consideration for the circumcision of the girls, as, indeed, is in the nature of the matter; rather, they may be circumcised at any time.

VIII.

560 Age grades. -- Designation of the members of the different age grades of both sexes. -- The terms of address, effected by membership in an age grade, among male individuals, female individuals, and male and female individuals between each other.

561 As among almost all culture-poor peoples, so too among the Masai the social position is assigned to the single individual in general [562] by the age grade to which he belongs. That this is shown most clearly in the life of the man is explained by the mere fact that he is the lord living for his own pleasure; far below him stands the woman, who has a right to live only because of her labor power for him and her ability to bear children.

Until circumcision the male individual is regarded as a boy (ol aioni, ol aiok); during the preparation for circumcision and until after the healing of the wound, he is called ol sipolio (pl. ol sipolioi). Thereafter, for a space of time of about two years, he is introduced to the warrior's life and during this period is called ol barnoti (pl. ol barnot). When this apprenticeship, during which folly and youthful exuberance are supposed to spend themselves, is over, he is regarded as a full-fledged warrior, ol murani (pl. el moran). As such the Masai spends his "best years," until he leaves the warrior standing at the age of 28-30 in order to get married and, as ol moruo (ol moruak), 561 /49/ to enjoy, to the end of his life, respect and esteem based on his life's experience and his father- or fatherlike-position, which he occupies in relation to his immediate and more extended sphere.

A female individual, until her circumcision, is regarded as a girl (en dito, n doye), is called en sipolio (pl. en sipolion) during the circumcision, until the healing of the wounds; after that she is first called a siangiki (pl. siangikin), after the beginning of the menopause 'n [illegible] (pl. n [illegible]) or en [illegible] (pl. n [illegible]), the latter term also often used formerly instead of e' [illegible] = married woman, whereas now one only rarely hears it with this meaning. As soon as her head hair turns gray, she is called Koko = old woman.

592
241
586

Ill. 22. Man and woman with child.

562
576

The connections between age grade and social position are to be discussed later. Here those are to be discussed first of all the terms of address that are customary between members of the same age grade and of different age grades and -- if an injury or insult is not intended -- must be used.

/32 cont./

561
576
The terms of address between male individuals

[illegible] = [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] = [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] = [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] = [illegible] [illegible]

/33/

[illegible] = [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] = [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] = [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] = [illegible] [illegible]

342
591
157

[illegible]

Ill. 33. Older men.

142
591
301
302

[illegible]

Ill. 34. Masai girls from the child to the young woman.

[illegible]

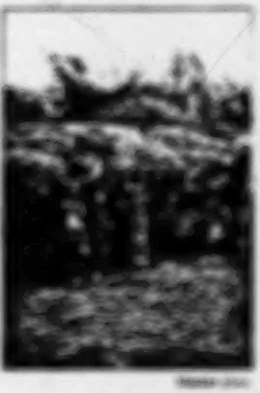
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if slight age difference.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if greater age difference.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].

The terms of address between female individuals

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] (= mother) or [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], which means that the husbands on both sides belong to the same [illegible] or [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if only slight age difference.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if greater age difference.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] (= child).



Ill. 54. Mother with children.

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible] (= my child).

The terms of address between male and female individuals

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] or [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] or [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if slight age difference.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible] if greater age difference.

19. [illegible] (1909-ca.1908) 1910 [illegible]

/59 cont./

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if slight age difference.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if former is considerably younger.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if only slight age difference.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if greater age difference, in which case the girl usually calls mockingly [illegible], a pygmy, little man.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible], if slight age difference.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if the latter is considerably younger.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible].

/75/

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if slight age difference.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if the latter is considerably older.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if slight age difference.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if the latter is considerably younger.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible].

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if slight age difference.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], if the latter is considerably younger.
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible].

/1) cont./

[56] en dito to ol múrani [illegible].

576 e siangiki to ol múrani [illegible], or ol múrani, if the latter is almost the same age as her husband.

[illegible] to ol múrani ol múrani.

[577] Friends often address each other with ol [illegible] or ol [illegible] = my friend.

Instead of the address term 'n gitok, an ol barnoti or an ol múrani says to an e siangiki whom he has known from childhood 'siangiki or e siangiki, whereas an ol moruo in the same case uses the address term [illegible]. The term of address "'n gitok" for an e siangiki is more polite than "siangiki," the latter used toward a strange e siangiki would be downright impertinent and rude (1).

1. In places the term e siangiki also has the meaning "married woman"; thus, at different times I heard a young woman call out coldly to one not entitled to use this designation when he used it: "I am not your e siangiki."

The classical term address en [illegible], used for 'n gitok, is often regarded nowadays as affectedly polite.

[580] [581] [598] The terms of address required by kinship or livestock-gift take precedence over the above.

/72 cont./

IX.

000 Age classes. -- The annual courses of an age class. -- Age-class association. -- Organization of the circumcised. -- Choice of speaker and of the ol aunoni; their activity. -- Festivities at the formation of an age-class association. -- Significance of the age classes. -- Division of an age class. -- Names of age classes.

561 All the boys circumcised during a series of circumcision years belong to an age class (ol boror). Within these the boys form, since they are circumcised at yearly or somewhat longer intervals, annual courses by way of divisions.

The first annual course of an age class is the el [illegible] [illegible]; they are followed by the el [illegible]-[illegible]; the youngest annual course of the ones circumcised during the circumcision years is the el [illegible]. They are followed by a fourth one, the el [illegible]. These are circumcised only after /73/ the circumcision years have officially ended by the celebration of the ol [illegible] festival ordered by the ol oiboni. Anyone who wishes to be circumcised after this festival may not take part in celebrating the above-mentioned festival, otherwise his circumcision is not permitted.

Every two age classes together form an association (ol aji) in which the older is designated as the right circumcision ([illegible] [illegible]), the younger one as the left circumcision ([illegible] [illegible]). Each of these has definite rules forbidding for them the uttering of certain words or the enjoyment of certain foods. The [illegible] [illegible] may not utilize head nor tail pieces of slaughtered livestock and do not say [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] for goat-head, /[illegible] [illegible]/ but rather [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]; moreover, they say el [illegible] for hand, and not el [illegible], and for tail pieces, not el [illegible], but rather en [illegible]. The others may not [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], and for arrow poison they say en [illegible], instead of o [illegible]. It is an insult, which often leads to immediate violence, if the one does or says the things forbidden to the other, which are called en [illegible], in the latter's presence.

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[73 cont.]

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Ill. 33. Warriors.

561 It is to be inserted here that the girls who have been circumcised in the period from the beginning of a series of circumcision years to the beginning of the next series are counted in the age class to which the boys circumcised within the same period up to the [illegible] festival are reckoned.

[74] So long as the members of an age class still belong to the warrior standing, those living in each area have their own head, the speaker (ol aigwenani), whom we shall meet again in the warrior level. But if those belonging to one ol boeh are all married, they are given a head for the entire district, the ol aunoni, whom not only the people of his age class, but also those of all younger age classes are obliged to obey. It is the business of the ol oiboni to arrange matters so that in each district only one holds this rank. The discussions with regard to his appointment begin even before all the ol boeh members have left the warrior standing. The speakers of the district go to the ol oiboni and put their request before him.

/[illegible] cont./

After he has examined all the [illegible] of his [illegible] for a while, he decides that [illegible], the son of [illegible], is to become ol [illegible]. This session is secret, and the [illegible] also have a duty to keep its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol [illegible] who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the [illegible] have returned home again to their area, they call together all the ol [illegible] members there and, with them, again set out for the ol [illegible]. There a very large hut (ol [illegible]) is built there. When it is finished, the [illegible] take a number of [illegible] into their confidence and tell them who has been named ol [illegible]. Then all gather in the hut, in the centre of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads ([illegible]) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire ([illegible]), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his [illegible], [illegible] ([illegible]) of the warrior, and in its place drape around him the long [illegible] of the married (the [illegible]). Finally all those present cheer the new ol [illegible] and cry out [illegible], that is, remain pure, living at [illegible]. The latter in general [illegible] that every ol [illegible] has remained pure: if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is obliged to give to the ol [illegible] visiting him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous property. In his kraal the [illegible] who keeps the [illegible] at work is [illegible], and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

After the ol [illegible] festival is over, the other ol [illegible] members [illegible] a long camp ([illegible]), whereupon they [illegible] usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol [illegible] himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

/72 cont./

561 634 578 The principal activity of the ol aunoni consists in keeping the people of his district together and protecting them from splitting up, which could be more or less disastrous for the Masai. Occasion for this is furnished by both the constant petty jealousies and friction between the warriors of the various areas, who, for example, not infrequently plan two war expeditions at the same time, instead of concentrating on one, and the short-sighted selfishness of many old men, who are inclined, in the selection of new pasturing places, to think only of the quality of the pasture, instead of also considering whether the warriors are in a position to protect the desired place from hostile attacks. An enemy's success affects not only the one who loses all his property in connection with it, but is a disgrace for the whole people. [illegible] In such cases the ol aunoni asserts his authority. To one who does not obey him, the authority of the ol aunoni is, as a rule, made clear by the village by means of a beating. [illegible] Besides this activity, the ol aunoni, if necessary, acts as an intermediary between the people of his district and the ol oiboni, and sometimes his decision is requested in legal disputes, but since in this case he is guided very little by legal principles, but rather by political [illegible], one cannot actually designate him as a judicial personage. The conjecture that the ol aunoni might have something to say in matters pertaining to the cult or might make magic [illegible] is obvious, but does not prove to be true.

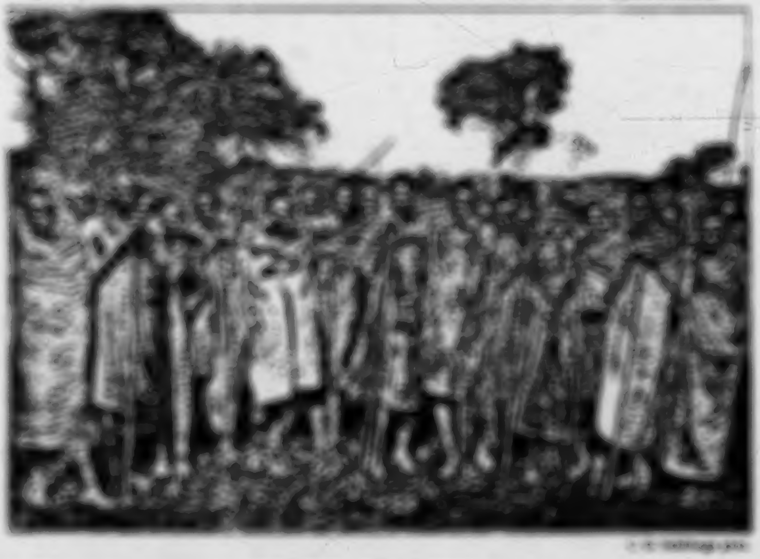
[illegible] We have seen above that every two age classes form an association. If the members of this association have all been married a long time, the ol oiboni binds them even closer in that he bestows upon the two age classes, each of which -- which is to be said beforehand -- has its own name, a common name. [illegible] This takes place at the ol [illegible] festival. For this all the men of the association gather near the ol oiboni and build a large kraal in the vicinity of his village. Everyone brings honey for beermaking or a head of cattle for the feast. The latter is then killed by suffocation, as at the ol geteko festival. The festival consists of the consumption of these things, whose climax is formed by the declaration of the ol oiboni that these associated [illegible] belong to one association (ol [illegible]), which only now actually exists and are to have a common association name.

/70 cont./

95 70 The strict organization of the Masai war power rests primarily on the institution of the age classes. With circumcision the youth enters the army to perform his -- the universal -- military service, and, to be sure, as ol barnoti. His age class is that of the recruits and usually forms, together with the next higher one, that of the warriors, the peacetime strength of the standing army.

The next age class, the youngest of the married men, which performs no war service in peacetime, but also sets out in times of war, may /71/ be regarded as reserves and counted in the standing army. The older age classes take up arms only to defend their own districts. There are two exceptions to this regular procedure. If a warrior feels still too young to leave the warrior standing along with the other ol bodi members, he joins the next younger age class and is designated as ol goitiò (pl. el goitio) of it. This is done especially often by those who belong to the last course of an ol bodi, the ol oirugen. The other instance occurs when a youth is heir to large herds of livestock and he lacks another man to be concerned

96 71



Ill. 16. Older men.

/78 cont./
with managing them. He must then take over the property himself, and he marries soon after circumcision. He is taken into the youngest age class of the married men and designated as ol [illegible] (pl. ol [illegible]) of it. In the age class of the recruits as well as in that of the warriors, those living in one district form a company 100 to 200 men strong. In order to prevent a company from becoming too large through the presence of too great a number of boys fit for circumcision, which would be injurious to discipline, they have the remedy of circumcision by divisions. Then a special company is formed out of one or even two annual courses, which the ol oiboni does by the bestowal of a special name. /79/ Otherwise every age class gets only one name at first, which is then often replaced by a new one after a successful, larger war expedition as a distinction for bravery shown or, more correctly, for particularly rich spoils, but only when the men concerned have become older warriors. The ol oiboni gives the new name to the ol [illegible] after it has received an ol [illegible]; he bestows the last one with the union of two ol [illegible] into an ol [illegible], which then bears this new name until it dies out.

The present (that is, 1901) youngest age class is called el [illegible]; it is the first of an association whose second has not yet been formed. The next association consists of the younger el [illegible] and the older el [illegible]. The latter were called el [illegible] as youths and were given the name el [illegible] after a successful war against the [illegible] men. The next association is the 'L [illegible], consisting of the younger el [illegible] and the older el [illegible]. The former, as recruits, were called el [illegible] after a war against [illegible], el [illegible]; and after the selection of the el [illegible], el [illegible]. The el [illegible] as youths were called el [illegible]; after a successful war against Laikipia as el [illegible], they received the name [illegible]; and after the el [illegible] selection, their present name.

Ill. 27. Very old man.

[[illegible] cont.]

According to this, the institution of the age classes together with the existence of the age grades, which were more sharply defined and made more prominent in their meaning by the former, seems so important for the maintenance of a constantly war-ready troop that the thought obtrudes as to whether that institution did not first become formed out of a striving for such a band of warriors. The warriors' living together as a valuable impetus for comradeship and esprit de corps, in which lies a chief condition for success in war, tends further to celibacy and thus to free love; one can see as its sequel the warrior's society that belongs to an age class. This in turn then is the first step for mother right, of which, indeed, we also find remnants among the Masai.

2.

Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their first war expedition. -- The ol oiboni gives them the name for the age class. -- Shield escutcheons: its individual constituent parts and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors.

As soon as the circumcision wound has healed, the circumcised exchange the long apron (ol [illegible], ol [illegible]) for the short skin-cape (o [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]), again put on their ornaments, anoint their bodies with red paint and, after they have once more shaved their heads, set out to ol [illegible] (sing. ol [illegible], formed from [illegible] = bold-headed), armed with spear, club, sword, and shield, into the bush to celebrate the ol [illegible] (ol [illegible]). Spear, shield, and sword are gifts from their fathers; they have carved the club themselves. As we shall learn later in connection with the warriors, they divide themselves into mess-groups of five or six. In the forest they erect a kraal of thorns for themselves or even build small huts out of leaves. The festival consists of consuming large quantities of meat and nothing but meat! For this each participant furnishes a fat ox obtained from his father, which must be plain-coloured, black if possible.

561 *[77 cont.]*
701 Mixed, light colors are the symbol of fickleness, frivolity, flighty,
702 childlike, and childish sentiments: they are not proper for adult men
152 with a serious conception of life. The festival lasts about a month
865 as a rule. During it the youths practice handling the weapons, tell
([illegible]) each other gruesome war stories, which they have heard from warriors
or invented themselves, and thus stimulate their imaginations, just as
the reading of Indian and pirate stories does this on occasion among
[876] European boys. They artificially make themselves positively wild,
to which also the taking, still strange to them, of various roots and
barks with a nerve-stimulating effect (which will be discussed later), -
which they add to the cooking meat, contributes a great deal. All
their yearning is directed toward war and murder, everything in them
is pressing toward killing an enemy, and enemies for them are all non-
Masai. Each of them would like soon to be no longer an ebor alem =
[721] white, that is to say, not yet dyed with blood, sword. Not infrequently
they turn against defenseless caravans if such happen to be in the
vicinity. Whether or not spoils are to be taken in this is of no im-
portance, only killing and murdering, they do not think any further.
Many attacks on caravans have come about in this way. Such op-
portunities, however, are always rarities for individual troop of youths.
561 The rule is a war expedition against a sedentary tribe. After the
701 fighting, the ol barnot again return to the paternal kraal to live there
702 a few more years. During this time they attach themselves more and
[721] more closely to the warriors, in order to learn from them and to im-
prove themselves in the art of war. They accompany the warriors on
their raids and now and then also take part in their forest meals.
Nevertheless they do not gain admittance into the warrior kraal,
which is just as wounding to their self-confidence as the circumstance
that they are looked down upon by the warriors and treated almost
like boys. The wish to be on an equal footing with the warriors grows
ever keener in them. But they still lack two things for that: the
name for their age class and the shield escutcheon.

561 In order to request the bestowal of the former from the ol oiboni,
[791] a gathering (en giguena) (1)

1. Any gathering for a consultation is called this.

/77 cont./

561 of all the age-fellows is first convened, so that they /78/ may choose
791 a delegation from their midst. To it belongs in the first rank the
speaker, then a rather large number of the strongest and handsomest
el barnot. All are provided with rich adornment, as well as beautiful weapons. Each el barnoti has brought along a fine head of
[431] cattle. The large herd formed by this is taken along by the delegates as a gift for the ol oiboni. When they have then presented
their request to the mighty one, he directs them to come the next
day, when he imparts the answer by giving them, for example, the
name el giachon. The ones circumcised during the period from 1896
to 1901 were given this one. It is supposed to mean the generation
after those weakened and impoverished by the rinderpest. After the

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411
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Ill. 28. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

[illegible]

561 delegation has been dismissed by the ol oiboni, they return to their
791 native kraals. At a gathering again held there, all learn the new
[714] name and then consult about the choice of a shield escutcheon.

[79 cont.]

714 531 [122] These[1] consist of curves, sectors of circles, lines and scallops, which are painted on the shield's surface in three colors, Pompeian red, black, and grey (1).

1. Grey is very rare. Black and red, on the other hand, are represented on every shield of the warriors.

with which white belongs as a fourth color, [80] serving as the background color for the shield's surface, from which the colored designs [116] [124] stand out in sharp contrast. One uses for this the red earth mixed with blood or with the juice expressed from the fruit of the *Solanum campylacanthum*, further the white earth that is found in various places on the steppe, which is mixed with water, and, for black, [134] pulverized, charred gourd shell. Grey is produced out of charred and pulverized cattle bones.

714 531 721 778 [648] [649] Today considerable confusion in the shield escutcheons already prevails. The rarer the war expeditions of the Masai became, thanks to European domination, the more the old formalities of warfare are sloughed off, and ancient rules, which formerly were never transgressed, are today all too often ignored: their purpose has lost its meaning in the changing times. A further blurring in the shield escutcheons came through the Lenana-Sendeo civil wars, in which, for the first time, long-lasting struggles between the Masai are taking place. The confusion in the escutcheons in and of itself interests us here only as one of the many visible proofs of the relaxation of the old strict organization. Therefore a special description of the present-day, often arbitrary escutcheon figures may be omitted. On the other hand, it is important to establish the rules according to which the shield escutcheons were made up.

714 531 A shield escutcheon (Plate 1)[2] may contain: 1. the red warrior-emblem (*ol sirat' onjugi*). 2. the black emblem (*ol sirat' narok*) (1).

1. To which the rare grey also belongs.

3. the ornamental band (*ol segira l ol alap*). 4. the escutcheon of the lineage, 5. the emblem of the sections, and, finally, 6. an emblem

[1] [i.e., the shield escutcheons--Analyst]

[2] [See pp. 604-607--Analyst]

/78 cont./

714 which only the brave are entitled to wear, the *ol sesere l ol lngeiyani*.
531 A shield emblem is complete if, in addition to the ornamental band, it also contains the red warrior-emblem.

The ornamental band is the stripe painted in the longitudinal diameter of the shield. Actually *ol segira* is the name of the cowrie shells that, sewed on leather strips, adorn the gourd bottles. The similarity of such an ornamental band with the longitudinal stripe on the surface of the shield explains the Masai word used for this and my translation as ornamental band. The drawing of the ornamental band is unimportant and is often subject to the taste of the moment. Considerable differences exist both between the provinces and within the individual ones.

784 531 634 184 The most important emblem on the shield of the warriors is the red warrior-emblem. Three forms of it are distinguished: the double wedge (Plate 1: Figs. 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 14, 16, 17) along the ornamental band belongs to Kisongo Province, the segments of circles (Plate 1: Figs. 5, 7, 14, 18) on the ornamental band are the emblem for Loita Province, and the peripheral emblem (Plate 1: Figs. 11, 15, 19) shows that the bearer of such a shield belongs to Ol bruggo Province. The warrior emblem is either on both halves of the shield or only on one: the former is the rule in Ol bruggo and Loita, the latter /86/ in Kisongo. Loita and Kisongo, however, show some exceptions. If the red emblem is painted on both halves of the shield, the one half shows the mirror image of the other, so that a symmetrical double emblem results, the center line of which is formed by the ornamental band. According to my explorations, this seems to have been the fashion especially after booty-rich war expeditions. On the other hand, where the red emblem is found on only one side, the other half of the shield shows one or two large, black, bow-shaped emblems
786 531 634 184 179 791 (Plate 1: Figs. 2, 3, 5, 13, 15, 17, 18). These are commonly found in Kisongo, where they have been customary for as long as the memory of the people extends. They are rarer in Loita /Ill. 19 appears here/ and, to be sure, really only since the death of Mbatyan. Mbatyan resided in Kisongo, and his bodyguard consisted of Kisongo warriors. After his death Sendeo put together a guard made up of Loita warriors and also stayed largely in Loita in order to avoid the

Ill. 33. Shield ornamentation of the Masai.

influence of the Masai military warrior bodies. The answer to the question concerning the meaning of the black bars was almost always merely that they probably served as ornamentation, since, with the application of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half of the shield would look unattractively empty, and only a few old men opined that it was originally a lineage emblem of the [illegible]. This conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the emblem /[illegible]/ has been commonly used in lineage from time immemorial and then also came to [illegible] after [illegible]'s death.

The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of today; thus I did not come across it until I had drawn by a number of old men the shield ornamentations carried by them in their youth. The illustrations of Plate [illegible] show a collection of lineage emblems. We see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the shield surface, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each age class made up its own.

1. [See p. [illegible]--Analyst]

/51 cont./

The illustrations give the lineage emblems that the members of the ol [illegible] age class carried before the [illegible] epidemic around the year 1890. It furthermore seems that even in the times in which the carrying of lineage emblems was customary they were not generally carried by all lineages, but only by those whose members predominated in number in the part of the country concerned. The practical utility of this mode of procedure was to keep constantly before the eyes of members of other lineages the fact that these lineages were particularly strong and that therefore the individual belonging to them was entitled to a larger share of the spoils, in accordance with the principle: might comes before right. The emblem of such a lineage was then also sometimes adopted by all the warriors of that part of the country.

Those warriors who take the lead in battle, the ol [illegible], have the right to carry the emblem of bravery on their shields. This is the small colored emblem that is on the periphery of a longitudinal side and is to be found in Figures 5, 10, 13, 16, and 17 of Plate 1. It is still commonly used today.

The last emblem that may be included in the shield ornaments is the one mentioned above as the section emblem. By section is to be understood here one of the many small divisions [illegible] of which the camp of a troop found on a war expedition is made up. In accordance with its secondary significance, the emblem is not very striking to the eye. A comparison of illustrations 11 and 15, Plate 1, shows an example. These represent the ornaments of two shields whose owners belonged to one company and within it to different sections.

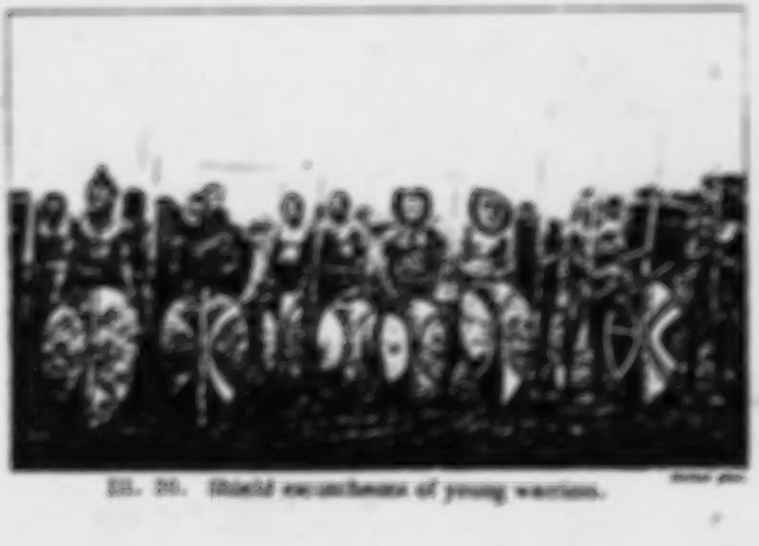
It is also to be mentioned that both the shield ornaments as a whole and its individual constituent parts were probably always dependent on fashion and other circumstances of the moment. Sometimes simplicity was favored, sometimes gaudiness. Sometimes a close feeling of comradeship prevented the carrying of the clique forming lineage emblems, sometimes internal discord involving grounds of penal law or civil law called forth the opposite. The above-mentioned shield paintings of old men proved to me that the shield ornaments of a province were uniform during periods of successful warfare. On the other hand, /52/ one can observe almost daily on the [illegible] shapes that

[37 cont.]
nowadays the warriors, out of [illegible], go on using shields with combined escutcheons, taken as booty in battle with Wagogo (1)

1. The fact that Wagogo also carry shields of the Masai type, and, to be sure, with similar escutcheons, is a consequence of the above-mentioned [illegible].

as half-breeds of Wagogo and sometimes as bastards of the Masai people or, with the present discord, even those of other Masai.

The shields of the el barnot, the recruits, do not appear so gaily coloured (Plate 1: Figs. 1 and 8). As soon as the youths have received the shields, they ask the most esteemed of the married men, a former speaker of the warriors, for his consent that they be permitted to paint a black emblem on the surface of the shield. At the same time he gives his permission, he also determines the form of the emblem, that is, he does not invent a new one, but chooses one from among the old familiar ones. With this and with an ornamental band only drawn in



Merker phot.

Ill. 30. Shield escutcheons of young warriors.

[79 cont.]

714 701 531 561 black, the youths then paint their shields. The red color may appear in the ornamental band only with the carrying of the large red emblems. They carry the black emblem and the ornamental band until they have become the equals of the warriors and are able, by their ability, to obtain the red emblem by diplomacy or force, for the warriors, of their own accord, will not let a younger age class carry these emblems. Therefore, when the youths feel strong enough, they complete their shield emblems in the aforesaid way and then carry it [80] ostentatiously for show. 714 701 531 561 571 The warriors see it, become angry, and scold. The *ol barnot*, for whom the warriors have until then been persons of respect, answer disagreeably and impudently and scoff that the warriors have now become old and weak and neither need nor deserve the red emblem any longer. No one likes to be reminded of his shortcomings, and a Masai least of all tolerates the reproach -- for that is what it is for the one still in the warrior association -- of incompetence in war, especially if it is hurled at him in a scornful fashion out of the mocking mouth of a younger person. [571] At the same time the youths build a circular barricade of branches and move in, possibly even before it is filled with huts -- a further provocation of the warriors, for with that the *ol barnot* declare that they too now have a right to their own warrior kraal and are no longer to be regarded as recruits, but as full-fledged soldiers. The consequence of this is that during one of the following nights the warriors attack the growing kraal in order to make the point clear to the *ol barnot* with force. If the latter are defeated, nothing remains for them for the time being but to scratch the red emblem from their shields again with [721] all haste. They give vent to their anger over their defeat by scolding and by one or two small raids against foreign tribes. 701 561 Sometimes the warriors then acknowledge them as equals, especially if the raids have brought rich spoils, but often too they must force their recognition as [531] [714] before. If this succeeds, they may now also carry the red emblem and are henceforth regarded as true warriors. They continue to build the kraal that was started and live beside the other warriors, but go to war with them. Usually, however, this situation does not last long; rather, the old warriors soon quit the service and marry. It is, therefore an exception if there are two warrior kraals in one region at the same time.

[Warrior Kraal]

/[illegible] cont./

III.

000 Warrior kraal. -- Its inhabitants. -- Work. -- Foods of the warriors. -- Forest march. -- Organization: the speaker, his badge and under leaders; benedictions. -- Dueling. -- Daily life. -- Intoxication. -- Dance and song. -- War: permission for it, preparation, forest march, marching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. -- Formation of the war march for the attack. -- Battle. -- Booty. -- Captives. -- Distribution of the booty. -- Return of the warriors. -- Defense precautions. -- Attack on caravans. -- Concluding peace. -- March performance. -- Retirement from the warrior standing.

621
701
(361)
(234)

In each district one usually finds only one warrior kraal, which quarters all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior kraal (ol manyata or e manyata) is not externally differentiated from other kraals by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, sometimes almost double that number of young girls, the mothers and several younger brothers /sic/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of those who are staying abroad for the time being are common property, and anyone who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it toward sundown. The others then often sleep three or four in a hut, as do the mothers.

(342)
(313)
[423]

621
701
562
(351)
(354)

The kraal is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain huts and thorn fence. Together with the girls they milk the cattle, clean the kraal every day in that they spread the cow dung, while the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and keep the huts clean.

[Warrior Kraal]

/In camp./

714 701 Every warrior has his favorite girl (en sanja) (1).

> 1. /This footnote has been translated from the Latin in the original source./ Girls not yet "circumcised" live with the fighting men, sleeping with this one today, that one tomorrow. Pregnancy for a girl not yet circumcised is considered an outrage and is avoided either by interrupting cohabitation during the menses and the six days following or by withdrawing the penis before ejaculation. A pregnant girl gets rid of the fetus by an abortion brought about by medicaments. [illegible] parents do not have intercourse for one or two months. Rupturing the hymen is neither a public custom nor a solemn rite.

[581]
[841]
[842]
[847]
[834]
[833]

As long as he is at home she lives with him, takes care of his livestock, and makes part of his ornaments. The girl calls her lover ol sanja and shows the others the coming about of this relationship by bringing a gourd bottle full of milk to the warriors squatting together and placing it beside the left leg of her lover.

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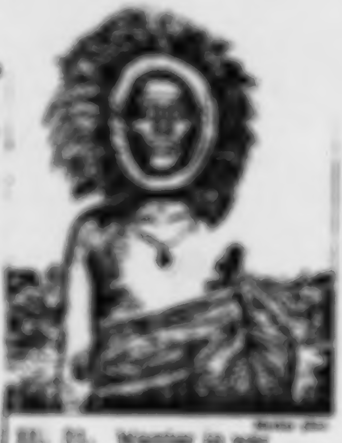
714 →



Ill. 51. Warrior in war adornment.

[Warrior Kraal]

/26 cont./

So long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her ol sanja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the warriors, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thornbushes /gp/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep, while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the individual cows. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on account of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the El moran takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous. Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held outside the kraal: a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 10 appears here/ is chosen. For these forest meals (ol pul, a bull) mess companies are formed in every warrior kraal, which are designated ol pul and which consist of five or six members, each of whom is called ol pul. Such banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which as much as is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called ol giber and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

[Warrior Kraal]

/37 cont./ Under a shade tree with thick foliage a spot about 20 to 30 square meters in size is cleared and enclosed with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 18) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three meters. On the side opposite the entrance opening is the common sleeping place of the *el biler* companions; between this and the door, the hearth; beside the door the space for firewood. Close beside the sleeping place hangs the stomach or bladder -- from the head of cattle just slaughtered -- filled with an extract of roots and barks that acts as a nerve stimulant and is drunk whenever one is thirsty (*ol* [illegible]). In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, is hung on sticks (*ol* [illegible]). In the vicinity of the warrior hut the serving boys build themselves their own, considerably smaller one. One calls kraal or hut [illegible]. Each *el biler* receives a longitudinal half of the slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals of the day. /38/ The picked-out fat is cooked together with this meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots and barks (especially from *ol* [illegible] (1).

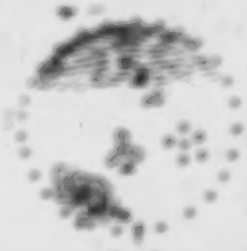


Fig. 18.

a) Sleeping place. b) Drinking bag.
c) Pole for meat.
d) Hearth. e) Firewood.
f) Entrance.

1. *Albizzia* [illegible] Engl.

el [illegible] (?).

2. *Acacia abyssinica*.

[Warrior Kraal]

201
[illegible]

/El moran/
ol [illegible] (3).

3. [illegible]

which have a strong stimulating effect. The rest of the meat, roasted at an open fire, is then eaten by each ol [illegible] in common, and, to be sure, at a morning and an evening meal. The head of cattle is furnished in turn by the participants or their fathers.

The longest forest meal takes place as a rule in the month [illegible]. Since the pasture is poor then, the livestock gives so little milk that the warriors sometimes live for a whole month on almost only meat.

201
537
[illegible]

At the head of the warriors of a kraal stands the speaker (ol aigwenani or ol [illegible]). The badge of his office is an especially beautifully worked club or rhinoceros horn (4)

4. The straight horn of a species of Rhinoceros bicornis not yet described to my knowledge, which the author found at the beginning of 1900 in the steppe southeast of Kilimandscharo, is especially popular for making these clubs. The horns of this species (or variety) differ from those of the ones described thus far by the fact that they are quite straight and in cross-section never round, but rather so strongly compressed laterally that they appear sword-shaped; the front horn is often shorter than the back one.

or ebony wood. It is swung like a baton in connection with the speeches accompanied by numerous gestures, in order to give emphasis to individual words. This is also achieved in the manner of speaking, by the fact that one pronounces the emphasized words long drawn out and repeats the emphasized sentence several times. The speech to a larger gathering is always delivered very loudly and vigorously. While the listeners squat on the ground, the orator stands erect, his glance directed alternately toward one or the other of the chief persons among the listeners. What the orator lacks in logic he tries to make up for by verbosity, dialectic, and higher pitch in tone. The members of the audience often give the impression of rapt attention, their glance is almost continually directed at the one

516

[Warrior Grades]

/38 cont./

701 554 speaking, yet their facial expression usually remains unchanging; neither agreement nor difference of opinion may be read into it. The orator is not interrupted any more than he is forced to become silent by the restlessness of the listeners. Each one is allowed to deliver his speech unhindered to the end. We have here the simple flowing speech, in contrast to the dialogue type of the Negroes, where another unpaired man stands or squats opposite the speaker and at every punctuation pause, at every comma of the speech given jerkily in choppy sentences, makes known by an unbelievably stupid-sounding, more or less grunting ē, ē, or hm that he has understood the words spoken. The task of the speaker consists chiefly of creating, by means of a feigned friendship with the chiefs of livestock-rich peoples, in the latter a blind confidence in the latter, [sic] which

701 554 will facilitate for the latter a sudden, predatory attack. Moreover, he constantly keeps himself informed through spies (often old women and a couple of boys) about all the questions of importance for the success of a war expedition, for example, concerning the strength of the opponent, whether he perhaps, for example, might be especially suspicious, where and how one might most easily take him by surprise, where the most livestock might be, where they pasture,

701 [554] where they stay at night, where the bravest warriors live, etc. The speaker himself need not be a brave warrior; rather, cunning, deception, guile are the characteristics that qualify him for the political aspect of his office.

[692] Another task is the administration of justice incumbent upon him: he is the deciding judge in civil and penal matters for the warriors of his kraal.

701 554 A leading role among the warriors is played, furthermore, by the ol oingoni (?)

1. Sing. ol oingoni.

[714] [534] (= the bulls), of whom there are five or six in every kraal and who gain their position by courage and bravery in war, as well as by superior physical strength. They are the leaders in battle. As a sign of their rank they wear, in dancing and in hand-to-hand

[illegible]

[Warrior Brawl]

[illegible]

[illegible] fighting, large bog bells ([illegible]), the clanking of which in the latter instance serves to prevent a going astray by the individual warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying point.

A special position is also occupied by the [illegible], a benefactor. They are warriors who, themselves generous, also have a generous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive oxen for slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a benefactor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the march or at home, the others are concerned about him and compete with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

Accordingly, selfishness is sharply condemned, and a miserly warrior or one who has miserly parents is counted badly off. In case of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to his helpless.

Speaker and leader live like other warriors and are not surrounded by any special ceremonial. Off duty they are treated with respect, which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too close to their girls or lightly seizing an excuse for a quarrel with them. Among the other warriors these two things almost daily lead to serious disputes and often enough to dueling, in which the opponents go after each other with sword and club, but only very rarely wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometimes, in a few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine consisting of livestock; in other districts, only if a bone is broken. In general immediately after the duel /95/ sometimes only after the healing of the wound, reconciliation follows, the formality of which consists of the mutual exchange of sandal thongs and sometimes also the exchange of the skin cape ([illegible]). The matter becomes more serious if one is killed in a duel. Then the father of the victor is then condemned to pay a larger number of cattle. If he hands them over, the affair is settled. If he refuses them, however, the friends of the man killed attack his kraal and rob him of his entire herd. But they have scarcely brought them home before the friends of the one robbed also try to rescue them again. This goes on until they have become tired

[Warrior Kraal]

/33 cont./
of the fight, or until one party concedes the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two families belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

Ill. 53. Dance in the warrior kraal I.

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other insofar as they live in one district; a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

A war in which Masai stand against Masai is called ol kumbai (pl. ol kumbaii), not en djore (o djorin) as a war between Masai and foreign tribes is called.

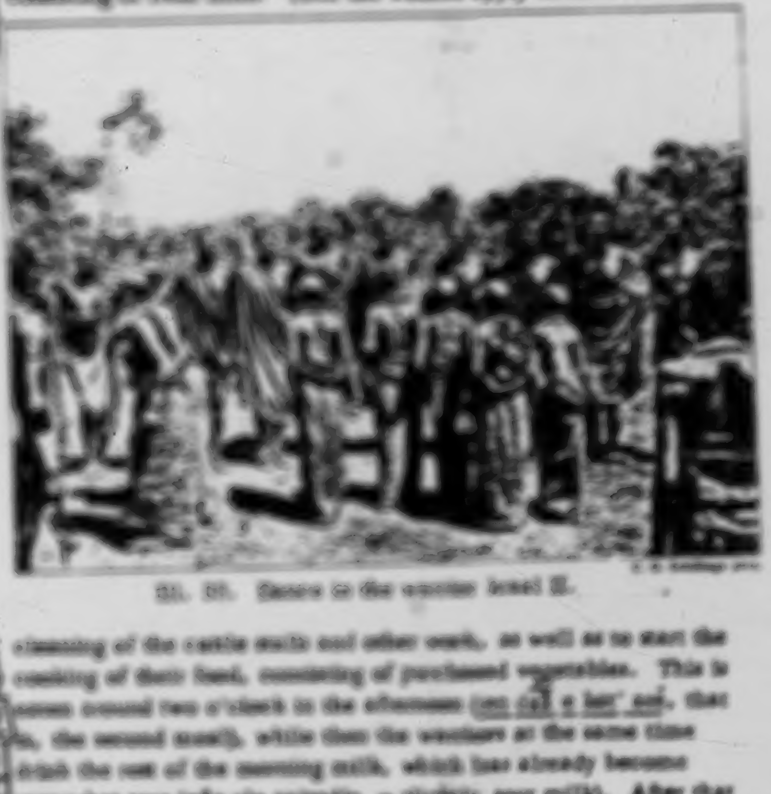
/34/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal; for the most part he goes about on visits in neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime; a guard of at least two men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an ol pul (forest meal, see p. 111 above) or with other people.

701
974

[Warrior Kraal]

/[illegible]/

Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock, when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the warriors get up to take the first meal ([illegible] = food in the morning), consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the cleaning of the cattle stalls and other work, as well as to start the cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is eaten around two o'clock in the afternoon ([illegible]), that is, the second meal, while then the warriors at the same time drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become somewhat sour ([illegible] = slightly sour milk). After that



Ill. [illegible]. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

612 the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and making
635 ornaments, while the warriors along with the girls /[illegible]/ amuse
701 themselves with dance and song ([illegible]) under a nearby shade tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The former dance in place by slightly lifting the feet and bending the

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 knees. The row of girls moves forward up to the warriors with short,
535 stamping steps, bending their knees and swaying their upper bodies.
701 As a rule the dance ends when each girl whose lover is absent ap-
[836] proaches one of the dancing warriors in short high-jumps. This is an
[832] invitation to a rendezvous, which the one concerned answers in
[533] similar fashion as a sign of consent. The dance is always accompanied by singing. Shortly before sunset all return to the kraal.

701
535

Ill. 34. Dance in the warrior kraal III.[1] 4

C. G. Schillings phot.

512
701 Soon afterwards the livestock returns home, and, after it is milked,
[234] the people take the evening meal (en da͞i e télba = food in the even-
[264] ing), again consisting of milk. After that the dancing of warriors
[272] and girls begins anew on a small open place in the kraal, close to
[535] the entrance, and is interrupted only from time to time in order to moisten with milk the throats shouted dry. During this time the
512 mothers are still busy with the livestock. It takes quite a while
234

1. [Illustrations 34 and 35 (on p. 119), despite the differences in captions, apparently were both taken at the same location, with only a slight time differential--Analyst]

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./
512 before the milking is finished, then the calves are allowed to go to
[234] the cows for about an hour, and finally /91/ the former must again
be separated and shut up, so that there will be enough milk in the
morning. At ten o'clock it becomes quiet, the people retire into
the huts, except for the boys who lie down to sleep on the ground beside the goats.

136 The silence lying over the vast steppe is broken only now and
then by the howl of the spotted hyena (Hyaena crocuta), reminiscent
of the whistle of a siren, more rarely by the hoarse laughter of the
striped hyena (Hyaena striata and Hyaena Schillingsi). Sometimes
825 the roar and growl of a lion can also be heard, and if the latter
slinks about silently sometime, one becomes aware of its approach

535
701

Ill. 35. Dance in the war camp IV.

C. G. Schillings phot.

825 by the behavior of the cattle: they snort, stamp, and crowd together, or race wildly through the kraal. Then a number of women
immediately hasten out of the huts, in order to drive away the beast
000 of prey by shrill, trilling cries (ol gijoi). A few intrepid warriors also

[Warrior Kraal]

224 /91 cont./ A few intrepid warriors also
701 leave the kraal, spear in hand, in order to attack the lion, but as a rule soon return unsuccessful.

721 If peace has lasted for a couple of months, the warriors long for war and, becoming more and more violent, express their wish to the speaker (ol aigwenani). The warriors of a few neighboring kraals have already /92/ promised their participation and have also pressed their speakers, who then all together go to the ol aunoni with whose consent the war becomes a settled matter, for the waging of which only the permission of the ol oiboni is still lacking. The consultations and decisions for undertaking a war expedition, however, do not always proceed so smoothly, and they are most heated when they have for a subject the repetition of an expedition that has already ended one or several times with a defeat for the Masai. Naturally then the opinions about the success of the expedition are greatly divided, and the speakers and leaders often have great difficulty gaining a majority for the undertaking (1).

[626] 1. In an extreme case -- if, for example, the war is urgent on economic-political grounds, because the opponent threatens to become so powerful that he will be a serious danger to the Masai themselves or a competitor to them in the plundering of other tribes -- the ol aunoni or one of the speakers lets himself be carried away to secure a majority for the war by calling the vacillating ones el konono,
[578] that is, blacksmiths. He always achieves the desired result with this, but in the following days may leave his hut only under the protection of influential warriors, in order to avoid assaults on the part of the reviled ones.

721 If they have finally succeeded, however, the leaders of the majority
726 make an end to further debate by invoking the en dorosi, a sort of
714 Rütli oath. /Rütli, a meadow in Switzerland where the first league of the three cantons was formed in 1307./ Then every warrior of the kraals concerned has to put on immediately the visible sign of the

/92 cont./
721 en dorosi, the en doros. For the warriors this consists of three or four
726 leather strips cut from the apron of their favorite girls, which are
714 adorned with stitched-on beads and, beside them, tied-on pieces of wood
(from twigs of the ol araschi and os siaiti trees), while the leaders
wear as en doros the borrowed tobacco box of a married man or his
fly switch. The en dorosi obliges every warrior to take part in the ex-
708 pedition. Anyone who nevertheless stays away out of fear is most
deeply despised and outlawed; any warrior may kill him without
penalty. In order to give the fainthearted courage, the most daring
ones not infrequently stick a ball, which has a diameter of 10-12
centimeters and is made out of black ostrich feathers, on the tips of
their spears. Through this they express their firm determination to
attack the opponent and to stand up to him in hand-to-hand combat,
for the ball may be removed from the spear point only by one's running
it into the body of the enemy.

721 The purpose of a war is always only the capture of livestock, and,
to be sure, only cattle. War is not undertaken for goats and sheep.
Boys may go to steal small livestock! Only the capture of cattle is
worthy of a warrior; he only takes small livestock along as well when
he can directly achieve this together with the cattle.

721 In order to get permission for the war expedition, the speakers
791 together betake themselves to the ol oiboni and put before him the
wishes of the warriors. None of the latter accompany them, since
they would behave too uncouthly in the presence of the great man,
who wishes calmness and clarity in the consultations.

721 /93/ The ol oiboni keeps himself accurately informed both about
726 the strength of the individual warrior kraals and about all the condi-
tions of the surrounding sedentary tribes coming into consideration for
791 a war, so that he is in a very good position to judge accurately the
prospects of victory for either side with great probability. He also
keeps himself posted about unimportant and secondary matters with
regard to the opponent and weaves all this knowledge adroitly to-
gether in his answer, so that it sounds like a seer's pronouncement and is
taken as such by the speakers and warriors. His answer -- as the
speakers report it -- runs, for example: "You will attack the Kahe
[264] area; it is strong, and you will therefore first hold a twelve-day

721 /93 cont./
726 forest meal (1),
791
[264]

1. Ol bul or, if an en dorosi has taken place, ol bul en dorosi, or, in short for that, en dorosi, with which the present-day language also designates every forest meal prior to a war expedition.

in order to strengthen yourselves. Then you will set out for war on the day ol gadet. On the following day, ol ondjori, you will pass an old camping place. Then, before you reach your camp, you will meet a single Kahe boy. Do not kill him, but bring him to me; otherwise you would be defeated. On the ol onjugi day you will
726 fight and conquer, etc. etc." If something does not fit in, it is due
714 to the carelessness or mistakes of the warriors. Furthermore, for the
791 spies sent ahead of the expedition, the ol oiboni gives them a few
789 amulets (e mascho ol oiboni), which make their wearers invisible. The amulets contain one of his magic remedies and are tied around the wrist or to the spear or shield. Another war medicine consists of a mixture whose chief ingredient is snake eggs (mossor ol assurai). A large leg-bell (ol dualla kitok, Fig. 19) is filled with the medicine. In war it is tied to a club and hurled at the enemy offering resistance, so that he will flee, or it is tossed into his herd in order to drive apart the livestock, which then is caught by the Masai. In order to have the expected effect, it is desirable that the
726 medicine be hurled by a left-handed warrior. The speakers convey the chief's answer to the warriors, who have most impatiently awaited their return. Hastily they prepare themselves for the forest meal; weapons, pots, and the livestock needed are gathered together, and two by two the es sirit set out together for the nearest bush. Whereas
[263] in the ordinary meat meals only relatively few spices are used, for
[276] the en dorosi in particular all the many vegetable agents that the

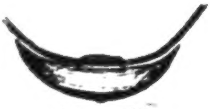


Fig. 19. 1/8

/93 cont./

726 Masai know for stimulating the nerves find use. Their effect will be
[263] discussed in a later section (2).
[276]

2. cf. XIX, Nerve Ailments: the *em boschona* sickness.

If the opponent is particularly strong, a forest meal sometimes lasts a whole month by order of the *ol oiboni*.

722 /94/ During this the boys pose as lords in the warrior kraal, but the girls bravely defend themselves with sticks. Every day in connection with their dances the girls sing songs of prayer: May 'Ng ai make the warriors strong and strongest of all the *os sandja*, etc. The mothers, on the other hand, pray silently in their huts for the same purpose.

726 Still in the forest the El móran put their weapons, ornaments, and clothing in order. Upon their return from the meat meal they remain only a few hours in the kraal, in order to fetch something
[782] forgotten and to take along livestock as travel provisions. Here a few fathers and mothers have already appeared in order to call down

726
137

Brauer phot.

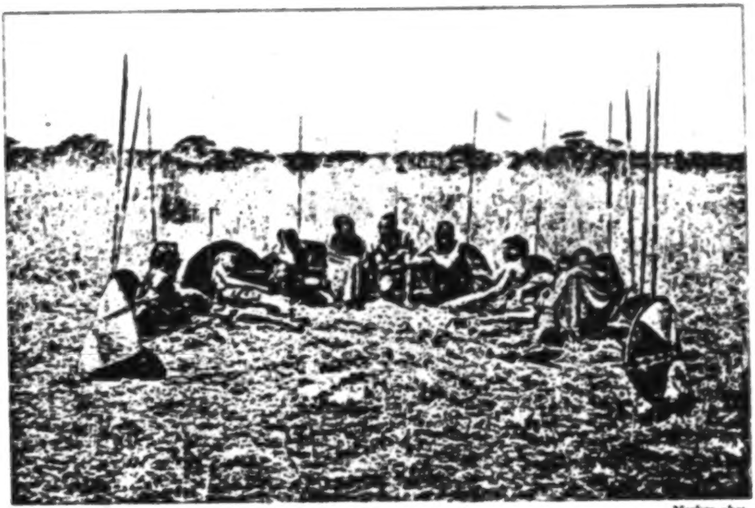
Ill. 36. Consultation on the war expedition.

/94 cont./
726 'Ng ai's blessing upon the sons and their companions going off to war.
782 The old men hold a small gourd bottle of honey beer in the right
hand, a similar one of milk in the left one, while the women have a
filled milk-vessel only in the right hand. During the prayers loudly
called out to heaven, they gradually pour out the contents of the
gourd bottles as an offering to God and also sprinkle the warriors with
726 it. Many of the latter smear themselves on forehead and cheeks with
[237] fresh cattle dung, while the girls and the old women living in the
warrior kraal put such, together with a bunch of fresh grass, on the
hut roof close above the door. The custom expresses the confident
hope of rich spoils in livestock.

/95/ Then the warriors march off, and, after a march of two to
[252] three hours, they pitch camp around sunset. Several head of cattle
[262] are slaughtered, the meat of which is roasted at the fire and eaten.
At the same time they smear the thrusting spears with a paste of red
[411] earth or wrap them with grass or cloth so that their gleaming in the
[725] sun, visible very far away, will not betray them. Finally, they
loosen the thongs of the sandals and fasten them on the underside
in such a way that the sandal may be worn with the tip in the rear
and the heel part toward the front, so that the footprints left behind
704 will be deceiving concerning their direction of march. During the
701 march comradeships are formed by two men in each case, each of
726 which calls the other os sirit ai, that is, my companion. /Ill. 37 appears here./ The duty of the companion is to stand by the other one in
battle and, if he falls, to bring his weapon to safety. Five to ten
such comradeships combine to make a section (ol ale), each of which
726 erects its own small camp. During the first days of march, still far
from the enemy, it is fortified for the night by a few branches of thorns.
On the evening before the attack it is replaced by the eñg adji en djoré.
The spears are stuck in the ground in a semicircle about five paces in
diameter, and against them, on the outside, the shields are placed
in such a way that one overlaps the other like scales. The warriors
lie or squat in this semicircle, armed with their weapons, awaiting

/95 cont./

726
714
411



Ill. 37. Section camp on the war march.

Merker phot.

726 the time for the attack. /96/ The leader of the section is one of the
[701] above-mentioned benefactors, recognizable by an ornament called
[714] el dorogḗn or el gabatḗn, which consists of strings of iron or glass
[431] beads and is worn around the right lower-arm, a gift of those who have benefited by his generosity.

708
726 Accompanying the warriors are one or more surgeons (ol abā́ni, el abāk), whose duty is the immediate treatment of the wounded. They choose their "dressing station" approximately half an hour from the battlefield on an elevation made known and easy to find.

726 Toward midnight the spies (ol aigedalani, el aigedalak) set out to go to Kahe. On the way they adapt their externals in clothing and ornaments as much as possible to that of the Wakahe and hide /Ill. 38 appears here/ shield and spear along the way. With enviable inoffensiveness they move about among the foreign populace, trusting in their amulets. With a little fresh cattle dung and a few tail hairs plucked from the Kahe cattle, as proof that they have actually seen cattle, they return to the warriors in great haste.

/96 cont./

726
714
411

Merker phot.

Ill. 38. Last instruction of the warriors before the battle.

726 The warriors have broken camp about four or five o'clock in the morning and after sunset reached dense bush one to two hours away from Kahe, where they now camp. They are highly elated about the information from the spies, rich booty now indeed seems assured.
726 Soon after midnight the battle march is begun. The warriors split
704 up into five different troops. The el ebéta (sing. ol ebét) hurry ahead as patrols and, having come close to the goal, hidden in the foliage of tall trees, take /97/ a look around; following them at a distance of a few thousand meters, each led by an ol oiñoni, are the three or four divisions of the el ároi (sing. ol áro) = buffalo, each of which goes in another direction toward the hostile area. They consist of the most dashing men, and the success of the attack depends primarily upon them. Behind the el aroi, swarming out at some distance, follow the largest divisions, the el dimito (sing. ol dim) = herds, the flanks of which are made up of picked men, the el

/97 cont./
726 emouerak (sing. ol emoso) = horns. As soon as the ones in front
704 come across livestock, they call the others by long drawn-out íī
(721) shouts, so that they will round up the booty, which consists only of livestock. While the el aroi engage in hand-to-hand combat with the opponent, the latter's troops, joining together, seek to wrest the

726
782

Merker phot.

Ill. 39. Prayer before the battle.

726 booty away from the el dimito again. In connection with this fight-
704 ing there are the most wounded and killed. In order to shorten it and take the livestock quickly to safety, the latter are constantly urged on by the el dimito and pushed toward the steppe, out of the hostile area. The fourth troop, the el kigelóni, seeks to keep the way open for them and, from the front, to disperse the enemy pressing upon the herd. The last division is the os sioki, that is, the cowards, who were afraid to go along with the others, but now, when there is no longer any danger, slink around the herd like animals of prey, in order to steal. The el dimito and el kigelóni strike at them with their clubs, and a great row arises until the arrival of the leaders in the camp.
(727) Then the latter separate a number of cattle from the herd, which is still common property, and have them slaughtered, whereupon
727 every warrior receives a portion of meat. The warriors /98/ must
417 lay out a fence of thorns so that the livestock is safely sheltered in it for the night.

/98 cont./

727 it for the night. Thus captives are not taken. The men from the
enemy who can be taken are killed, but not mutililated; the women,
on the contrary, are usually spared and freed. It also happens, how-
ever, that those warriors who are undertaking their first expedition
also strike down women, in order not to return as ebor além. But
[784] even in this case pregnant women are spared, for it is believed that
God punishes the murderer of a pregnant woman by the death of his
own children. Only very exceptionally does one take along a few
[583] women or children. The latter, however, do not become slaves;
rather, the captured woman very soon becomes the lawful wife of
the one who captured her, just as he also regards the kidnapped child
[597] exactly like his own. A ceremony of adoption does not exist; the
man simply hands the child over to his wife, who treats it like her
own. The next day they march
on toward the home kraal; in the
evening a thorn fence is again
built, and at the same time the
share of the booty destined for
the ol aunoni is set apart. The
total booty of every war expedition
is given a name. This
is determined on this second
evening, while the men sit eating.
It is called, for example,
kirima, because men fell on
both sides. Other names are:
[411 bŏgŏrĕt if the provisions in living
701 livestock taken along on the expedition
291 pedition did not last, and the
516] warriors, out of hunger and con-
→ trary to the existing custom, had to eat tree fruit; ñgŏrĕ if the El
móran suffered on the way because of a shortage of water; ṅgnírīa,
formed from the call matiṅgiria ắpo, that is, approximately: "only
courage, if it is not possible, what does it matter," a frequent saying
[703] if one believes oneself inferior to the opponent in strength. The next
morning, early, before the departure, the leaders distribute the booty

Merker phot.

Ill. 40. On picket duty.

/98 cont./
727 [703] in shares as equal as possible: one warrior receives as much as the other, but before that a few head of cattle are distributed as a special reward and first to those warriors who killed an enemy in battle, then to the benefactors (ń gaminini), then to the one who captured the first head of cattle and to the spies who went ahead (el aigedalak), and finally to the wounded, each of whom is entitled to the head of cattle that he marked with the blood gushing out of the wound. The number of cattle that the individual of the ones mentioned receives, except for the last who is entitled to only one head of cattle, is determined by the size of the booty and the proportion of the size of the booty's parts according to the above order of succession. /99/ Every
727 579 warrior strives as quickly as possible to drive off from the others his share of the booty, but each one also tries to take along with it one or more head not belonging to him. This, of course, gives rise to another brawl, in which there are almost always several wounded men.
[614] If the booty is too small for an equal division, the warriors form two parties, on the one side the El muleljan, on the other the 'L aiser and El mengana. The former have as slaughtering cry the term ado mongi = the red cattle, the latter the term narok geteŋ = the black cattle, after which they are also sometimes named (for example, I heard it in songs). A fight decides which one of the two parties receives the entire booty.

722 At home in the kraals it was very quiet during the warriors' absence. After the farewell, those remaining behind went home, each somewhat heavy-hearted in the anxiety about a son or lover, which, however, was soon more or less pushed into the background by the expectation of the spoils that they would bring back. Soon after the farewell the old man was again
[237] [136] squatting in quiet contemplation in front of his hut and chasing away from his face and head, also as before, with a fly switch (ol enjua, el enjuai /Fig. 20/) consisting of a gnu's tail, the flies constituting a veritable
[782] plague in the Masai kraals. Then he took a hair from the switch and made a knot in it for each of his sons who had gone to war,

Fig. 20.

/99 cont./
722 while he was imploring 'Ng ai that he might join together as securely
782 as this knot their body and soul. He prays in similar fashion every
morning after leaving the hut. The mother likewise prays to God for
protection for her son and each time offers him some milk, which
she squirts on the ground either out of a gourd bottle or out of her
722 right breast. The girls are somewhat more cheerful about the affair,
in that, instead of other prayers, they accompany their dances with
litanies for the preservation of their lovers and the many other loved
ones. Today the worrisome thoughts are again particularly intense;
the warriors must soon be coming home, and then it will be definite
as to whether the son or lover is among them.

727 From afar one already sees isolated little clouds of dust, which the
cattle that are driven along stir up. The girls and young women
hasten to meet the El mòran and warmly welcome all who are approaching. But what is this? There, among the laughing women, stands
a young woman who has just kissed her brother heartily on both cheeks;
now comes her husband, who still wanted to take part in this one expedition before he remains at home permanently as an old ol móruo,
and one would expect at least as hearty a welcome for him. But both
act as though they did not see each other, indeed, they even turn
away from each other. One might think she is angry with him because
he staked his life unnecessarily. She is not angry with him, however;
on the contrary, she is secretly happy that he has come back safely
[576] and is bringing along rich booty. But the Masai too /100/ have their
[593] "good breeding" and this requires that married people upon first seeing
each other again after an expedition of war, cut each other completely.

From his share of the booty the warrior keeps only one or two
milch cows, which he hands over to his loved one. The rest he presents to the mother, the father, the latter's other wives, the brothers,
sisters, and one or another of his more distant relatives of whom he
is particularly fond. A person who does not receive anything this
[721] time will get his share after the next expedition. He need not wait
long, wars follow one another quickly, the interval between two is
seldom more than two or three months. Hence the Masai are a
veritable scourge for the neighboring tribes, and the rumor, "The
Masai are coming," in spite of its frequency, is often enough to
disturb whole towns and villages for weeks.

/100 cont./

726 Let us now consider the defense procedures of the Masai. As
725 soon as it is learned through spies that a sedentary Negro tribe is planning an attack on the kraals, a picket consisting of six to eight men (ed gemi) is moved out during the day a few thousand meters in the anticipated direction of attack. It takes up its position on an elevation from which it can survey both the foreground and that in the middle of which the livestock are grazing. Where features of the terrain obstruct the view, patrols must remedy this disadvantage. As soon as the approach of the enemy has been observed, a warrior brings the corresponding announcement to the kraals, where the warriors immediately prepare themselves for combat. They set out to meet the enemy only if special circumstances seem to require it; as a rule, however, they wait until he is on the point of rounding up the herd, which is always the primary goal. Now they break out, they rush upon the opponent from all sides, and, in the ensuing hand-to-hand combat, they are almost always the victors. There is a good reason for the preliminary waiting: first of all, the enemy's main attention, as soon as he approaches the herds, is on them, so that the Masai are now able to appear with more surprise; then the multitude and the bellowing of the livestock easily confuse the Negro not accustomed to it, and, finally, in hand-to-hand fighting the Masai has the advantage of needing to concern himself only with the enemy, whereas the latter, in his greed for booty, thinks first of holding and driving away the livestock and only then of defense. Thus the Masai succeed in making the defeat of the opponent a considerable one and in discouraging him from further undertakings for some time. If they attacked him before he reached the herds, he would immediately retreat and try his luck again within one of the next few weeks. The Masai would again have to reckon with the probability of an attack on their kraals and would be unable to undertake any raiding expeditions themselves during this time.

Another procedure consists of the warriors hiding in the rounded-up cattle herds until the approach of the enemy and /101/ dashing out from there as soon as the opponent has come close. This is modified further in the following manner: The herd is divided into two parts; the front and smaller part remains in the care of a few

/101 cont./

726 boys, who flee immediately upon the approach of the enemy. Half
725 of the warriors are hidden at the rear of the larger one, while the other half lies in wait toward the front and to one side of the front herd. The enemy first takes possession of the front herd, some of them attempt to drive it away immediately, while the rest try to reach the rear one. Now the moment has come for the Masai warriors to burst forth at both places.

[721] The fact that the Masai so frequently attack with great success and often strike down to the last man even trade caravans armed with muzzle-loaders they owe nowadays less to their strength than to their cunning. A caravan traveling through the steppes will today be joined by a pair of seemingly poor, hungry Masai, who greet the porters in a friendly way and willingly give them information about the next camping place, etc. Incidentally, but with all the fabricated details possible, it is related that the Masai had recently been in the vicinity, but had now moved off and were camping far from here. After the two have eaten with the porters in the evening, one of them disappears during the night and reports to the warriors of his kraal what has been discovered. Before dawn he is back in the camp and the two travel on with the caravan, having by now become friendly with its men. There are found again the next day two or three "poor" Masai, who pass themselves off as Wandorobbo -- as the first also often do. They have brought along their alleged entire possessions, consisting of a few rhinoceros horns, to sell or even as gifts. They too remain with the caravan; they eat, chat, and joke with the porters and on this occasion reveal a keen understanding in recognizing how far the latter trust them, whether they feel quite safe, etc. If they believe the caravan is quite unconcerned, one of the Masai guests, on this or the next night, fetches the warriors, who then, as a rule, between midnight and three o'clock in the morning, when the porters are sleeping most soundly, attack the camp and without difficulty massacre the sleepers.

/101 cont./

726 721 As has already come out in the foregoing, the Masai are not familiar with a declaration of war in their dealings with foreign tribes. War is rather a sudden attack in the midst of peace, or, more properly, because, as we shall presently see, seriously intended and binding conclusions of peace are indeed not customary, in a state of peace, which the tribe concerned owes merely to the circumstance that the Masai at the time are simply plundering other peoples richer in livestock at the moment.

728 648 If the war concerned a distant area, no peace whatever was concluded, unless it were to deceive those people, so that no difficulty /102/ was to be expected from their side for a later attack on a land neighboring them. For this a few old men were first sent to the just attacked tribe. They carry a bunch of grass (ol godjeta, el godjet = grass) in the right hand and bring a sheep that wears a chain of blue or green ring-beads, en gonodoi, around its neck. These are the peace insignia (en dogitin os sotoa = things of peace). After the old men have put their request before the foreign chief, the latter, happy to be able to make peace with the Masai, gives them a few old men to take along, with whom the speakers then enter into blood friendship (ol momai). Both parties, surrounded by warriors, sit down under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal, closely opposite each other, one of the foreign old men in front of each speaker. Now each one makes a small cut in the left lower arm of the one opposite him and wipes off the blood gushing forth a number of times with a few pieces of partly roasted meat, which he eats. During this ceremony the participants swear eternal peace. The meat used comes from an animal just slaughtered, usually from a head of cattle, more rarely a goat or a sheep. The animal must be perfectly sound, about which both parties convince themselves by an examination of the entrails.

Just as the Masai deceive foreign tribes with this blood friendship, they have also often done this with respect to Europeans. Those concerned simply believed that a blood friendship coming about in this way had the same value as though it had been concluded with sedentary Negro tribes, who have a similar custom. But since in this case it is a mere pretense, there is suggested the conjecture that this is a matter of a custom that is not peculiar to the Masai, but was merely adopted from other peoples. The author regards the possibility of a

/102 cont./

728 648 lasting conclusion of friendship between Europeans and Masai as
completely impossible, both on the basis of an experience of almost
eight years and also according to the statements of a large number of
Masai, who, in the course of a long personal acquaintance, gained
so much confidence as to express themselves frankly about this point.
[829] According to their view a friendship, in whatever form it might be
concluded, would only ever have the result that individual persons
in the service of the Europeans concerned would find a hospitable
reception in the Masai kraals. It could no more bring about a lasting
friendship than it would induce the Masai to follow the orders and the
laws of the Europeans.

[439] On the other hand, if the Masai seriously mean peace because the tribe warred upon lives close to them and they are dependent on it for buying vegetable food there (as, for example, in the above-mentioned Kahe), they make an ertana etabaschage ń gera = suckling of exchanged children. After they have sent off an old man, as before, and he has returned together with a few foreign old men, it is agreed in consultation that the Kahe chief, a Kahe woman with a suckling child, and a number /103/ of witnesses should come to a certain designated place in the steppe between Kahe and the Masai kraals. At the appointed time, there will also be found there a woman from the Masai (not a true Masai, however, but one from another tribe captured in a previous war) with a suckling child, as well as the speaker, the leaders, and other warriors as witnesses. The two women now exchange their children, and each puts the foreign child to her breast for a moment. They then take the children on their backs in the leather apron and conclude blood friendship with each other. One of the witnesses makes a few incisions in the skin of the abdomen of each of the two women and hands her a small piece of the heart of a just slaughtered head of livestock. After each one has wiped off the blood coming out of her cut with this, she sticks it in the mouth of the other. While this ceremony is going on, the speaker and the chief of Kahe affirm eternal friendship in the name of their people; they call upon God as their witness and pray to him that he might exterminate them if they do not maintain the friendship. Every conclusion of peace has as its consequence the obligation for mutual hospitality.

/103 cont./

619 After a battle of the Masai among themselves, the conclusion of
728 peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of
both parties, exchange their skin capes and sandal thongs. This is
called etabaschage megitin = exchange of skin capes.

726 The length of the stretches covered on war expeditions, in com-
701 parison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often
484 astonishing. Performances of 60 to 80 kilometers a day, three or four
days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers,
[702] however, that the training of warriors consist only of marching, that,
[276] aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their
marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants,
their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry
troop. The tales of the caravan people relate miraculous things about
701 the speed and endurance of the Masai warriors, and even European
182 travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they
147 compare the physical performances of the Masai with those of the
271 Europeans in the tropics. The untenableness of such a comparison
is obvious. One also often hears how the Masai are admired for their
alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their
marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people,
in contrast to other tribes, never carry a gourd bottle of water on their
701 long migrations. The Masai, however, knows perfectly every little
182 spot of the steppes, he knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring,
271 he also knows where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean
[823] water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially
in baobabs, this is accessible to him through a series of steps made
[824] out of foot-long taps bored in horizontally. Finally, there are a num-
ber of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited
701 by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /104/ just as
182 the wild honey, not infrequent in the steppes, also serves as food on the
222 march. A cuckoo bird, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator, called
[825] eṅ johoroi by the Masai), leads the Masai to the concealed honey holes.
[136] As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then
flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it
[825] in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient
for the warriors, they bury the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after

701 /104 cont./
182 a little while, will then lead them farther. Otherwise they leave it
222 .he rest.

[825] When the warriors of an ol boror notice that their bones are
701 getting old and the el barnot surpass them in strength, they agree
561 that it is now time to think of marriage. After they have obtained
582 the permission of the speaker and then that of the chief, one after the
other leaves the warrior association, each one shortly before his
701 wedding. He announces his retirement by means of a feast, the ol
561 geteñ l ol bãã, that is, ox slaughtering with a tournament. To this
574 all the inhabitants of the nearest kraals are invited and are shown
hospitality with the meat of one or several head of cattle. As soon
as these are killed, each warrior cuts off a piece of meat for himself
and devours it behind a bush standing somewhat apart. Then each of
those present receives his share, while the remainder is strung on
sticks two meters high. For these the warriors fight with the girls
and women in a game in which the latter vigorously swing the sticks,
before which the former has more fear than the women, somewhat
[526] accustomed to beatings. Then the younger ones amuse themselves
and play, for instance, tag (tosudja). Before there is thought of de-
[539] parture, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a married man and his
principal wife go to the host and make the following speech: "adjogi
megur' ira ol morñni dada it' ol móruo, iñora ñ giachu inonu, ñ gera
inonu, iñora naleñ, tabala 'mbaa el móran, idà tada ol móruo,
tabala n dogitin bàgin el móran, ida tada ol móruo": in translation:
I say, you are no longer Ol morñni, but Ol móruo, take care of your
cattle and your goats and sheep and watch over them well, leave the
occupation of the warriors, now you are ol móruo, refrain from all
things of the warriors, now you are ol móruo.

701 After this feast it is up to the warrior whether he takes part more
561 or less regularly in the expeditions of war. As a rule he soon marries
[582] and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warrior
kraal until all his contemporaries are married. Only then are they
[591] considered ol móruo: each one builds his own kraal and removes
[145] clothing, ornaments, and braid of the warriors. He is now at the end
of the twenties, his best strength has been spent. In general the Masai,
just like all members of the black race, spend their lives very quickly,
they age early, without ever attaining a really advanced age.

/105/

XII.

000 Greeting. -- Form and manner of the greeting between individuals of different age and sex. -- Greeting formulas. -- Greeting for visitors. -- Farewells. -- Conversation. -- Invectives. -- Terms of endearment.

576 The greeting begins with a certain gesture, four of which are distinguished:

1. the simple extending of the hand, whereby the vertically held palms of the right hand of both touch (mutual);
2. the same, after one has previously spat in the palm or has at least made the gesture for it (mutual);
3. the head greeting, in which the greeter bends the head and with the crown touches the chest or abdomen of the person greeted (unilateral);
4. the embrace with kiss on both cheeks (unilateral).

Both the gestures and the following words of greeting differ according to the age and sex of the participants. We must therefore consider the individual possibilities of the series.

With participants of the same sex, the older one begins the greeting; with different sex, the man; with the encounter of a woman with a boy, the former. The simple hand-extending is customary among youths, warriors, married men and married women, both among themselves and among one another, further for young girls and children among themselves.

If the greeting is supposed to be particularly heartfelt, because the ones greeting each other are either very close friends or have not seen each other for a long time, there is spitting in the hand before the hand-extending.

At the moment of the hand-extending the man calls out ŏlĕsé, the woman álái.

If the man is carrying something in his right hand, he puts it into the left one before the hand-extending, even though he is already holding something else inthis one. Men are always carrying something in the right hand, the youth and warrior the spear, the married man bow or stick; the woman, on the other hand, only in a single case: when she delivers the honey to be paid as bride price -- we

/105 cont./

576 have seen that the bridegroom sends this by one of his wives, his mother, older sister, or wife of his brother -- she carries the vessel with the honey on her back in the apron and, in her right hand, a stick (of a married man), on which she leans, as though to show that the gift brought is large and heavy.

Children and young girls give the head greeting to all adults, as does a young married woman (es siĕṅgiki) to the warrior or married man who is older than she and related to her or a close friend. During the head greeting the greeter says nothing, while the one greeted answers the greeting with one word: a man says to a boy ŏlĕlĕ, to a girl ṅăsăk; the woman to boy and girl, ṅăsăk.

/106/ Since the head greeting is a declaration of respect that is made to an older individual or one of higher standing, here, of course, the younger person begins the greeting. A combination of head greeting and hand extending, say, in the manner that the one bent the head, the other extended the hand, does not occur.

The embrace with kiss on both cheeks is always found for twin brothers and sisters frequently also for brothers and sisters in general, often times for own brothers and sisters, more rarely for half brothers and sisters. Furthermore, grandparents embrace and kiss their grandchildren, aunts their nephews and nieces, more rarely mothers their children, but in these cases only as long as the ones embraced are still in childhood. The embrace itself is not accompanied by any word of greeting. If one of the persons embracing is obliged to give the head greeting, this follows the embrace. If aunt and niece, for example, greet each other, the former embraces and kisses the girl, whereupon the latter, with bowed head, touches the chest of her aunt, and the latter at the same time calls out ṅăsăk.

The gesture is followed by an address. Acquaintances call out the name of the one greeted or, if they are closer to each other, refer to the father of the one greeted, for example, era Mtarín, which means son of Mtarín. Relatives use the term of address applying to them given above. For persons who do not know each other, the address is determined by the sex and age of the participants. For boys, youths, and married men the address is the same and runs, to one, ĕro or airo (contracted from arairo = friend), to several, loijé, which, as has

/106 cont./

576 been said, the older one says. One warrior addresses another with ol morĭni, several with el mŏran, whereby it also should be noted that this address is not placed before, but after the actual word of greeting, which is to be discussed later. Girls are addressed with natoje (sing. nairo, feminine form of ero or airo). A young woman is addressed by boys, youths, and warriors with n akitok (n akitwa), by married men, on the other hand, with es siĕ́ngiki. For old women all use the term of address koko. Married men and women address children of both sexes with na gerá = children (sing. eṅ gerai = child).

The address is followed by a reply, which, spoken by a man runs ĭ, by a woman ēō.

Greeting word and return-greeting word form the conclusion. Male individuals greet each other with sŏwai, whereupon ĕ́wă follows as return-greeting, as is done by young girls who live in the warrior kraal and young women who have recently left it. Otherwise female individuals greet each other among themselves, as well as men with women, with tăkwĕ́nja, return-greeting ĭ́ko. Just as also when a woman greets a boy, the greeting runs: she says tăkwĕ́nja, the boy replies ĭ̂ko. If the greeting is directed to several persons, one puts ĕ́nda before sówai and en before tăkwĕ́nja, thus ĕ́nda sówai and en tăkwĕ́nja. Finally it is still to be mentioned that the greeter, if he is faced with several persons, one of whom he greets in particular, he appends to the address, in case this /107/ does not contain either the name of the greeted or the name of his father or a kinship term of address, one of the following pronouns: ĕlde (sing., masc.), guldắ (pl., masc.), endĭ́ (sing., fem.), gunắ (pl., fem.), which mean roughly "you /sing./ there" or "you /pl./ there."

As a recapitulation of the preceding the following formulas result:

Greeter:	accompanying word, address handshake		greeting
Greeted:	accompanying word,	reply	return greeting
Greeter:	head greeting,	reply	return greeting
Greeted:	accompanying word, address		greeting

/107 cont./

576 Greeter: embrace, accompanying, address
Greeted: head greeting reply

Examples:

ol móruo: ȯ̆lĕlĕ̆ ė̆rō sȯ̆wai
to handshake
ol móruo: ȯ̆lĕlĕ ḁ̄ ė̆wă̆

ol móruo: ȯ̆lĕlĕ er 'ė̆lde sȯ̆wai
to handshake
ol móruo: ȯ́lĕlĕ ḁ̄ ė́wă
(who stands with several others)

en dȋtŏ: head greeting ġ̆ŏ ȋ́ko
to
ol morȧ̆ni: ṅăsȧ̆k nairo tăkwė̆nja

small boy: head greeting ḁ̄ ȋ́ko
married woman: ṅăsȧ̆k na gerai tăkwė̆nja

small nephew: head greeting ḁ̄ ȋ́ko
aunt: embrace hasȧ̆k tăkwė̆nja

ol morȧ́ni: ȯ̆lĕ̆lĕ̆ lė̆ morȧ́ni sȯ̆wai
to handshake
ol morȧ́ni: ȯ̆lĕ̆lĕ̆ ḁ̄ ė̆wă̆

ol morȧ́ni: to each: ȯ̆lĕ̆lĕ̆, to all: loijé guldḁ̄ mŏ́ran enda sȯ̆wai
to a few of many handshake
el mȯ̆ran: each: ȯ̆lĕ̆lĕ̆ all: ḁ̄ ė̆wă̆

older woman: to each: ṅăsȧ̆k, to all: na gera en tăkwė̆nja
to several small boys: each: head greeting ḁ̄ ȋ́ko

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576 521 [203] A brief conversation in which news is exchanged is added to the greeting as a rule. This explains how even in the barren steppes any news spreads with great speed. If strangers meet, the older man first questions the younger one, or the man the woman, about name, origin, etc. The first question always runs: "Where do you come from?" To this is added the following: era enia 'ṅ gischomi = to what tribe, era enia ol gelata kitok = to what principal lineage, era enia ol gelat' ate = to what sublineage do you belong? It is further asked: eṅ ai menje = who is your father, eṅ ai notonji = who is your mother, and kĕdja eṅ garnaino = what is your name? The one asked readily gives an answer, but generally does not question the other one; on the contrary he goes on without knowing with whom he spoke. Good breeding demands this.

576 574 If a stranger comes to a kraal whose owner he does not know, as a rule he asks one of the children playing in front. The reply then runs: My father (baba), and to the question who that might be, the little one looks at him astonished and asks: "Do you not know my father then?" To the further question as to where he might be, the child points to a hut in which it surmises the father to be. [201] Only small children may point with the finger in the direction of a married man; older ones and adults indicate the direction by turning the heads toward it and at the same time slightly pushing out the lower jaw or the lips or even their tongues. If the stranger has sought out the hut of the old man, he squats in front of it and waits until its owner comes out of his own accord or is called out by one of his people. Now he first questions the guest in the same way as at an encounter and then calls one of his wives or one of his children to bring milk. The gourd bottle is first handed to the host so that he can make sure it is generously filled. He then hands it on to the guest. When the latter has emptied it he is asked whether he would like still more; to answer in the negative would be an offense against good breeding. Hospitality is discussed in another place; it is only to be mentioned that the guest need not express any request. Though it is expected of him that he will feel quite at home, one nevertheless still specially offers him everything available.

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576 When an acquaintance wants to enter the hut, he calls -- corresponding to our knock -- "eh opĕ́n eńg adji" = female owner of the hut, whereupon from inside, like "Come in!" comes the answer, "ja na ijŏk" = "we are here." Thanks for a favor shown or a gift is hardly ever customary, only very rarely does one hear the
[201] word āschĕ́ = thanks. A request is refused in that one "warns off" with the hand, the palm of which is turned toward the one making the request.

The farewell runs "aija amalo" if one person is going away, "aija amerda/109/kipo" if several take their leave, and means "I am going" or "we are going." It is used similarly by all people and only by uncircumcised children is not accompanied by the handshake. A friend taking his leave is requested to remain longer with "milo" =
521 "do not go." In conversation with their kind the Masai are very talkative. The warriors among themselves relate old and new war adventures, which are presented with lively gestures and in exaggerated embellishment. Usually a fellow tribesman or lineage member plays the leading role in it; the enemy is always cowardly or lets himself be outwitted. Together with the young girls, the conversation soon becomes unrestrained and launches into racy witticisms and bold jokes. In the kraal of the married, men and women sit in separate groups. The former speak quietly and often in subdued voices about memories of their youth, stock raising, etc.; the latter, on the other hand, laughing and with extraordinary glibness of tongue, converse about gossipy tales in which some slur is cast on Mr. or Mrs. So-and-So. But let it be said to the credit of the Masai that their gossip is childish and harmless. One does not find malicious scandalmongers of either sex among the Masai and probably not among the other so-called primitive peoples. They rather seem to be an attendant
[157] phenomenon of a higher level of culture. In accordance with the lively, impulsive nature and especially also the abnormal irascibility of the younger men, one very often hears coarse and bantering invectives. Their coarseness probably sufficiently explains the peculiar
[576] ethics of the Masai. Crude invectives may not be used by women toward men.

/109 cont./

861 A father reprimands his disobedient child with the words eṅ gulugoni eṅ gob, that is, you are like a piece of earth or dirt, or eṅ dian eṅ gob, dirty fellow, or os soid eṅ gob, dirty stone.

578 Invectives and curses are:

192 ol meneṅani (or eṅ meneṅani) = skeleton, as remains of a decayed corpse:

ol ag' ischobo (Eṅg ai eṅ abiak, which means: may God give you the serious sickness "abiak":

es súti = dirt, dust, that is, if only one could sweep you out of the hut like the dirt;

ol agaescherteta = fall down;

ol agauȧ 'Ng ai, that is, may 'Ng ai take you away;

ol agatoṅóro ol assurai = may the snake bite you;

ol againassȧ ol ugaru = may the lion devour you;

ol agatȧdoijiriẽ ėṅg olon = go away along with the sun;

ol agȯimisso or redji = may your footprints be lost, that is, may you disappear entirely.

Bantering expressions that may sometimes be meant rudely are used by boys and youths to one another:

/110/

ol orobó ṅ otonji = accumbens matri /one who lies with his mother/;

ol orobó eńg arnasche = accumbens sorori /one who lies with his sister/;

hai, eńg inobi = hi, anus (neutrius generis) /these old fogies (neutral in gender)/;

hai, ol gorom = nates /buttocks/.

The last two are used teasingly both by young girls to the warriors and the latter among themselves. Furthermore warriors insult one another with ol kíregen = accumbens uxori alienae /one who lies with another's wife/; and os sinoni = scorned by the girls, ol orobó eṅg ikau énje = accumbens filiae maxima natu /one who lies with his oldest daughter/, ol orobó 'ṅg abudani = accumbens matri uxoris /one who lies with his wife's mother/. If a married man were to use
[593] toward his wife such vulgar invectives that had reference to her parents,
[586] the latter -- according to the assurances of the people -- would immediately take their daughter back and return the bride price to the man.

/110 cont./
578 man. From young girls among themselves one hears: eń orobó menje =
192 accumbens patri /one who lies with her father/, eń orobó 'l alahe = accumbens fratri /one who lies with her brother/.

Used by warriors toward young girls: hai em bališch = you, vulva; hai, e mówo = you, clitoris.

Younger children insult one another:
ṅotonji eṅ gomos = vagina matris;
ol agambai Eṅg ai = hated by 'Ng ai;
tababuá = stumble;
ol agaischiri Eṅg ai = cry to God (when you get a beating);
e mai = stupid fellow;
hai ol madai (or e madai) = you stupid fellow (stupid girl);
id' ol airirua, you are a blockhead;
id ol bua, you are a rowdy;
id' ol dillo endoi, that is, you are indeed mad. The term ol
[136] dillo, which here means madman, is formed from the like-named bird, the red-headed Anaplectes melanotis, one of the many species of the weaver birds native to East Africa. If one en route hears it call-
[777] ing on the steppe from the left side, it means good luck, but if it
[825] calls to the right of the traveler the latter will soon encounter a misfortune.

Ol agatar' em baie, that is, die by an arrow, ol agawa ol gollug = die of fever; ol bebedo = of the upele sickness; ol minjaloi = of smallpox; eń gohogge = of stomach or intestinal sickness; ol agataremo el gigaret = may the thorns prick you; ol agatarigi ol mairon = may your belly burst from eating; ol agairokischo = become black; ol agoibarra = rogue, brawler; ę at' ol marenge = slanderer, gossiper; ol duṅgani serseri = bad fellow; ol duṅgani guret = coward.

201 To express contempt one spits before the person concerned or at him.

192 The large number of invectives stands in contrast to a striking poverty in terms of endearment.

593 /111/ The mother designates her child as 'l aischa 'Ng ai = child given me by God, as eń gutok e jẽjo = mouth of the mother, or as ol oib e jẽjo = resting place of the mother. The father calls it ara ńgotonji = child of the wife. Older brothers and sisters talk fondly to younger ones with the term ara e jẽjo = child of mother.

/111 cont./

192 832 When one so often sees how the warriors flirt with the girls and how the latter act lovingly with the former, one would expect an abundance of expressions of tenderness. But here, too, this does not turn out to be true. The only pet name that the warrior gives the girl is *joruert' ai* = my darling, while the girl calls him *ol djore lai* = my friend, or also says *ăṅjŏr naleñ* = I love you very much, to which the warrior replies: *ắdol ắde eñ gawariĕ* = we shall see (literally *videbo noctu* /I shall see at night/).

XIII.

000 The blacksmiths. -- Their own kraals. -- Their social position. -- Attitude toward the blacksmiths. -- Workshop. -- Tools. -- Iron extraction. -- Technique. -- Blacksmiths' products; their prices. -- Wire drawing.

564 326 [361] [614] [613] The kraals of the blacksmiths lie isolated, apart from the true Masai kraals. It is not correct to designate these as a blacksmith tribe, since there are blacksmiths (*ol kononi, el konono*) in all three tribes and also in all lineages, except the El kiboron, and neither a single tribe nor a single lineage consists exclusively of blacksmiths. They form a caste of their own and are the pariahs of the Masai, the despised and detested, *the unclean*, whom one would prefer not to tolerate if one did not need them so urgently. From ancient times the trade has been handed down from father to son, who only practices the calling after his marriage, therefore as *ol móruo*. One cannot detach oneself from the caste by not practicing the trade; rather, one who comes from a blacksmith family always remains *ol kononi*, no matter whether he works as a blacksmith or not. If, on the other hand -- which happens only very exceptionally -- a Masai who does not belong to the blacksmith caste permanently or temporarily practices the blacksmith's trade, he will, to be sure, also be regarded with scorn, but neither he himself nor his descendants will be despised as blacksmiths or counted in the blacksmith caste. A blacksmith kraal
[777] (*eñg an el konono*) in the vicinity of other kraals brings the latter bad

564 /111 cont./
326 luck and would cause their inhabitants illness and death for man
[777] and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality
[574] of a blacksmith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges.
The warriors coming from blacksmith families do not live in the
[701] ordinary warrior kraals, but in the smaller blacksmith warrior-
kraal (ol manjata l el moran l el konono) and only with daughters of
blacksmiths. They do not set out for the battlefield with the other
warriors either, but alone, and naturally bring along, since they /112/
are few in number, only a little booty each time, which then often
enough is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. An-
[582] other Masai does not marry the daughter of an ol kononi, just as the
latter's son dare not desire in marriage the daughter of a man who
does not belong to the despised blacksmith caste. Even the extra-
[837] marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the black-
smiths is regarded as disastrous for any other Masai. It is believed
that he will sooner or later lose his mind, will never be able to
become the father of a healthy child, or on the next field expedition
he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. How despised
[784] the blacksmiths are is shown by the fact that a Masai does not dare
[192] to pronounce the word "ol kononi" after the onset of darkness (1).

564 1. More than once the people, when in camp,
326 in the evening, I wanted to speak with them
114 about the el konono, begged me to abstain from
784 this, because otherwise some misfortune would
192 befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to
time, and thus also on the evening of December
31, 1901, when I was camped near a Tatoga
settlement on the steppe southwest of Mburu. A
lion then penetrated into my camp in the night
and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pur-
suit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The
next morning the Masai made me responsible for
this incident, "it would not have happened if you
had not spoken about the el konono last evening;
we have so often told you this."

/112 cont./

564 because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it; it is feared
326 that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the
[192] enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "ol kononi"
[784] is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective
[578] expressing contempt.

564 The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the
326 blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of
779 blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths
829 among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine
[783] commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous; if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

564 It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the
326 efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest
142 somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (2).

564 2. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the
326 Masai Language and not another one of their own,
197 as had been supposed from the statement by
198 C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language
114 and folklore, Oxford, 1905, p. 331. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them
[563] who know it." This statement by Hollis is ex-

/112 cont./

564 /footnote 2 cont./ plained by the fact that
326 a few El lumbua blacksmiths also live among
[197] the Masai blacksmiths. They speak their
[198] own dialect, which, of course, is unintelli-
[114] gible to the non-blacksmith El masai ("ordi-
[563] nary Masai," as Hollis designates them), who,
indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

564 The opinion of many a European, that the /113/ relative diligence
326 of the blacksmith might have brought to him the scorn of that type
461 from the non-blacksmiths not inclined to work, is also a rude error.
[114] I have become acquainted with a large number of El konono who
for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and
very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade,
but rather live entirely like other Masai. All these, however, were
despised exactly the same as their forging fellow caste members.

564 Like the blacksmiths themselves, the products of their art, the
326 weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In
783 order to take the uncleanness from them, the Masai rubs with fat
every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his
hands which have touched the still unclean object.

564 Even the reputation that a few armorers enjoy, on account of the
326 excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social
position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Eñgussa
from Ol brugga, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other
blacksmith. The Ol brugge people, however, jealously see to it that
he does not also work for warriors of any other province or even for
members of another people.

564 While the other kraals, tied to the presence of good pastures, are
326 always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith
361 kraals remain for a long time in the same localities. The el koñono
[314] have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal
[317] and ferruginous sand. They establish their homes where both are to be
[347] found nearby. The workshop (ol guguet) is built close to the kraal. It
consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies
[354] the hearth (eñ edoñschore). The smith makes his tools as well as his
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314

/113 cont./
326 charcoal (eń gúkuo, n̊ guk). The charcoal, in piles the height of a
[314] man, is burned out of the wood of the trees ol mokotan (Albizzia
[324] anthelmintica), ol kadedemma, ol mandemando, and a few others
and then carried to the smithy in skin sacks. A stone (os soid l eń
325 413 gidoṅgore = stone of forging) serves as an anvil. The hammer (os
gisirjedi, el gisirjed, Fig. 21 (1))

1. See p. 150.

has the shape of a pestle, the lower end of which is somewhat compressed. Working with it is pounding, not hammering. The tongs (ol garamet, el garameta, Fig. 22 (1) /see footnote 1 above/) consist of two parts that are joined by a pin mechanism. Their grip arms are long, the grasp arms short. The small striking chisel (Fig. 23 (1) /see footnote 1 above/) (ol oiseṅge, el oiseṅgen) has the usual shape. The bellows (eń guneĭ, ṅ guneĭ) is /114/ represented in two
[171] [237] forms. The one very widespread in Central Africa, which consists of two conical bags made of sheepskin or goatskin (Fig. 24), is the most common. In the lower end of each bag is stuck a wooden plug, like a stopper, through which projects an iron tube 20 centimeters long. In place of the latter there is also often a wooden tube, or for both bags together a forked branch hollowed out like a tube. On the upper, wide end of the bag two sticks are sewed on with small thongs so that they form the opening in a slit. The one using the bellows -- usually an old man or a woman -- grasps with each hand one of the two bags at the upper end, so that they, opened with the stretching of the bellows by spreading out the hands, let air enter. With the following pressing together of the bellows, by squeezing the sticks together, /Figs. 21-25 appear here/ one prevents the air from ebbing back again and drives it through the lower iron tube. Both iron tubes open into a clay tube (ol modi, el modio) lying in the fire. The two bags of the bellows are manipulated in such a way that with the stretching of one the other one is squeezed together at the same time. The other type (Fig. 25) consists of a wooden bowl -- covered with skin for durability -- upon which is tied, airtight, a leather bag that has a round hole on top. In using the bellows, one inserts here the thumb of the right hand and with it stretches the bag upward. With the compressing of the bag the hole is closed with the palm of the hand. Below at the side of the wooden bowl is found the air tube.

/114 cont./

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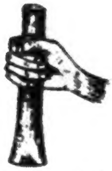

Fig. 21. (1/4

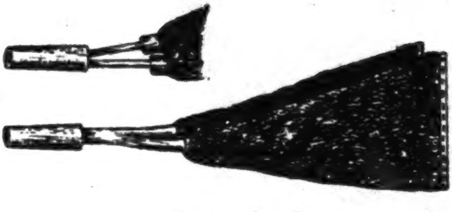

Fig. 24. (1/10

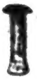

Fig. 23.

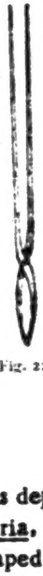

Fig. 22.

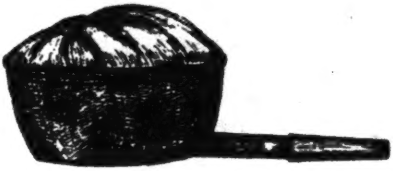

Fig. 25. (1/10)

316 Where brooks deposit the ferruginous sand (os sinjai
325 oidongijeki m beria, that is, sand from which spears are forged), this is /115/ scraped together in small heaps, cleaned superficially by having water poured over it repeatedly, and then, packed in leather bags, transported to the workshop. In order to extract the iron from the sand, one sprinkles a handful of iron sand into the fire every five minutes and on top of it each time another two to three handfuls of charcoal. When, after about two hours of this procedure, the outer slag is broken, one has a few little pieces of iron sponge of hen's egg size all together, which then, after being
325 made red-hot repeatedly, can be further worked. For this the in-
237 dividual pieces, under sprinkling with crushed snail shells

325 [237] [136] /115 cont./
(ol bigit) (1).

1. From Achatina fatalis Marts. and Ampullaria ovata Oliv.

are welded together. As this shows, the extraction of iron is very difficult work. Therefore it is still found only rarely today. For the [437] most part one works iron wire, which everywhere in the Masai country is the favorite article of barter. Pieces of wire 15 to 25 feet long are twisted together; when they are red-hot, they are sprinkled with snail shells and then hammered together. The object ready in shape, for example, a sword blade, is smoothed and polished with volcanic slag and sharpened on a stone. The principal 326 products of the blacksmith art are: spear, sword, and knife. The two parts of the spear, blade (es sibil, sibilin) and socket (ol ñgorát, el ńgoratí), a blacksmith with his helpers should make in one day,

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Fig. 26a. (1/1)

326 sword (ol além kitok, el aléma kitwa) and ax (ol dólu, el dóluo) in half a day, the other smaller objects, such as knife (ol alem), awl (ol dédŏ, el dédĭ), iron for cattle branding (ol méhĕrĕ, el méhĕrĕn), arrow points (em bunid, m bunido), razors (ol mŏrŏnjă, el mŏrŏnjáni), tweezers for plucking the beard (ol budet, el budeta), in a still [435] shorter time. As payment he receives for a spear two goats or an ox; for a sword, a large livestock-bell (eń gurugur, ń guruguri); for an

/115 cont./

326 [435] ax or ten arrow points, a goat each; for the other things he is paid with milk. If the orderer furnished the iron wire, only half of the prices named is given as payment for the labor.

From thick brass and copper wire (os sojai, es soja; os sojai ebor, brass wire; os sojai adó, copper wire) the blacksmiths draw thin wire. For this they use as tools the eñ gâuo and the ol gamĕt. The former is an iron approximately a foot long (Fig. 26a), which is an inch thick in the middle and on both sides often tapers to points. In the center it has a few conical holes of different widths through which the wire is drawn. Not infrequently the en gáuo also consists only of a piece of strong sheet iron that /116/ is not pointed at the ends. The ol gamĕt (Fig. 26b) serves as tongs and has the shape of sugar tongs whose grasping arms are squeezed together by an iron spiral
325 drawn around them. The drawing of small pieces of wire is done by hand, whereby one man grasps the eñ gâuo, the other the tongs. For larger work the former with its two points is wedged into a forked

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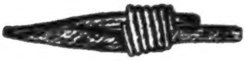

Fig. 26b. ¼

wooden block, while the wire already drawn through is fastened to a roller resting on two forked branches. By a slow turning of it the wire drawing then proceeds. In order to make the wire still thinner, it is drawn a second time through an iron with a smaller hole. The
306 spiral-shaped neck-ornament of the Masai women (es segengeĭ e
301 murt), the double-spiral earrings of thick brass wire (es surudiai,
325 surudia) the women and old men, the arm and leg cuffs of iron
462 wire (es segengei, with designation of the part on which they are worn), as well as the tin ear-pendants (ol aimír, el aimér), are made by

/116 cont./
306 the wives of the blacksmiths. Smaller ornamental objects of wire
301 are made by the other Masai women. The small chains of iron and
325 copper wire are not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought
[462] ready-made from the caravan people or the sedentary neighboring
[439] tribes.

XIV.

000 Character. -- National pride. -- Disrespect for foreigners. -- Designation of foreigners. -- The Masai in the service of the European. -- Attitude of the Masai living among his people toward the European. -- The Masai toward their kind. -- Hospitality -- Position of the woman. -- How the Negro illustrates the character of the Masai. -- Expression of emotions and other gestures. -- Strength of vision. -- Art sense. -- Color sense. -- Orientation ability. -- Song. -- Ideal of beauty of the human body.

186 The most outstanding trait in the character of the Masai is their
779 national pride which is based on the religious view that they are the
829 chosen people of God. God created the world and all that is in it
[181] only for them. All non-Masai are subject to the Masai people and
their property belongs to them. This explains the haughtiness and the deep disdain toward the sedentary Negroes, who are not familiar with 'Ng ai and have no share in the good things created by him and who therefore are condemned to wrest their daily food from the
[461] soil in the sweat of work. On the other hand, God cares for the
Masai as for his children, they need not work: "eñ dobira mĕti sidai = work is not good, everything belongs to them anyway, and, since the Negroes do not give it voluntarily, the Masai take it by force. In fact, the Negro, in the opinion of the Masai, only has justification for existence as keeper of the livestock created by 'Ng ai for the Masai.

186 In general the Masai designates all non-Masai as el meg (sing. ol megi), a term that is to be translated as "unbeliever." /117/ The Masai does not know friendship and loyalty toward the

/117 cont./

186 unbelievers, every trick, every deception is permitted against them. [101] In particular other names exist for distinctions. For the tribes racially related to them these names are derived from their places of residence, in connection with which it is to be noted that for these the Masai have their own nomenclature. For Europeans he uses the 'l aisuṅgu derived or transformed from the Kisuaheli. Finally, he calls the Negroes el mañat (sing. ol mañatinda), which is to be translated appropriately with "the savages" and corresponds to the word Waschensi with which coast the people designate the Negroes of the interior.

181 The first impression which the Masai, in comparison with the Negroes, makes on the European is definitely very much to his advantage. The handsome, tall figures are charming in themselves from the first and often make haughtiness and insolence appear as pride and candor, which stand in pleasant contrast to the hypocritically flaunted, groveling submission of the Negroes.

829 A certain distinction is really not to be denied the Masai. In this respect he stand high above the average Negro. It is significant that for him only the thrusting weapon -- spear and sword -- is regarded as worthy of a Negro. He has a profound contempt for the Negro bands shooting with poisoned arrows treacherously from the bush, whereas he judges this situation more leniently in connection with the Tatoga in the process of sharp decline, who are able to muster only very meager fighting forces. He therefore also condones the use of guns, at least in part, by the divisions, numerically weak, of the Protectorate Troops. It seems to him justified against the poisoned arrows, but he does not by any means regard it as noble and decent compared with his thrusting weapons. Thus, a small Masai youth, who was in my service for several years as a boy, often reproached me in the aforesaid way.

/117 cont./

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As a servant of Europeans the Masai in general shows the same moral quality as the members of other tribes from the interior of East Africa (1).

> 1. I became acquainted with youths of ten different tribes of the interior. They are all quite considerably better, though also more inept in the beginning, than the brazen-impudent, conceited, and thievish nigger-dandy of the coast.

There is just as little domestic-servant faithfulness and dependability as there is constancy and gratitude for benefits enjoyed. An opportunity to rob the master is happily utilized; in the kitchen, meat, milk, and butter especially disappear. In the pasture the Masai herdsman draws off milk from the cows and blood from the oxen and sucks fat from the tails of sheep. One time the herdsman came home from the pasture in the evening, quite out of breath, and lamented that an elephant coming in the vicinity of the herd had scattered the cattle by its bellowing. In spite of a diligent search, two head of cattle were supposedly lost because of it -- two cows, of course! This was indeed very annoying, but was not to be altered, and I contented myself /118/ with ordering the herdsman to stay closer to the station with the herd. About eight days later the same incident -- ostensibly -- happened, and again it was two of the best cows. If that had gone on, we would have been rid of the entire herd in a few months. The warning had been useless, so the shepard was given a sound thrashing. And behold! From then on not only did the elephants remain away from the herd permanently, but even the cattle that had last disappeared showed up again. He had stolen them and given them to a friend for safekeeping. Another case. A settler had a herd of fine select livestock about two hours from the farm in a secure palisade-kraal and in the care of a number of Masai in his service. A mark had been scratched into the hide of the cattle. One day the herdsmen brought a number of cows to the farm with the observation that the mark had grown over and would have to be cut again. The owner did

/118 cont./

177 181 609 466 this and discovered to his sorrow that the cows had wasted away in the last few weeks to the point of being unrecognizable. If he had examined them more closely, he would also have found that they had aged several years in the preceding month. But he had no thought of any dishonesty of the people, whom he considered honorable and good, until after more than 100 of his finest cows had been exchanged for old, worthless ones and he had unsuspectingly marked all of the latter. One could cite a whole series of such examples instructive for the settler, but here let there be pointed out only one particularly popular trick: When in the evening the livestock of the settler is driven to water, the native stockowners -- both Masai and Negroes -- also like to drive their herds into the vicinity of this watering place. In the press and haste of the livestock for the water, there run into the herd of the European, as intended, a few head of the cattle of the Black, who now, instead of taking his stock out of the strange herd again, moves off with a corresponding number of the settler's best cattle.

177 181 464 609 [459] When the Masai servant who regularly invested his savings in cattle has assembled a small herd, he often enough leaves service in order to return again to his people. If an opportunity presents itself, it may happen that he now serves his compatriots as a spy against his former master. Uncircumcised youths who hire themselves out as boys return to their native kraals for circumcision, live there a few years with their contemporaries in the usual manner, and then often go back into service.

177 181 609 829 The Masai living in the tribe is and remains mistrustful of every European whom he has not become intimately acquainted with through the years. He regards the latter's honesty and forbearance as weakness and believes that it is only because of a lack of strength and cleverness that the European does not oppress him just as he himself does this with the Negroes. He performs a service for the European only in order /119/ to have some -- often enough illegal -- benefits from it. If he concludes friendship with him, it is done merely for the sake of appearances and a momentary advantage. As one accused, he almost never confesses, even with guilt proved, but rather, asserts with profound indignation: "A Masai does not do anything like

/119 cont./

177 that" (1).

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> 1. When, after receiving news of an ugly misdemeanor or crime, I spoke to one or another more trustworthy Masai about the unknown culprit, I often heard: It was surely not a Masai. A Masai would not do anything like that. Such things do not happen among the Masai.

Though he may know better, he accuses an ol mēgi just as unhesitatingly as he absolves a fellow tribesman (2).

[564]
(326)

> 2. It may be mentioned here that, according to my observation, the insincerity and dishonesty of the people belonging to the blacksmith caste are decidedly greater than that of the other Masai, so that it seems as if the contempt and bad treatment that the former experience from the latter have bred an inferiority of character in the course of the millenniums.

829 The mental superiority of the European impresses him only in such cases where it has convicted him of some villainy, while his technical skills reek far too much of the despised "ol kunono" to the Masai to seem worth notice. It is solely the guns of the Protectorate Troops that obtain for the white man respect and influence among the Masai and have made this master race of East Africa somewhat more modest.

186 The picture becomes more gratifying if one observes the Masai
181 in intercourse with his own kind. Dobiró ol gutuk sidai ol masai = make a good mouth toward the Masai, that is, be good, friendly, sincere toward your fellow tribesmen.

/119 cont./

593 The Masai are animated by a deep feeling of solidarity: they
181 stand united against all foreigners. A sincere attachment and love
[186] bind the individual members of the family: they vie with one another
in order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in
1896, the Masai who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately
used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had
become slaves during the great livestock epidemics around the year
1890. The tightest is the bond between parents, especially the
mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters, looser
between married people, where the lowly, oppressed position of the
wife is of some importance.

181 The men scorn any kind of work. Only waging war is worthy of a
461 man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme
554 happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One looks
down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions,
735 since relatives support one another in generous ways. One who does
602 not have such quickly finds accommodations as a rule with one who
is well-to-do. He receives food and for that helps the women and
children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, kraal-
building, night watch for the small livestock, etc.). The condition
of /120/ poverty is also always only of brief duration; the poor man
soon acquires some prosperity again through gifts from friends or a
574 share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous
[572] as one is good-natured; the hospitality to countrymen, no matter
where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of
course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a visitor whatever he happens
to have in food and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or
wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a hut for the night
[837] by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it; the host then seeks
other quarters for the night and leaves home and wife to the guest.
If a woman comes for a visit, the wife leaves the hut for the night,
so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other
peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the
ceremony of infant exchange or through blood friendship. The
181 cruelty of the Masai is no greater than that of the other black
peoples, for example, the Negroes neighboring the Masai. If they

/120 cont./ If they
181 spare women and children in war, it is not out of compassion, but
[567] solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do
not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting
vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part
possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impu-
dence often makes them appear more courageous than they really
[593] are. Their sensuality equals that of most East African tribes. The
[837] wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class
[561] (both ol boror and ol adji) of her husband and desires her. It is
593 obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with
the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family
life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is espe-
cially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock
management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny
as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures
562 up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough
461 treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men loafing
[462] about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married
women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song;
[517] they had their share of them before their marriage, when they could
have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with
respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the
Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows
nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one
562 does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her
461 own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willing-
178 ness to work immediately comes to an end. The less oppressive
177 her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding
she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and
her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immeasurably.
/121/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the
point of disappearing and her passion for amusement great. The reason
for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life
among the hated and despised el mēg as a disgrace and the work re-
quired of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

/121 cont./

181 If we summarize the traits outlined above, there results, on the one hand, the fact that the character of the Masai in general reveals the same virtues and vices as that of other primitive peoples, but then also that the Masai are definitely to be counted among the better half of these peoples.

181 609 The following little story, which a man from the Kilimandscharo area of Moschi once told me, shows how the Negroes illustrate the character of the Masai. "It was many years ago when we still fortified the area well with ditches and thorn hedges and the few approaches were both made hidden and well guarded. One day a couple of our people went into the steppe to see whether an elephant had fallen into the trap pit made there. There in the bush they found an old, sick Masai near starvation. Full of compassion, they took him home with them, where he gradually recovered. The convalescent seemed filled with gratitude and swore eternal friendship toward his benefactors when he departed to seek out his kraal again. A few days after his departure the war cry of our people suddenly resounded one night throughout the area. The Masai had come to make war on us, led by that old man who during his stay here had become familiar with the roads and bypaths and who owed his life to us."

201 152 Astonishment, depending on its degree, is expressed by a more or less wide opening of the eyes and the mouth, as well as by a simultaneous raising of the eyebrows.

[147] A feeling of shame is manifested by a darkening of the skin of the face and often also the throat, corresponding to the "blushing" of the white race. In order to express indignation one looks at the other with wide-open, staring eyes often cast slantwise. One observes the same in the case of obstinate children.

In reflection the forehead is wrinkled longitudinally and often also transversely in its middle section.

To express ill-humor, depression, anger because of loss, etc., one scratches the head bent to one side -- usually to the left -- with the right hand and thereby wrinkles the forehead transversely above the root of the nose.

/121 cont./

201 In contentment the eyes sparkle, and there is a happy expression
152 on the face.

The stubborn one often presses his lips together tightly. In lying,
201 especially in stiff-necked lying, the one concerned usually exhibits a
152 well-played /122/ candor and the absence of any trace of conscious-
577 ness of guilt, which often increases to the point of indignation, as
181 though over an unjust suspicion. The Masai shows here a great talent
for acting, which he probably has in common with most of the dark-
skinned African races. Even when he sees himself convicted and has
gained the impression that the judge or master is convinced of his
guilt, he does not stop lying, but often persists for a long time in the
behavior just described. More rarely his look gradually becomes un-
[147] certain, the eyes blink, the skin darkens somewhat, the voice becomes
husky and somewhat hoarse and his facial expression says approxi-
mately: "Now nothing more will help!"

201 As a sign of contempt one spits before the one held in contempt.
152 More rarely among men, but commonly among women, the same
feeling is expressed by pushing out the lips and lower jaw and
simultaneously extending the head forward.

The feeling of disgust is manifested by spitting.

[147] An extreme degree of fear is shown by a blanching of the skin, especially of the face, trembling of the hands, trembling in the voice, blinking of the eyes, which move unsteadily toward the sides, whereby the head either stays still or is turned in the direction of the eyeballs.

[522] Laughter often increases to a pitch that brings tears to the eyes.

In order to indicate that one is not in a position to do or to prevent something, or to protect oneself or a friend from a loss, to convince someone of the truth of one's words, one shrugs one's shoulders, turns the elbows inward, spreads the hands out, and opens the palms while raising the eyebrows.

Petulant children make a face as though they intended to start to cry.

/122 cont./

201 An expression of guilt, cunning, or jealousy can be recognized. 152 If these feelings are very intense, the one conscious of guilt often holds one hand bent into a loose fist, in front of his mouth in such a way that the lower joint of the index finger lies crosswise below the root of the nose, whereas the jealous one appears surly and silent before he turns to violence. One who through cunning wishes to lure into a trap, to deceive, or to lie to another looks at him as little as possible; only now and then he gives him a more or less shy glance. The European will observe this especially often.

201 A low whistle is regarded as a sign to observe absolute silence; a blinking with the eyes admonishes the initiate to keep a secret. Warriors, for example, use the former during a night attack, brigands when a victim is approaching, thieves, etc., when there is danger in delay. One can often observe the latter in the case of one accused, when he is confronted with witnesses, and one also sees it not infrequently on other occasions when one /123/ questions a Masai and another one standing nearby wants the former to give false or no information.

Affirmation is expressed by a single, brief tossing back of the head and a simultaneous lowering of the eyelids. As a sign of negation the head is shaken laterally.

It has already been mentioned that one does not point at a person with the finger, but rather indicates the direction concerned with thrust-out tongue or lips or lower jaw. The index finger is [789] precisely the finger under the nail of which one may apply the magic medicine. This thought is also the basis of the threat with the index finger -- which is done as among us. -- The threat is therefore merely an ostentative display or holding of the finger, which can bring danger to the one threatened. One points to animals and inanimate objects, with the right arm extended, with the hand, while index finger and the middle finger are outstretched, whereby the tip of the latter rests on the nail of the former.

/123 cont./

201 152 A threatening with blows, just like the energy of a blow is indicated with a smacking sound that the index finger snapping down on closed thumb and middle finger of the right hand produces, a movement that is executed from the wrist and to a lesser extent also from the elbow and is sometimes observed among us as an involuntary reaction after taking hold of an unpleasantly hot object, or also among snuffers after taking a pinch. Besides this gesture one also finds another, the snapping of the middle finger from the tip of the thumb on the ball of it, common among us. Often this expresses a higher degree of threat, a threatening with weapons. On the other hand, however, one also finds it as an expression of embarrassment, whereby at the same time the shoulders are drawn up.

If the Masai wishes to emphasize emphatically that something is altogether at an end or gone, that nothing is left of it any more, he runs his thumbnail directly behind the edge of his upper incisors and pushes it quickly forward with a snapping sound.

201 861 I observed repeatedly how mothers reprimanded their naughty children, in that they accompany their eno el aigoschobo eñ abiak, that is, go, or things will go badly with you! with a motion of the hands, which consisted of her rapidly passing the palms of her hands, turned toward each other, half clapping, half grazing, and, to be sure, the right hand, chiefly active in this, would be snapped forward from behind.

151 /124/ The strength of vision of the Masai, like that of other primitive peoples, is very good. Often they already saw objects in the landscape at distances at which a normal-sighted European could not yet discern anything. The author was particularly struck by the fact that the people were able to recognize an object seen at great distances better than the European, even such whose eyes, through many years' residence in the country, were accustomed to the peculiar forms of vegetation and lighting effects in the steppe. When the latter was in doubt as to whether it was a matter of, for example, a man or a tree stump, or of a termite hill or a large antelope, the Masai's power of recognition always proceeds to be the better one.
[804] That they have at their disposal a tolerable judgment of distance is

/124 cont./
151 proved by the fact that they prepare the ground plan of the huts, the
[804] wire spirals and wire rings serving for adornment, etc., without
mechanical measuring devices. For the same reason one recognizes
their sense of symmetry in their weapons.

151 Following the Holmgren zephyr-yarn procedures, I examined 87
125 Masai, and, to be sure, 46 men and 41 women, on their sense of
color. The test showed that of all only one man had "weak color
sense," all the others, on the other hand, had "normal color sense."
[822] Here too the symbolic significance of the colors should be considered:
black = calm seriousness, red (blood) = war, green = peace, variegated,
and, to be sure, especially in the combination of red and white,
expresses joy, gaiety,~~;~~ but also frivolity and fickleness.

Photographs of objects known by them they perceived correctly, those of persons known by them not at once, but always only after longer observation. Often the perspective foreshortening of an object in the photograph was incomprehensible to them; they regarded such a one as incomplete.

153 Their powers of orientation in the region and their memory for
151 paths once taken or stretches of land traversed are excellent. Their
memory for numbers seems to be better than that of most tribes in the
153 interior of East Africa, since, unlike the latter, they do not use
802 mechanical aids such as notches in sticks, knots in string, etc. Their
[211] power of conceiving numbers does not seem to go beyond five; only a
few could recognize at a glance the correct number of more than five
objects placed before them.

53 Their feeling for plastic art is shown by the rich and not unhand-
517 some adornment, the handsome forms of their weapons, the painting
of the shields, the decoration with cowrie shells and beads on utilitarian objects and clothing. Representational art is unknown to them. A feeling for music is completely lacking; their singing is arbitrary and without rules, the main thing in it is the text and the alternation in the vocal execution. They do not have musical instruments, for the antelope horn of the summoner to legal proceedings serves only to attract the attention of the people through loud noises. The following is a
533 common song to accompany the dance (1):

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1. Recorded by Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki.

/125/

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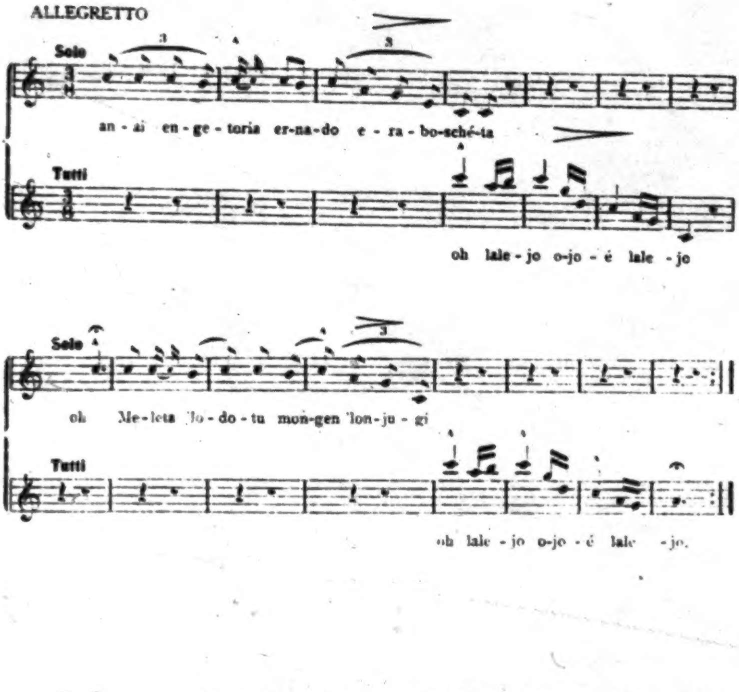
ALLEGRETTO
Solo
an - ai en - ge - toria er-na-do e - ra - bo-sché-ta
Tutti
oh lale - jo o-jo - é lale - jo
Solo
oh Me - leta 'lo - do - tu mon-gen 'lon - ju - gi
Tutti
oh lale - jo o-jo - é lale - jo.

In free translation the solo says: who is the leader of the red shields; oh, it is Meleta, who was wounded in the fetlock/Ger. Fessel/, so that his red blood ran into the "moñgen" (the fetlock ornament of Colobus skin); literally: who the leader of the red shields, oh, Meleta, who has taken out the blood from his moñgen.

832 For judging the beauty of the human body the people in general
826 apply the same principles as the European does.

The Masai idea of beauty calls for a well-built, slender body with slightly rounded forms. In contrast to most other black peoples, among whom corpulence is taken as the measuring stick for feminine beauty, a Masai beauty may not be heavy. Her limbs must show just enough roundness so that they do not appear angular. Further requirements for being regarded as beautiful are: oval face, white teeth, black gums, a skin color as light as possible, protruding buttocks

/125 cont./

832 (without, however, one's being able to speak of steatopygia), robust
826 hips, deep umbilical cavity. The lips must not stand out, either by form or color, so that thin and dark lips are considered beautiful. For
[302] tongue and gums an artificial black coloring is regarded as beautiful;
[824] for this one uses the juice of Clerodendron ternatum (1).

1. Ol oitero 'gischo 'el nijaba.

Prominent muscles in the upper arm and calf or a fat belly are regarded as ugly and are contemptuously compared with the like characteristics of the Negroes, or one also speaks mockingly of club arms, or calves with a goat stomach stuck in them, or of a /126/ diseased swollen abdomen. Among girls one places value on small bones, small, narrow hands and feet, as well as erect, hemispherical
[302] breasts. By means of painting with red earth one seeks to enhance the dark skin color by the contrast of colors.

XV.

000 Weapons. -- Spear. -- Sword. -- Scabbard, belt, shield. -- Club. -- Bow. -- Arrow. -- Firearms.

411 The foremost weapon of the Masai is the well-known, beautiful, large spear /Ill. 41 appears here/ (Fig. 27, see pp. 166 ff.). It constitutes all the pride of the warrior, who would sooner part with anything but that. The spear consists of three parts: the /127/ upper iron blade, the middle wooden shaft, and the lower iron shoe. At the lower end of the blade and at the upper one of the shoe, respectively, one finds a socket by means of which these parts are
411 stuck on the wooden shaft. The ancient spears had blades 30 centi-
178 meters long and 20 centimeters wide, with short sockets, a long wooden shaft, and a short shoe. Gradually the socket of the blade was lengthened up to 40 centimeters, and the shaft was shortened in the same proportion. Such spears are still to be found only rarely today, and then the blade on them has been ground more or less narrow in the course of the years. Later, fashion lengthened the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 168]

/Illustration from p. 126 of the original source./

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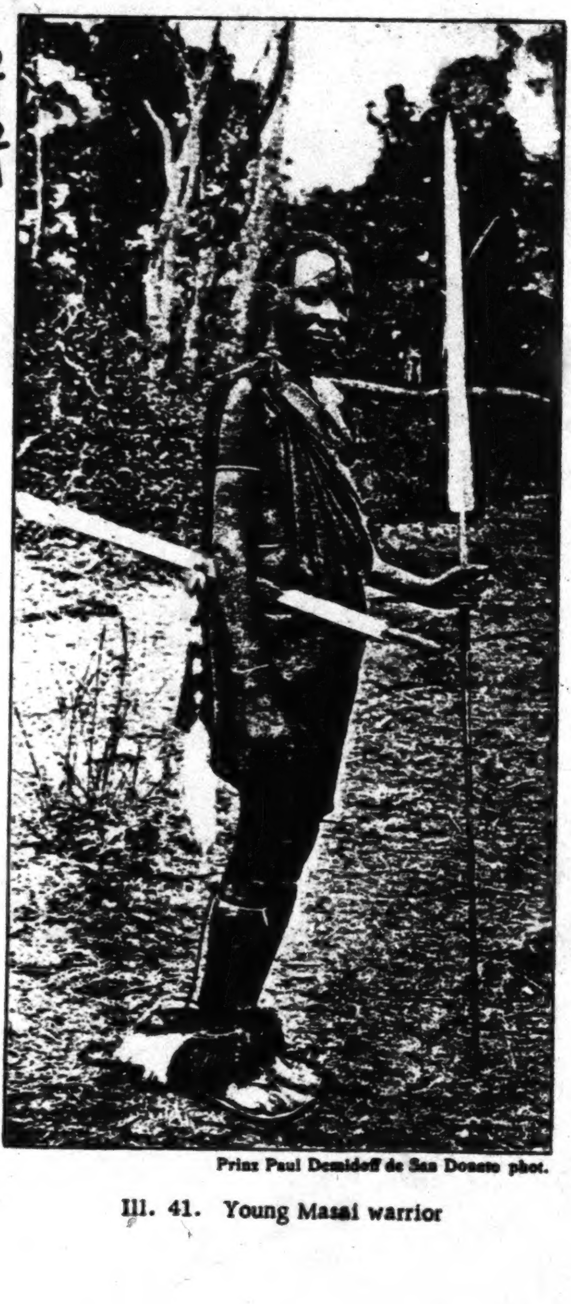

Prinz Paul Demidoff de San Donato phot.

Ill. 41. Young Masai warrior

/127 cont./

411 wide blade up to approximately 60 to 65 centimeters and at the same
178

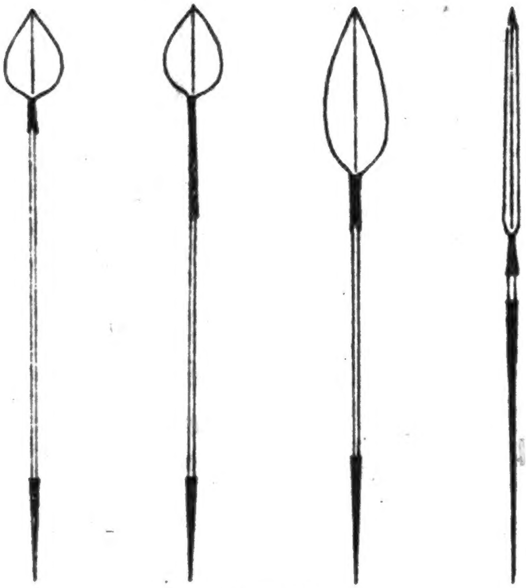

Fig. 27. (1/20)

time shortened the socket to 10 to 12 centimeters. Fine specimens of such spears are still frequently found. The modern spear of today has a narrow blade, usually about 80 to 85 centimeters long, sometimes even still longer, which measures only four to six centimeters at its lower, widest part, a short wooden shaft 10 to 15 centimeters

411 long, and a meter-long shoe. The blade is almost always brightly

/127 cont./
411 polished, seldom unpolished and black. The latter is not a sign of
crudeness, but is supposed to prevent gleaming in the sun. The
[439] spears carried by the Masai are not all made by the el konono, but
[177] are also /128/ bought from sedentary Negroes, and, to be sure,
chiefly from the Wadschagga of the Kilimandscharo, whose black-
smiths make them for the warriors of their tribe or also on order for
[177] Masai warriors. One therefore finds among the spears of the Masai

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411

Ill. 42. Young Masai with spear. [illegible]

/128 cont./
411 [177] sometimes alien types, which, however, only in exceptional cases
do not closely lean on the general Masai shape. The essential dif-
ference between the two types is that the axes of the cross-section
411 171 (Fig. 28) in /129/ the blade prepared by the Masai smiths stand
obliquely to each other; in the one made by the Negroes, at right
angles to each other. Another difference appears in the lower end
of the blade among the long, narrow forms (Fig. 29), which among
the former spears is more heart-shaped (a) or also spoon-shaped (b),

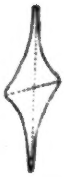


Fig. 28a

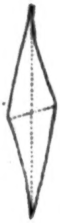
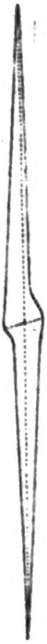


Fig. 28b

Fig. 28c



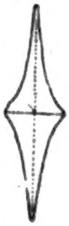


Fig. 28d

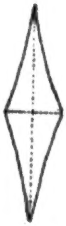


Fig. 28e

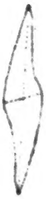


Fig. 28f

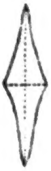


Fig. 28g

Legend for Fig. 28:
a, b, and c, Masai spears; d and e, Dschagga spears;
f, Masai sword; g, Dschagga sword.

/129 cont./

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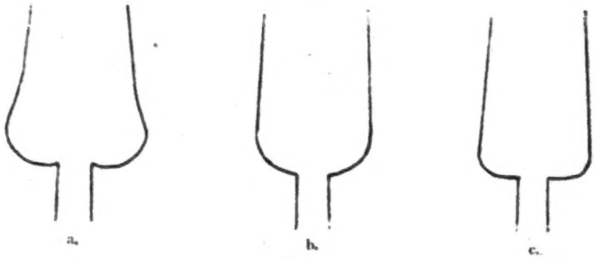

Fig. 29.

among the others usually more spade-shaped (c). The first two [177] shapes, especially the spoon-shaped one, have in more recent times also been imitated by Negro smiths, and, to be sure, as I /130/ was able to determine in several cases, on the express [184] order of Masai warriors. While the spear shoe is circular above and below as a rule, one also finds such, particularly in the Ol {422} bruggo province, among which these parts have a rectangular diameter and one which notches (Fig. 30) are made as ownership marks of various meanings (1).

1. They may mean: district, ol boror, tribe or lineage, etc., of the owner.

/Figs. 30-32 appear here./

411 482 On the march the spear is carried, either on the right or on the left, in three different ways, among which the warrior alternates according to convenience. 1. With outstretched arm hanging down, the hand grasps the spear shaft at the spear's center of gravity. The spear lies horizontally, the tip /131/ directed forward and slightly outward. 2. The spear is carried in the arm, similar to the position of the "gun in the arm." With thumb, index finger, and middle finger the spear shoe is grasped in the middle, as one

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

/Figs. 30-32 from p. 130 of the original source./

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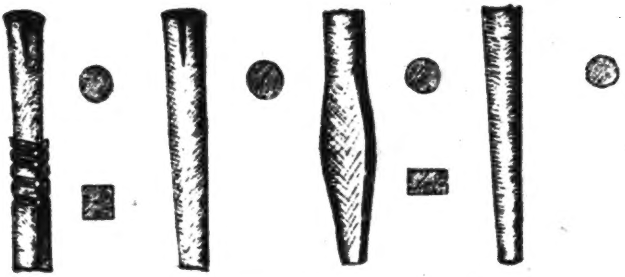

Fig. 30. (1/2)

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Fig. 31a. (1/10)

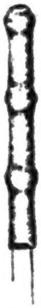

Fig. 31b. (1/8)

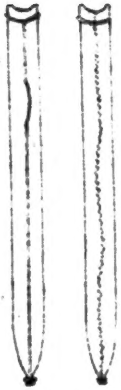

Fig. 31c. (1/10)

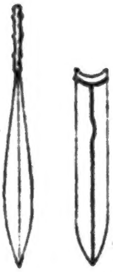

Fig. 32a. (1/10)

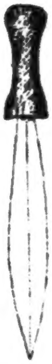

Fig. 32b. (1/5)

/131 cont./

411 grasps a pencil in writing. 3. The spear is carried on the shoulder,
482 upon which its center of gravity rests. The point is directed diagonally upward; the hand encircles the spear shoe with the fist.

411 The sword (Fig. 31) consists of the round, wooden hilt, provided
178 with transverse grooves, and the iron, double-edged blade. The former, according to the statements of the Masai, has not changed, whereas the blade had undergone a great transformation. Originally it was only 20 centimeters long and had its greatest width of barely two centimeters in the center. At that time the sword resembled a double-edged dagger (Fig. 32) and was suitable only for stabbing.

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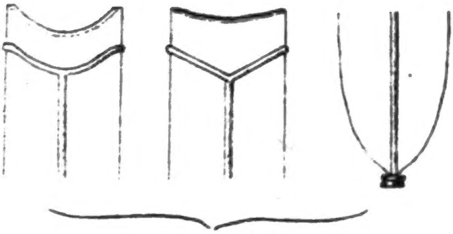

Fig. 33a. (1/3)

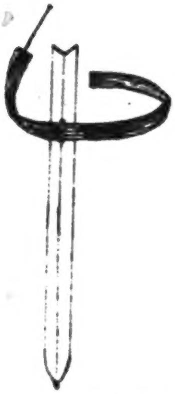

Fig. 33b. (1/10)

411 Gradually the blade became longer and, in order to be able to use it
178 better for cutting, its center of gravity was put closer to the tip, so that the blade now 60 centimeters long has its greatest width of three centimeters only five centimeters away from the tip. What was said
[171] about the cross-section of the spear blade also applies to that of the sword blade: its cross-section is slightly S-shaped (Fig. 28 f), if it is made by Masai smiths, straight if by Negro smiths (Fig. 28 g). The

411 /131 cont./ The
[237] beautifully worked scabbard (eń djaschúr, ń djaschuri [Fig. 31 c and
[386] 33]) is made from goatskin or neat's hide and dyed with the red juice
[824] of the root of the shrub ol gneriandus l en doje (1);

1. Plumbago ceylonica.

on the back side is found a longitudinal middle seam and on the
front side a corresponding longitudinal fold. Twelve centimeters
from the upper edge /132/ of the scabbard there sits on the front
side an oblong eyelet (ol gümĕ, el gumeschi) through which the
belt (eǹ gǐmétǎ, ǹ gǐmĕtǎn [Fig. 33 b]) worn around the hips is
[237] stuck. The latter is made of neat's skin and decorated with several
[53] longitudinal folds. There is a hole (en audoto, n audot) at one end,
and at the other one a small leather strap (eṅg ene, ňg enda). The
sword is worn on the right side and drawn with the right hand. Left-
handed men wear it on the left side. This carrying method seems
[174] to point to the fact that formerly the people did not carry swords,
but daggers, for a sword can be drawn with the right hand better
from the left side, whereas a dagger is more quickly ready for a
thrust from the right. Moreover, the sword, even today, is also
frequently handled like a dagger.

714 According to the tradition of the people, the original Masai
178 shields were very small (shield = ol oño). They had a circular, flat
[173] shape, a round umbo in the center, and a diameter of 30 centimeters.
The grip stick was fastened on the back side with small straps, which
were drawn through the shield. The very light shield was carried with
two fingers at the grip stick. Accordingly, the hollow of the umbo was
very small. Gradually the shields became larger, and the reason for
this may be sought in the frequent conflicts of the Masai with peoples
[237] carrying bows and arrows. Since in its original shape, the shield, with
its enlargement, lost firmness, this was increased in that a wooden
frame (ol deretâi, el deréta) was sewed around the outer periphery
with strips of goat or sheep skin, the shield was bellied out, and,
to preserve the longitudinal convexity, two straps (e rescheta)

/132 cont./

714 178 [237] were drawn from each end of the grip stick to the grip (Pl. 34). The present-day shields, like the former ones, are also made out of buffalo or giraffe skins. For better protection of the hand, the umbo is lined with a round patch of the same skin, and, on top of that, in order to prevent the chafing of the finger knuckles, with a piece of soft sheepskin. The shields now in use, measured with the convexity, are 1-1.10 meters long and half as wide. [531] [613] The escutcheon is painted on the front surface of the shield, whereas the reverse side often -- not always -- bears the lineage coat of arms.

714 411 482 On the march the warrior carries the spear with one hand, the shield in the other one. With arm hanging down, the hand grasps the shield grip so that the smaller diameter of the shield is vertical and the painted surface is turned outward.

411 [824] [237] The club (ol gümắn, el gümắ [Fig. 3[illegible]]) is now made out of one piece, generally out of ordinary hard wood, especially from the tree ol oirién and ol oiborbenek (1);

1. Dregea rubicunda K. Sch.

only the clubs of the speakers, which serve solely for gesticulating, 411 178 [412] are made out of ebony wood or rhinoceros horn. The old clubs /133/ consisted of two parts: the spherical head, into which the sticklike handle was stuck through a central bored-hole. The club does not actually serve as a weapon of war; except for accompanying a speech, it is used almost exclusively in fights and -- to break marrow bones of slaughtered livestock. The present clubs are about 40 centimeters long, their head has a diameter of five to six centimeters. 411 [824] A clublike cudgel (es sĕre), especially out of the wood of eṅ gadardar (1),

1. Ochna Merkeri Gilg.

often takes the place of the club. The club is worn in the sword belt; it sticks in it as a rule close to the sword, with the head upward.

/133 cont./

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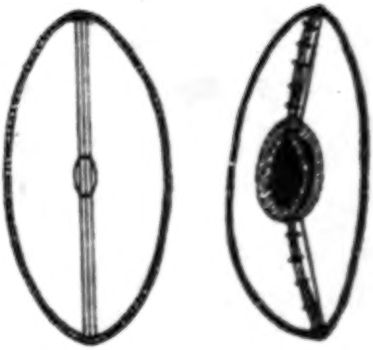

Fig. 34a.
Present
shield-form
(3/50).

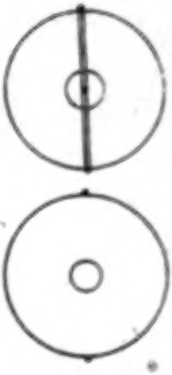

Fig. 34b.
Old shield-
form (1/10).

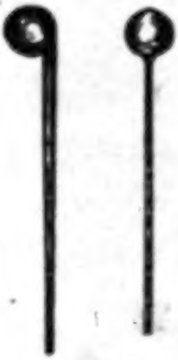

Fig. 35.
(1/10).

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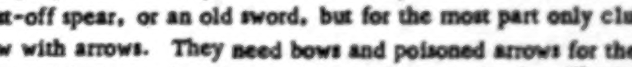

Fig. 36. (1/10)

Spear, sword, shield, and club are the weapons of the warriors.
[887] Old people never carry the shield, rarely a small, to some extent
[714] cast-off spear, or an old sword, but for the most part only club and bow with arrows. They need bows and poisoned arrows for the defense of their own kraal or against predatory animals. The Masai
[184] impoverished through cattle epidemics, who live apart from the
[224] others and erroneously call themselves el dorobo, also hunt game with them. The bows (Fig. 36) are two-shanked, simply curved,

/133 cont./

411 and not flattened in the center. The string is twisted from the back [283] tendons of cattle. As a hunting trophy one often winds a couple of [237] strips of hide from the /134/ slain animal around the bow. The point of the arrows [Fig. 37] (em baif, m ba) has the customary "arrow shape" or is lancet-shaped or awl-like. Its tang, on either [237] side, bears a tight row of barbs made by notching. It sticks into a wooden shaft, the lower end of which is notched and bears a three- (136) part, rounded feathering made from the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus), which one always sees in great

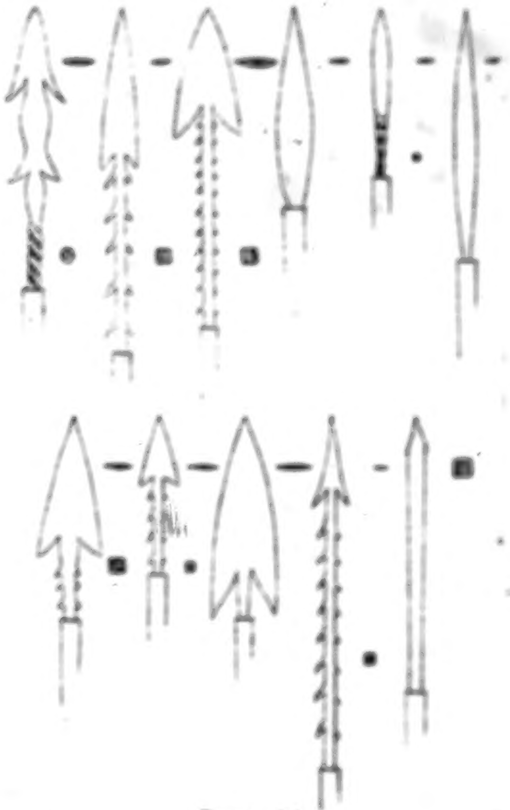

Fig. 37. [illegible]

/134 cont./

411 [136] [237] flocks in the branches of the trees surrounding the kraals, waiting for some kind of animal waste. In addition to the iron points, one also finds awl-shaped wooden points; the latter are often poisoned, the former only rarely. [439] The Masai do not make the poison (ol [illegible]) themselves, but buy it from Wandorobo, who obtain it from /135/ the olmoridjoi (Acocanthera abyssinica) tree by boiling the roots and the wood. The arrows are carried in a leather quiver (e motian, motiani), which is slung over the shoulder on a leather strap. [237] It consists of a tube 70 centimeters long and made out of goat's skin, with a bottom stitched in and a similarly worked, twelve-centimeter lid that can be turned up high.

Firearms, which at times almost entirely replaced the spears and bows among sedentary Negroes (1),

1. For example, in a few areas at Kilimandscharo.

[648] [727] are not generally carried by the Masai. Although in the battles with the Protectorate Troops they have at various times captured guns and ammunition from fallen Askari, I never observed or learned that they used these weapons. They never bought muzzle-loaders from trade caravans, and the ones that I found in one of their kraals showed by the lack of cock or piston, or by other damage, that they were not carried along by the Masai for the purpose of use, but merely as trophies. [777] It was not until April, 1901, that a troop of Masai warriors armed with English Snyder breech-loaders came into my field of observation. The troop came from the Masai province of Ol bruggo, and, to be sure, from the English station of Nairobi, located on the Uganda railway, and attempted an invasion in the Kilimandscharo area of Rombo. With a loss of approximately 20 per cent dead and bootyless, however, they were sent home by the Warombo, armed only with spears.

/135 cont./

XVI.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- Leather dressing. -- The individual articles of clothing. -- "Beautifying" the body, head hair, beard, body hair. -- The hair style of the warriors. -- Painting of the face and body. -- Caustic and incised decorative scars. -- Teeth. -- Fingernails.

291 177 [439] Cloth materials, such as the caravans from the coast engaged in the ivory trade in the Masai steppes take along trade goods, have not yet ever really succeeded in being adopted among the Masai.

For the trade this is, of course, regrettable, but for one who comes into frequent, daily contact with the people it is really fortunate, for there is scarcely an uglier and more repulsive sight than a native decked out as completely as possible in European clothing, especially if one sees him thus amidst his fellow tribesmen in their traditional garb exactly suitable for them. Not only is the eye offended, however, but also the nose and further many another. One should merely consider that the people have never learned how to manage with such clothing and that generations will pass before its use has to a certain extent become part of their flesh and blood. [296] /136/ A cleansing of the things therefore does not occur and likewise the regular drawing off and on. The native hangs on his body whatever he gets and keeps it on until it falls off by itself, so to speak. [515] [147] Naturally he always stinks and as a rule also harbors all kinds of vermin. One day I met with a European caravan a Masai youth whose former master had departed some six weeks previously and, upon leaving, had given him a pair of shoes. The boy told me quite innocently that he had put the shoes on at the time and had never removed them since! The people of the caravan, European and Colored, confirmed this statement. Such aesthetic aberrations are very rare exceptions among the Masai, however. Every sensible person disdains bedecking himself with such trash, and that boy would also /Ill. 43 appears here/ come to his senses again when the shoes were in shreds. From then on I always saw him only in Masai dress.

/136 cont./

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[illegible]

Ill. 43. Masai woman with needlework.

293 177 The only European article that one sees now and then, but still always rarely, is the umbrella, which the Masai use as protection against the sun.

281 [294] Rather treated animal skins still today, occupy first place in the clothing. The preparation of the skins that are not supposed to have the fur removed (warrior capes and leather to sit on) is a primitive chamois dressing. The skins are stretched out and thoroughly dried. Then they are rubbed several times with butter or fat and soundly beaten each time. Swelling the skins is known as little as is removing the superfluous fat clinging to them at the end of the treatment. The finished leather feels greasy and soft.

/136 cont./

281 The other skins, after they have been well dried and /137/ dehaired by scraping with a sharp ax, are treated by a vigorous rubbing with [824] a tanning extract. The bark of *Terminalia Brownii* Fresen var. Merkeri Engl. (*ol bugoi*) is pounded and made into an extract by being boiled in water. The finished leather is soft and pliable. [462] Leather dressing is women's work. The scraped-off cattle hair is carefully hidden in the thorn fence of the kraal, so that the cattle do not eat it and become sick from it.

291 [294] The sole article of clothing of the warriors is the skin cape (*e megiti, megitin*): it consists of calf skins sewed together into a strip approximately 110 centimeters long and 64 centimeters wide. The entire strip of skin is folded over once crosswise, and of its four corners the two top ones, lying one on the other, are sewed or tied together. One puts the cape on by sticking the head and left arm through; the knot lies on the right shoulder, chest, back, and left hip are covered, left shoulder and right hip bare; the latter so that [294] the sword found there is free. The warrior cape is the only article of clothing that is never dehaired. The hair side is worn on the outside and, if carefully chosen in color, is often quite attractive, since only the silky-lustrous skin of claves unborn or a [294] day or two old are used. Often the upper and lower edges of the cape are sewed with one or two rows of small red or white [136] beads. Only very rarely is it also made of other skin; thus, the author saw two made out of that of the dark-green long-tailed monkey(*Cercopithecus albigularis*). Boys and men wear tied over the seat to the sword belt a three-cornered piece of leather to sit on (Fig. 38) (*ol gabeme, el gabemeni*), made of neat's hide or calfskin, for protection when sitting, against the thorns and prickly spikes of the grasses scattered everywhere in the steppe. Boys wear a very short cape (*en jergeg, a jergegi*), covering only the belly and back;

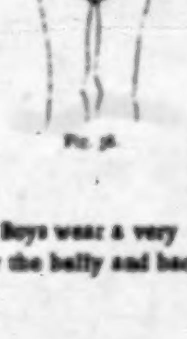

Fig. 38

/137 cont./

291 married men wear a similarly cut, but considerably longer cape,
which is called en jóriba (n joribán) and usually, but not always,
is undehaired. For protection against the often sharp cold, espe-
cially in the rainy season, the warrior wears no other article of
clothing, but, while sitting, simply draws the cape also over the
left shoulder and -- the nose. The ol megiti is made by a sister
or the favorite girl of the ol moráni. The clothing of the women
is not quite so simple, but also is certainly not luxurious. It con-
[237] sists of two large leather aprons made out of goatskins sewed to-
[294] gether. The lower one (ol ogessaña, el ogessanani) is put around
the hips and stuck fast by means of a tucked-in corner, or held fast
[531] with a leather belt (eñ ailleña, n ailleña) embroidered in a zigzag
pattern with colored beads. The other, upper one (ol egíschobo,
el egíschobon) is knotted on the right shoulder and /138/ leaves the
left shoulder and left breast free. The upper garment is rarely
[294] decorated with a few beads, the lower one almost always. Most
common is a row of small colored beads running around the lower
edge; often too the inserted patches have beads sewed around them.
Old men and furthermore boys and girls during the healing of the
circumcision wounds wear an apron that has the same form as the
upper garment of the women, but a considerably greater length.
It is called ol gelá (el gelíni) and, depending on its wearer, is
designated as ol gela l el móruak, ol gela l es sibolio, ol gela l
eñ dóje. Among the men it is knotted at hip and shoulder on the
right side, among the girls /Ill. 44 appears here/ fastened under
the arms with a strap and around the hips with a belt, whereas by
the es sibolio it is mostly slung around the body toga-fashion.

The sandal (Fig. 39) in its customary shape (en ámge, n ámga)
[237] forms the footwear for all without distinction as to sex and age. It
is made from the thick back-hide of the bulls.

301 As among all primitive peoples, the richness of the ornamen-
tation stand in contrast to the simple clothing. This is most manifold
among the warriors and the young women.

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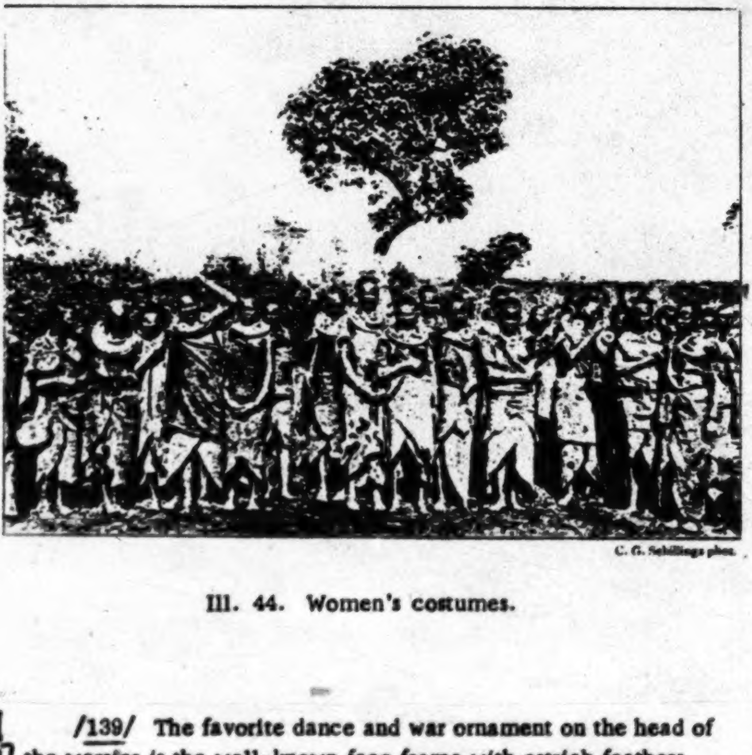

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 44. Women's costumes.

301 [237] /139/ The favorite dance and war ornament on the head of the warrior is the well-known face frame with ostrich feathers stuck around it. It consists /Ill. 45 and Figs. 39 and 40 appear here/ of two leather disks sewed one on the other, the front one of which bears a row of narrow mesles stitched on a strip of thin goat leather, which serve for holding the feathers. The most popular ones, as the name os sidai, /140/ "the beautiful" (which, incidentally, also holds for ornamentation in general), says, are those of black feathers; if made of white feathers it is called eń gŭrărŭ́, and if it bears only one white feather at the top, eń dărgĕ. Besides that, they have such frames made out of the bent wood of a liana runner. At their highest point is stuck the tail of a Colobus monkey [237] [136]

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/Illustrations from p. 139 of the original source./

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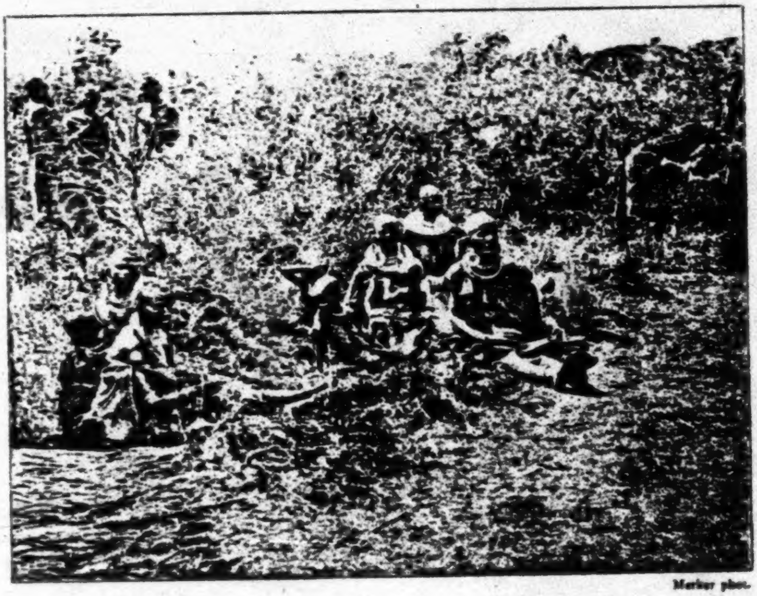

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Ill. 45. Costumes of the women and children.

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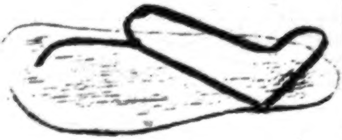

Fig. 39.

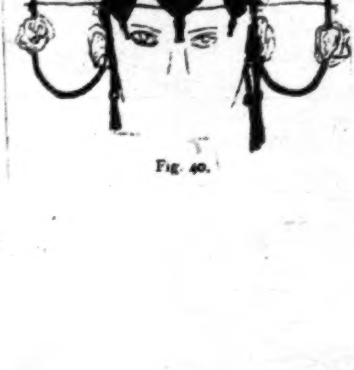

Fig. 40.

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[237]

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(ol goroi, Colobus caudatus) drawn onto a stick. The ornament is called ol bidibit (el bidibidi). At the forehead and occiput the frame is held fast by a strap (e reschet) passing through it, while its lower end is clamped under the chin or lower lip. Another

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Fig. 41.

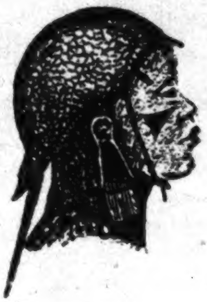
Fig. 42a.

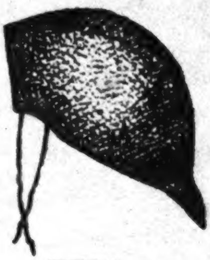
Fig. 42b.

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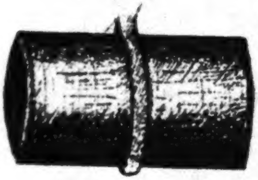
Fig. 43a.

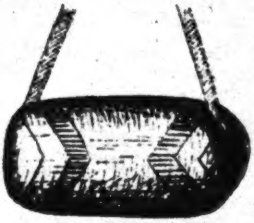
Fig. 43b.

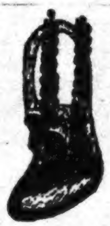
Fig. 44.

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ornament is bent W-shaped out of liana wood and hung with feathers (ol marańgusch [Fig. 40]). Also popular among the warriors in the field and for dancing, but rarer, are the foot-high, pointed warrior caps, ol ugaru, with the designation of the skin added, made out of the skin of wild animals. The cap usually consisted of only one type of skin; more rarely a narrow strip of

291 /140 cont./

237 another skin is sewed on the seam going from the tip toward the
[292] back. Most common are the caps out of lion manes (ol ugaru kitok
[367] or ol gṅatunj = lion) or the skin of the baboon (ol dŏdăl, Papio cynocephalus), resembling it almost perfectly in appearance. Furthermore they use the skin of the leopard (ol ugaru géri; géri = spotted), Indian leopard (Cynaelurus guttatus, ol /141/ genja l ascho = calf-devourer), serval (Felis serval, eñ gerassi = biter, he only bites the goats and sucks their blood), Colobus monkey, jackal, and hyena dog (ol oibor gidoñoi). A strap holds the cap fast under
[294] the chin. The warrior sews the cap himself. Awl (ol dedo, el dedi
[283] [Fig. 41]) and a twisted cattle tendon (eñ obini) serve as needle and thread for all needlework. Another cap worn by warriors, boys and
[531] older men has the shape of a baby's bonnet (Figs. 42 a and b); it is made out of the honeycomb of a head of cattle and often adorned on the edges with small beads.

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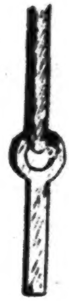
Fig. 45a.

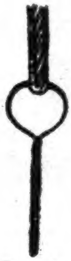
Fig. 45b.

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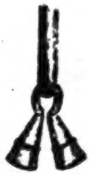


Fig. 45c.

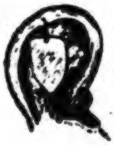
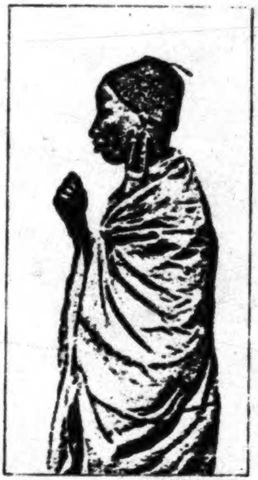


Fig. 46.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Ill. 46. Ear ornament of the men.

/141 cont./

301 In order to make the ears suitable for holding ornaments, their
304 lobes are pierced in early childhood with a strong acacia thorn and
distended by the insertion of longer and longer wooden plugs. The
[824] plugs (Figs. 43 a and b) are mostly made out of the wood of the
[531] eñ gadardar tree (Ochna Merkeri Gilg), often quite beautifully
marked. The weight of the ornaments enlarges the holes still more,
so that they often hang down extended ten centimeters. At the same
time the upper edge of the ear is also pierced in one or two places.
301 In these the women wear bunches of four to eight small chains to 20
[237] centimeters long (Fig. 44); the men wear just as many el oimĕr
[136] (sing. ol oimĕri), a clock-key--shaped ornament made out of tin
(Figs. 45 a and c) or out of brass wire (Fig. 45 b), often also a pesa
on a wire ring, a polished mussel shell, which ornament /142/ is
called eṅ jili (n jil) (Fig. 46), or a wooden stick 15 centimeters
long (ol beniĕt, el beniĕta [Fig. 47, upper part]), or a quill of the
porcupine (oiaiai or oĕai, Hystrix africae-australis). Around the
lower part of the enlarged ring of skin of the ear lobe the men wear
a tube four centimeters long (ol gissoî, el gísso [Fig. 47]), wound
out of thin iron wire, /Figs. 47-51 appear here/ whose end coils
are wrapped with copper wire, while on the rest of the coils usually
hang small chains 6 to 20 centimeters long (ol bisiaî, el bísia). If
these are only short, they are as a rule glued together with red paint
(Fig. 48). In place of this ornament one also often sees an oval,
[824] perforated tin disk (eñ goholaî, ṅ gohóla) and other things, or a
nut-shaped ornament that /143/ is carved out of the nut of the
Hyphaena palm (Fig. 49). Married women and old men wear, tied
in the ear lobes with a thin strap, the large double spirals (e
(e surudiai, surudia) made out of thick brass wire. They are supported by a leather strap put over the crown of the head, since,
because of their great weight, the ear lobe is unable to do so. It is
[531] regarded as particularly beautiful if they are further decorated with
a leather band sewed across them and stitched with four rows of
small beads, on which hangs a row of small chains. This decoration,
which, incidentally, is found only among women, is called ol
[535] giriéngata. For dancing, young girls often wear a string of beads
(Fig. 50) around the forehead and occiput, or two strings of beads
lying one above the other an inch apart (Fig. 51), which are joined,
ladderlike, with small chains. The ornament is called er nâitule.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 189]

/Illustrations from p. 142 of the original source./

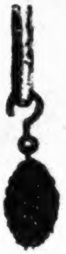

Fig. 48.

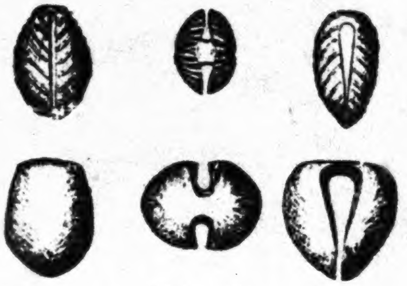

Fig. 49. (2/3)

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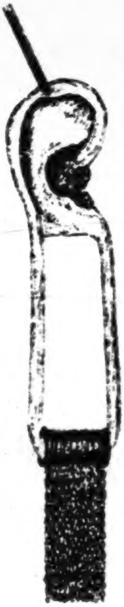

Fig. 47.

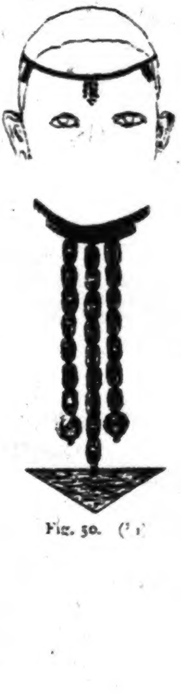

Fig. 50. (1/1)

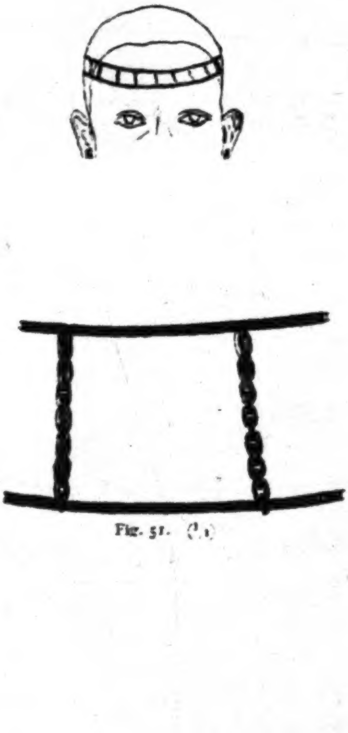

Fig. 51. (1/1)

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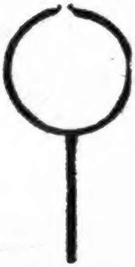

Fig. 52. (½)

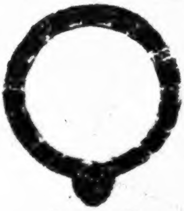

Fig. 53. (½

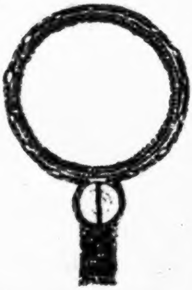

Fig. 54. (½)

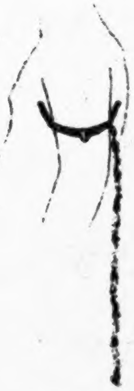

Fig. 55.

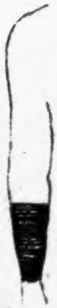

Fig. 56.

[824] Men and women wear a tangle of various rings around the neck. The ol orowīl and ol eleschua are wreaths twisted cordlike and smelling like vanilla, the former made out of the fragrant root bark of a liana (ol mojońgora), the latter of various plant parts of Tarchonatus camphoratus. Especially popular among men are simple rings of iron wire (es segeńgeī) with a bunch of small chains hanging on it in front (Fig. 52), while every Masai woman wears around her neck a large spiral of iron wire (es segeńgeī e murt), whose outer and inner coil is often wrapped with thin brass or copper wire. The ornament is wound around the neck and can only be unwound again, not taken off. The many other neck-rings consist of small colored beads (e msitáni, msitáni), pea-sized white and blue beads (ol /144/

/144 cont./
301 duréschi, el durésch), oblong, bean-shaped white beads (es sambáin),
date-pit--shaped, multicolored figured beads (em boro), ring-shaped
blue and green beads (eṅ gonoṅgoi, ṅ gonoṅgo), and various wire
rings. The beads are either strung on wire and cord twisted out of
cattle tendons, or also sewed on narrower or wider, flat leather rings.
[531] In the latter case the beads are arranged, according to color, in
rectilinear, mostly square designs (Fig. 53). Such a bead band is
[237] called e mairenai. The middle piece of such circlets, lying on the
chest, often consists of a taler sized piece of snail shell ground flat
(ol găläsch, el găläschi), on the beaded border of which hangs a row
of small chains (Fig. 54). With this material consisting of beads,
wire, and leather circlets the most varied and all conceivable com-
binations are formed, which everyone designates by the part of it most
conspicuous to him, so that there is no fixed nomenclature for them.
Special mention should be made of a string of beads regarded as
particularly beautiful and chic for young women, in which em boro
beads alternate with rows of small glass beads and spirals of brass
wire two or three inches long and which is worn bandoleerlike over
the left side of the chest.

301 As a war ornament the el morăn often wear a sort of shawl, a
237 cross between a cape and a ruff, consisting of vulture feathers. The
ornament is called ol mäiruti or ol motonj=the vulture; each indi-
vidual cord on which the feathers are strung is called eṅ gobir.

Besides a simple bead ring, a leather band stitched with beads
(ol gilescho, el gileschoni) or an ivory ring (ol măsaṅgus, el măsaṅgusi),
the men, especially the warriors, often wear on the left upper arm a
bracelet of sheep horn in the form of a double chopping-knife (e ráb,
[136] e rábbi [Fig. 55]). If one goes to a festival or goes to war there
hangs on it a meter-long, twisted strip (ol kibaba, el kibabani) made
out of the skin of leopard, Indian leopard, serval, jackal, further-
more of the genet (ol dolugo, Genetta pardina), zoril (ol beles āte,
Jetonyx /Ictonyx/ zorilla), zebra mongoose (ol gischoren, Crossarchus
fasciatus), tree conies (eṅ gine os soito, Dendrohyrax validus), and
of a squirrel-like animal (ol gidăs eṅ dare = goat-milker; the Masai
generally relate that it sucks on the udders of the goat at night), the

/144 cont./

301 237 [036] yellow long-tailed monkey (*Cercopithecus pygerithrus*, *eṅ dŏrăsch*), the black long-tailed monkey (*C. albigularis*, *ol gĕma*), the honey badger (*Mellivora ratel*, *ol belĕs*), and a few other smaller animals.

301 554 Around the right wrist, often covering almost the entire lower arm, those warriors who are generous and benevolent, the *ṅ gamnini*, wear a cuff (Fig. 56) that consists of rows of iron beads (*el doroṅgĕn* or *el gabaten*) put close together, in whose place in more recent times appear ordinary small -- especially blue -- glass beads. The iron beads are made by pounding flat small wire rings and then /145/ putting these, strung on thin strips of sheep leather, around the lower [431] arm and knotted on the inner side of the arm. Those people who constantly enjoy the kindnesses of the *ṅ gamnin* express their gratitude from time to time by giving a string of such beads, so that, as was said, the ornament often extends almost to the elbow. More rarely than among warriors, the ornament is also found on one or [431] [593] another of the young girls living in the warrior kraal. If a girl has no brother belonging to the warrior standing, but does have a wealthy father, she receives from the latter both milch cows and an occasional

301 291

Merker phot.

Ill. 47. Arm and leg ornaments of the women.

301 /145 cont./

[554] [431] [593] piece of slaughtered livestock. She then generously distributes milk and meat and thus acquires the position of benefactress.

The arms and legs of a beauty, except for the thighs, are stuck into a more or less complete armor of tubes of iron wire, which often leave only the knee and elbow free, while among poorer women this adornment shrinks to a few coils. These tubes are called es segeńgeĭ = iron wire, and are differentiated according to their location as es segeńgeĭ ol berańgasch for the upper arm, es segeńgeĭ eń dagǘle for the lower arm, es segeńgeĭ ol oreschet = what is worn on the lower leg (below the knee). This ornament, like the neck spiral (es segeńgeĭ e murt), /146/ is wound directly onto the body part in question and can therefore not be taken off, but only unwound again, which usually does not occur until death. The weight [481] of the ornamentation seriously impairs the mobility of the women and not infrequently gives them a waddling gait.

Warriors in dance ornamentation wear around their hips a leather strap embroidered with small beads (eńg ene ombolŏ́s; eńg ene is any strap, om bolŏ́s = the hip). Little girls also wear a [291] like-worked strap; it then bears a row of small chains in front as a fig leaf and is called en doré (pl. en dorén). Older girls and women wear around their hips an inch-wide belt likewise stitched with beads (Fig. 57), which holds the leather apron together. Boys [237] and younger men often wear below the knee and above the calf a ring made out of white neat's hide, with an end five centimeters long and one centimeter wide hanging down in front and in back (Fig. 58), and around each ankle a small bell (en duắl, eṅ /Figs. 57-61 appear here/ duălắn [Fig. 59]) tied on with a little strap, which, by its widely audible tinkle in the silent steppe, is supposed to frighten off predatory animals lying in the grass. Finally with [237] the war and dance ornamentation belong the long-haired black and white strips of skin (e mónge, e móngen) that the warriors tie around their ankles and that are made out of the skin of the white-tailed colobus (Colobus caudatus).

/146 cont./

301

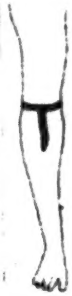

Fig. 58.

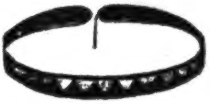

Fig. 57. 1/2

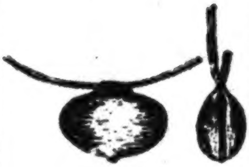

Fig. 59. 1/1

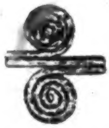

Fig. 60.

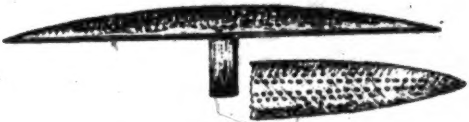

Fig. 61. 1/1

Children, as well as young men and women, wear on the fingers
as adornment rings (ol gissōl, el gísso) made out of four or five coils
of copper wire, the ends of which, on the outside, often form flat
spirals (Fig. 60). The first ring is stuck on the middle finger of the
right hand, the second one on that of the left, the next ones on any
[751] other finger. It is not a rarity for a woman to wear rings on all her
fingers, including the thumbs. Mothers stick on the second toe of
the right foot of their babies a /147/ simple ring of copper wire as
protective magic against illness, if previously one or two of their
children have already died at an early age. Now and then one also
finds rings made out of sheet iron, on which the outer part of the
circle bears shieldlike appendages above and below (Fig. 61). The
[177] Masai call them es sagaṅgar and maintain that they stem from the
Wakikuyu. It is certain that they are not made by the Masai.

302 Boys and married men frequently shave their heads so that the
hair is scarcely more than an inch long. Women shave their heads
even more often, and, to be sure, either entirely or only a strip all
[912] around. For shaving /Figs. 62-63 and Ill. 48 appear here/ they use

/147 cont./

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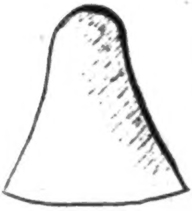


Fig. 62. (1/1)

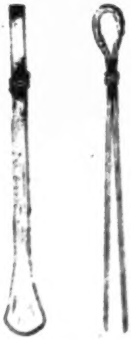
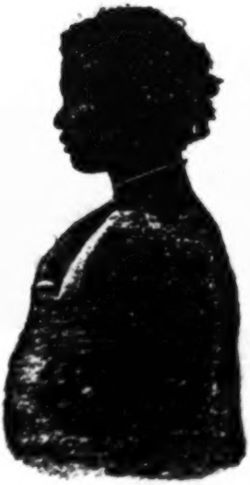


Fig. 63. (1/1)



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Ill. 48. Hair style el babet.

[412] a sharpened little piece of sheet iron which is called ol moronja (Fig. 62). Before the shaving the hair is moistened with water. [777] The head is usually shaved during the es sobia days, the 18th to 20th day of the month, so that on the unlucky day, ol onjugi, the 17th day of the month, the head is not bald. The shorn hair is tossed into the thorn fence of the kraal. Beard hair and such lashes [412] that grow back into the eye are plucked out with tweezers (Fig. 63 [ol budet]). An exception to this is made by the men of the El [613] kiboron lineage, who are not permitted to pluck out their beard hair [789] because otherwise they would lose their power, in particular the [826] supernatural one that enables them to bring and to conjure away rain.

/147 cont./

302 Axillary hair /148/ and eyebrows are shaved. Women also shave the pubic hair, whereas men pluck it out with the fingers or tweezers. 302 714 Young warriors let the hair grow and, when it has the necessary length, twist it between two fingers, through which apparently arise little balls, which, on closer inspection, prove to be spirals interlaced and rolled together. [386] Somewhat later it is twisted together into strands (ol babet, el babet) with red paint, a mixture of animal fat and red earth, which hang entangled around the head. [177] Furthermore they are lengthened by twisting in fibers of the bark of the baobab (ol mĕsérĭ) and of another tree called ol retéti, in order to form out of that the braid-coiffure peculiar to the Masai warriors, but adopted by many neighboring tribes (Fig. 64, 65, 66 [ol daiga, el daigan]). For this the hair is parted crosswise over the head from ear to ear, and then that of the front half of the head is divided into three parts, one over the forehead, the other two at the

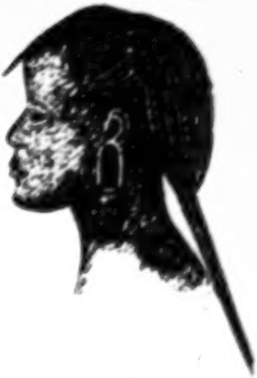

Fig. 64.

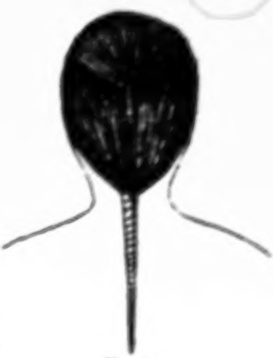

Fig. 65.

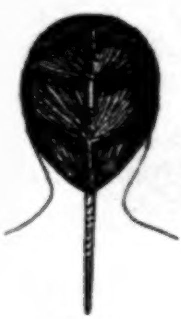

Fig. 66.

/148 cont./
302 temples, whereupon the tips of the strands are wrapped with bast to
714 the length of an inch. The back hair, lengthened up to 50 centi-
meters, is placed around a foot-long stick and on this wrapped
tightly with bast or goat leather scraped thin, so that it forms a stiff
braid (ol daiga) reaching to the waist. Over this braid one not in-
[283] frequently finds one to three smaller ones. Often the tips of the
little temple braids (sing. ol babeda; el babed l eń goscho) are
joined with that of the little forehead braid (ol babeda l eń gomum)
and the former tied together under the chin with a string (made of
fibers) (1).

[751] 1. This hair style has the purpose of protecting
the head from the harmful influences of the sun's
rays. For that, one first let the hair grow long
and, since the long strands fell annoyingly into
the face at every movement, put it together into
[171] "braids. "The Tatoga helped themselves more
simply, in that they shaved the front part of the
head and left the protection of the thick padding
of hair at the back part of the head.

302 The hair is often perfumed with the root powder of ol Ir kidońoi
[824] (Croton spec.). /149/ /Ills. 49 and 50 appear here./
/150/ The white facial painting of the newly circumcised has
already been mentioned. Younger people, especially warriors and
[824] young girls, on all festive occasions, anoint the entire body insofar
as it is not clothed, with red paint, which they like to perfume with
the pulverized leaves of ol magirigiriéni (Lippia asperifolia Rich.),
which smell like vanilla. With one finger the warriors then often
strip it off the shin bones in serpentine lines (ol kigesáta, el kigesát),
so that a kind of drawing is produced. One who has killed an enemy
in war paints his body at the following dance festivals with white and
red earth in stripes (Fig. 67). This painting is called en /Figs. 67-69
appear here/ gituńguat. At festivals one also often sees on the face
[531] of the warriors a red triangle, its apex starting at the alae and
[751] widening out up to the middle of the cheeks (Fig. 68). When boys

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 198]

/Illustrations from p. 149 of the original source./

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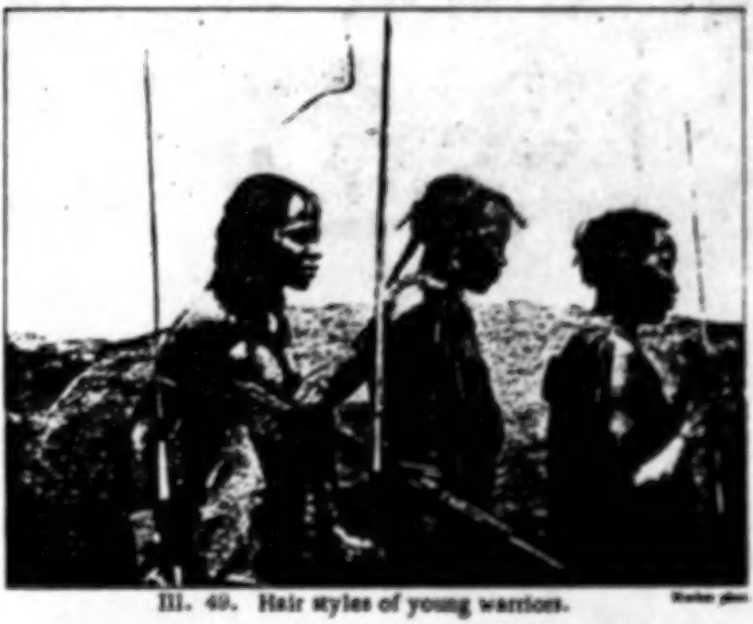
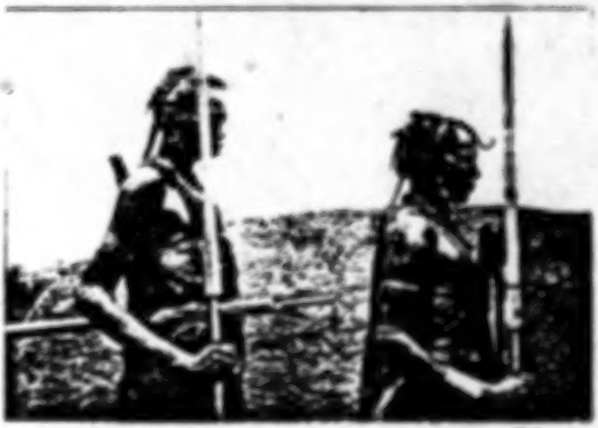


Ill. 49. Hair styles of young warriors.



Ill. 50. Hair style of the warriors.

/180 cont./

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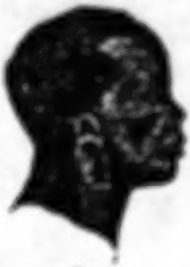


Fig. 61.

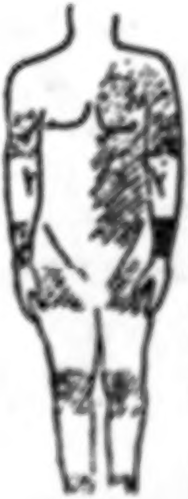


Fig. 59.

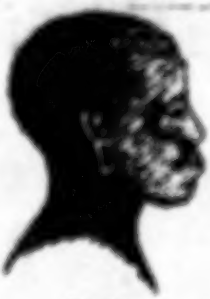


Fig. 60a.

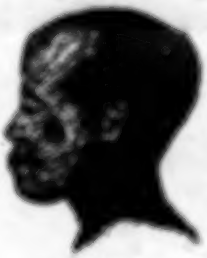


Fig. 60b.

302 and girls, warriors and women (not, however, old men and women)
[751] come into a region in which they have not yet been, they paint
their faces and chests with its earth as protective magic against
[531] sickness and misfortune in this new land. The women paint the
face on both sides with two concentric rings on the cheeks, or with
two or three lines running parallel, which run from the corners of
the mouth vertically to the eyes, then go around these in an outward curve, /181/ and turn vertically upward over the outer corner
[324] of the eyes (Fig. 60 a and b). One uses for this the juice of the
[316] root of ol gueriandus l en dejo-plant (Plumbago ceylanica), mixed
with fresh blood.

/131 cont./

302 with fresh blood. The juice is so caustic that it burns the skin, and the latter, after two days, may be pulled off, so that the design
(304) remains visible as a white scar, which often, however, already after eight to ten days, has become pigmented again. There are no
304 tattooings as marks of distinction; rather they serve only as beauti-
(412) fication and consist of larger or smaller incisions lined up in figures,

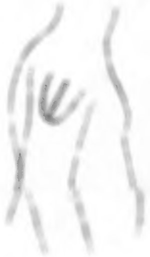


Fig. 70a

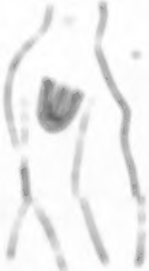


Fig. 70b

Fig. 70c

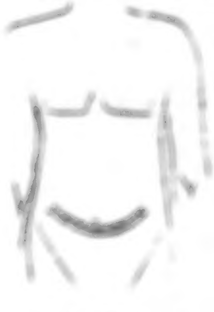


Fig. 71a

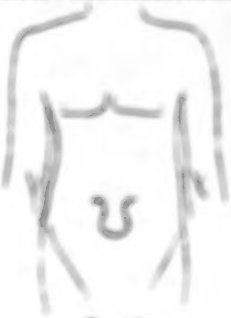


Fig. 71b

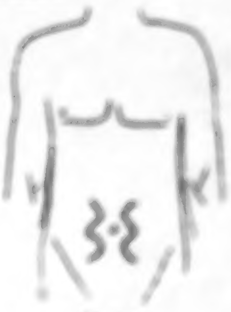


Fig. 72a

which are made with the clam. Nothing is rubbed into the incision. The most common ornamental scars of the men are found on the deltoid muscle (Fig. 70 a, b, c) and have a horseshoe shape (e rah, e rabit). More rarely among men one sees tattooing on the abdomen (Figure 71 a and b), which, on the other hand, is quite common among women (Fig. 72 a to k). The lyre shape in different variations is the most common. Abdomen tattooing is called ei bigamma.

/151 cont./

304 [412] (ol bigeroi). The tattooing is done by its wearer himself, a man with the small, double-edged knife (ol alem), a woman with the ol murunja. With a hook-shaped thorn /152/ the place in which the incision is to be made is drawn up, and then the roll arising through this is cut into in tempo.

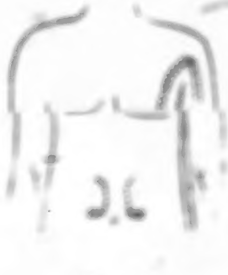
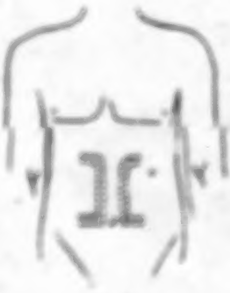


Fig. [illegible]



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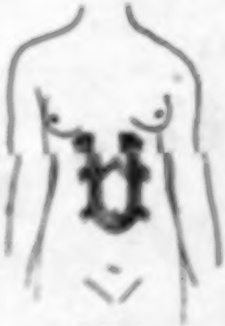

Fig. [illegible]

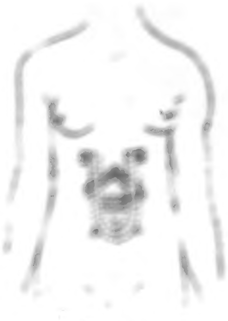

Fig. [illegible]

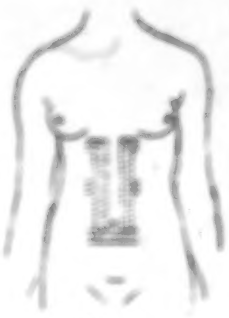

Fig. [illegible]

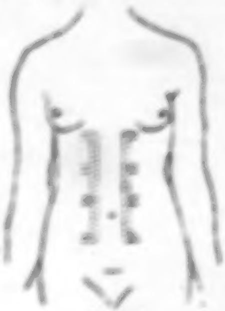

Fig. [illegible]

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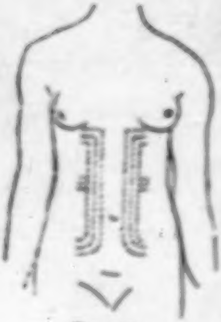

Fig. 310.

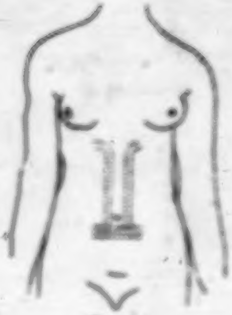

Fig. 311.

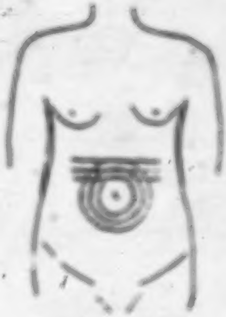

Fig. 309.

The two middle lower incisors of boys and girls are loosened by pressure with a knife and then removed with the hand. /152/ and, to be sure, either in childhood or also in connection with the change of teeth. Most often given as the reason for this was "so that in
[514] drinking milk and honey beer one can spit in a long stream through
[576] the gap in the teeth (em bilil)," which is part of good breeding. This is, of course, not the real reason, this rather seems to have

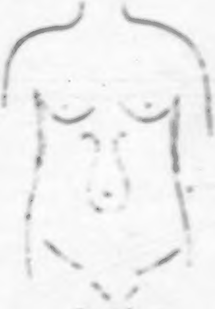

Fig. 313.

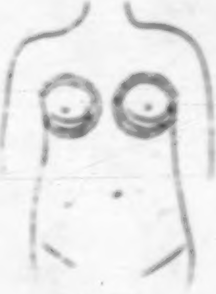

Fig. 314.

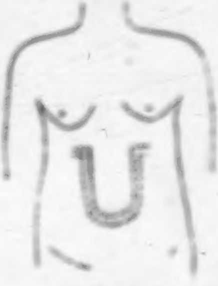

Fig. 312.

fallen into oblivion. Fingernails are worn rather long and, if they
302 become too long, are bitten off, not cut off. The pieces bitten off are thrown away. The toenails are not cut; they wear off sufficiently in walking, etc.

[153 cont.]

XVII.

000 Cardinal numbers and the finger signs for them. -- Reckoning ability. -- The fingers. -- Ordinal numbers. -- Fractions. -- Numeral adverbs. -- Times of the day. -- Week. -- Days of the month. -- Months and seasons. -- Designation of the years. -- Measure.

802 The Masai system of numbers has rest points at 10 and 60, so that the latter number corresponds to the 100 in the decimal system. One only rarely counts beyond 60; usually one designates anything extending beyond that as kumok nalak oapi' enlana, that is, it is too much for one to be able to add it up. Every number word spoken is accompanied by a gesture of the right hand designating the same, which, for that, is stretched out toward the one spoken to. Often the speaker also simply makes the sign with the hand, without saying the number word, while the one addressed does this as a sign that he has understood.

1 = obo masc., nabo fem.	Index finger slightly extended, the the thumb rests lightly on the middle finger, which, like fourth and fifth fingers, lies bent into the palm of the hand.
2 = Ré or ari (1).	Thumb, index finger, and middle finger extended; the other fingers lie flat into the palm of the hand. Index and middle finger (not the whole /154/ hand) are alternately moved back and forth several times.

1. Obsolete word for two = naramá.

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/184 cont./

802

3 = uní.	The tip of the thumb stands up, that of the middle finger lies under the middle joint of the index finger. The fourth and fifth fingers lie bent into the palm of the hand.
4 = oigwan or uigwan.	Index finger and middle finger stretched out, the tip of the latter lies on the nail of the former. Thumb, fourth, and fifth finger lie slightly bent into the palm of the hand.
5 = imiét (1).	In the fist the thumb is shoved between index finger and the middle finger.
6 = ilé.	The tips of the thumb and middle finger, or more rarely fourth finger, are brought together, whereby one snaps with the two nails. Index finger is slightly extended, the fourth and fifth fingers are slightly bent.

1. Obsolete word nambét = five.

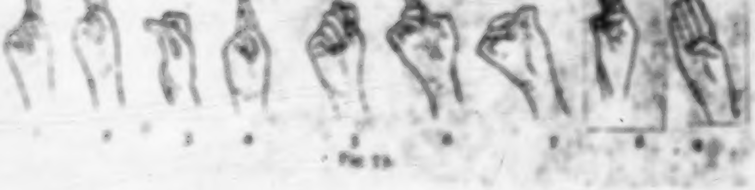

Fig. 13.

802 /154 cont./

7 = ŏbĭschănă (2). The hand forms a loose fist; the tip of the index finger lightly rubs on the lower part of the nail joint of the thumb.

8 = isiĕ́t. The opened hand with thumb lying on top is shaken up and down several times at the wrist. /See 9 in Fig. 73./

9 = ĕndŏrŏ́d (3) or nāudo. After one has formed a ring with thumb and forefinger and slightly extended the other fingers, there is trembling with the whole hand. /See 8 in Fig. 73./

10 = tŏmŏ́n. From the sign for nine the index finger is jerked forward with a simultaneous thrusting forward of the hand.

/155/

11 = tŏmŏ́n-ŏbŏ́. Sign for ten and then sign for one.
12 = tŏmŏn-ārĕ. " " " " " " " two.
13 = tŏmŏ́n-oguni. " " " " " " " three.
14 = tŏmŏ́n-ungwan. " " " " " " " four.
15 = tŏmŏ́n-oimiēt. " " " " " " " five.
16 = tŏmŏ́n-oille. " " " " " " " six.
17 = tŏmŏ́n-obischana. " " " " " " " seven.
18 = tŏmŏ́n-oisiēt. " " " " " " " eight.
19 = tŏmŏ́n-ĕndŏrŏ́d. " " " " " " " nine.
20 = dĭgĭtĭm. The right hand is opened and closed twice.
30 = ŏsŏ́m. The same sign as for one, only here there is trembling with the whole hand, as in threatening.

2. Obsolete word bischĭn = seven.

3. Obsolete word săl = nine.

/155 cont./

802

40 = ărtắm.	The opened hand with thumb lying on top is moved tremblingly.
50 = ŏnŏ́m.	Similar to the sign used for five, but one does not put the fingers tightly together for a fist, but only just so far back that the tip of the thumb can be put between index finger and middle finger, and then trembles with the entire hand.
60 = Ib (1).	The right fist is thrust forward, whereby the extended fingers are spread apart.

In the number system of the Masai ib is the next unit after 10, corresponding to the 100 of the decimal system. Moreover, ib is the largest unit and in practice in daily life really the end of the series of numbers. Beyond 60 the system is continued by addition always to the next multiple of 60. Thus it is said 80 = 60 + 20 = ib digitam, and 150 = 60 X 2 + 30 = ib kat aré osom. Ib also often has the meaning of an uncounted, larger amount. The larger it appears, the more frequently is the word ib with the hand sign used for it repeated, usually with the addition of merta essiana = it is not to be counted, for example, ib ib ib merta essiana.

803 Tests in reckoning showed that the objects presented could be added up correctly. Subtraction was successful only by removing the required number and counting the rest again. Division and multiplication were entirely unknown.

802 For the addition and likewise when teaching children to count, counting was done on the fingers, whereby the number words were pronounced aloud. For /156/ counting off, one first holds the right hand open and with the palm turned upward. Then one puts the fingers of the left hand under the back of the right hand and, with the free, left thumb, presses the fingers of the right hand, one

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1. Obsolete word naisuari = 60.

/156 cont./

802 after the other, from the little finger to the thumb, into the palm of the hand. While one then further counts in like manner on the fingers of the left hand, those of the right one remain closed and only its thumb is moved freely. After turning down the thumb of the left hand, the one counting raises both hands, now closed into fists, and says: tomon (= 10). For counting further, one begins anew in the same way and does not continue, say, on the toes.

[801] [171] The Masai count neither human beings nor cattle. It is believed, as the Israelites also did, according to 1st Chron. 21, that the ones counted would die. Thus, they correctly estimate larger multitudes of living creatures in round numbers, and small ones with quite great certainty. Only dead persons, for example, the fallen warriors, are counted individually.

192 826 [754] The names of the fingers might be mentioned here: thumb = ol moruo kitok, that is, the big old one. Index finger = os sogutihoi or ol osokutoni, that is, the sorcerer; if one wants to make someone ill through sorcery, one spreads the magic medicine under the nail of the index finger and, murmuring a curse, one points with it at the person concerned. Middle finger = ol gerĕti, that is, actually the strip of skin worn ringlike on the middle finger. Fourth finger = ṅgoto eṅ genenja, that is, mother of the little finger, which is called eṅ ginjenje or also eṅg ilinda.

802 Ordinals: ol oiturúgu = the first /masc./, ol iaré = the second /masc./, ol ioguni = the third /masc./; eṅ aiturúgu = the first /fem./, eṅ iaré = the second /fem./, eṅ ĕuni = the third /fem./. The /masc./ (the /fem./) (general), ol (eṅ) abaye; the last in the meaning of the rearmost is called ol abaye ta gorom; the one standing on the right end of a row (to the right of the one judging) is called ol abaye t' eṅ gaina ertatenne (eṅ gaina = the hand, ertateme = on the right). the one standing on the other end, ol abaye t' eṅ gaina ekediẽnje (ekediẽnje = on the left).

Once is called nabo katá (or nabo gadá); twice, kat' aré; three times, kat' uni, etc.

/156 cont./

802 192 As for fractional parts, the Masai have a special word only for a half, e matua, which at the same time also means half, for example, e matua eṅ geteṅ = half a cow. One designates parts that are smaller than the half of a whole with en duṅoti, which, like os sadjati, means roughly "a piece, a strip of it." These pieces are distinguished according to their size: a large piece = eṅ duṅoti kitok, and a small piece = eṅ duṅoti kete. These words are probably only used in dividing up slaughtered livestock, since there is scarcely any other practical need for their use. En dunoti is used when the whole is divided crosswise; os sadjati, when it is divided lengthwise. With the help of these designations and the number words /157/ one forms fractions in the following manner: en duṅoti uni (or es sadjati uni) means that the whole was divided into three parts; en duṅoti uni n' aia (a contraction of nanu aia) aré eti nabo = the whole is divided into three parts, I take away two, that leaves one = 1/3.

805 The time of day is estimated according to the position of the sun, more rarely by the length of the shadows. The following times of day are distinguished:

Four o'clock in the morning: erton eto egéṅjwa = not yet "early."

Five o'clock in the morning: egĕnjwa = early.

Somewhat later is: eṅ gagenja = the rosy morning sky.

Break of day, about half past five: elagua eṅg oloṅ = the sun is (still) distant.

Sunrise: etubŭguo eṅg oloṅ = the sun appears a little, or elebwa eṅg oloṅ = the sun is coming up.

The time from eight to ten o'clock in the forenoon is called erton atad egĕnjwa = still early yet.

Around eleven o'clock in the forenoon, one says: eto nĩto ebir' eṅg oloṅ = the sun does not yet stand straight overhead.

Twelve o'clock noon: ebira eṅgoloṅ = the sun stands straight overhead.

/157 cont./

805 Afternoon is designated in general with etuschugoti oibi, that is, the shadow is reversed; or tēl̄ba. One also often hears this designation for the time from three to five o'clock in the afternoon. In particular the time from twelve to two is called ete gil eńg oloń = the sun is broken; the time from two to four erta tēl̄ba = now afternoon; that from four to six, emutŏ́ = evening. Five o'clock in the afternoon is designated with erta doije eńg oloń = the sun is going down. The time during which the evening glow is still to be seen is called etimirua eńg oloń = the twilight follows the sun.

[513] With darkness setting in, the tắrĭ begins and lasts until about eight o'clock, when one usually goes to rest.

Night is called eń gawariĕ́; midnight, em bolos eń gawariĕ́.

Today is called tā́da or tā́ta, tomorrow taisēre or taisēri, yesterday ñgolĕ́; the day before yesterday, as well as the day after tomorrow, is called eń aioloń. The days reckoned beyond the day before yesterday in the past and beyond the day after tomorrow in the future are designated as eńg aioloń edia matua, eńg aioloń e ungwan, etc. The latter is the fifth day from today reckoned both

[193] in the future and in the past. The tense of the verb shows which of the two is meant.

With the help of these designations the days of the seven-day week (eń giruaha or eń giruascha, pl. eń giruaschat) are named. The names are the following:

First day = tā́da (today).

Second day = taisēre (tomorrow).

Third day = eńg aioloń.

Fourth day = eńg ailoń edia matua (more rarely eńg aioloń e uni).

Fifth day = eńg ailoń e uńgwan.

/158/ Sixth day = eńg aioloń e miēt.

Seventh day = guną l'oń īle or essubat 'n oloń = the good day (1).

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1. In this connection it should be noted that ósubat, fem. éssubat, means "good," "excellent," and uni, ungwan, miēt, īle are the verbs for three, four, five, and six. H.

/158 cont./

805 [821] This week, according to the tradition of the Masai, once in the dim past began on a new-moon day. Since then its succession has run through months and years, without consideration of the moon.

The Masai reckon according to lunar months, which in ordinary life are taken as having 30 days. They differ very essentially from the lunar-month reckoning customary elsewhere in that they do not start with the day of the new moon, but rather this day is already the fouth one in the Masai month. The designations for the days are the following:

1st day: ebor ol aba nabo.
2nd day: ebor ol aba 'ré.
3rd day: ebor ol aba uní.
4th day: ertaduage duo ol aba, the moon is to be seen; more rarely also ebor ol aba uńgwan.
5th day: ebor ol aba oimiët.
6th day: ebor el aba oile.
7th day: ebor el aba nabischana.
8th day: ebor ol aba issiët.
9th day: ebor ol aba endorot.
10th day: ebor ol aba tomon negera (2).

2. negera from the verb-ger = to be silent.

11th day: ebor ol aba tomon-obo.
12th day: ebor ol aba tomon-aré.
13th day: ebor ol aba tomon-uní (or tomon-oguni).
14th day: ebor ol aba tomon-uńgwan.
15th day: ebor ol aba tomon-oimiët or ol gadet = the one looking across. The rising full moon looks across at the sun not yet set.
16th day: (ol aba) tomon oile or ol onjóri = the greenish one (3).

3. In addition to this counting, there also runs a second one, which, from the 16th on, counts the days of darkness (en aimen). In this, the 16th day is eschomó nabo en aimen, the 17th eschomo

/158 cont./

805 /footnote 3 continued/ 'ré en aimen, etc., the 30th eschomó tomon-oimiēt en aimen.

17th day: (ol aba) tomon-obischana or ol onjúgi = the red one.

18th day: (ol aba) tomon-oissiēt or es sobia naiturúgu.

19th day: (ol aba) tomon-endorot or es sobia em bolós.

20th day: (ol aba) digitam negera or es sobia nabaye or also en ekiborōn.

21st day: (ol aba) digitam-obo or e' mge naiturugu.

22nd day: (ol aba) digitam-aré or e' mge em bolos.

/159/ 23rd day: (ol aba) digitam-oguni or e' mge nabaye.

24th day: (ol aba) digitam ungwan or en aimen narok = the black darkness.

25th day: (ol aba) digitam-oimiēt or en aimen narok.

26th day: (ol aba) digitam-oile or en aimen narok.

27th day: (ol aba) digitam-obischana or en aimen narok.

Moreover, in a 29-day month, the:

28th day: (ol aba) digitam-oissiēt or eń gartake ol aba or en aimen narok.

29th day: (ol aba) digitam- endorot or ewake ol aba or endebe en aimen.

In a 30-day month, the:

28th day: (ol aba) digitam oissiēt or en aimen narok.

29th day: (ol aba) digitam-endorot or eń gartake ol aba or en aimen narok.

30th day: (ol aba) ossom negera or ewake ol aba or endebe en aimen.

The day designation, however, is now by no means so common that every Masai would be able to determine it precisely on every day. Actually only the following days or groups of days are in more constant daily use:

[984] The 1st day, as ebor ol aba nabo, as the beginning of the counting and initial day of the eńg ebor ol aba, the light of the moon: on this day no circumcision is undertaken.

The 4th day, as ertaduage duo ol aba, as new moon.

/159 cont./

805 The 10th day, as tomon negera, as the final day of the first decade.

The 15th day, as ol gadet and final day of the eng ebor ol aba.

[777] The 16th day, as ol onjori; it is the unlucky day for war and the initial day of en aimen (= the darkness).

The 17th day, as ol onjugi; it is the most important unlucky day
[777] in daily life, but on the other hand, is regarded as a lucky day in
[784] war; on the ol onjugi people do not change dwellings, do not shave their heads, and do not undertake any circumcision.

The 18th day to 20th day, as es sobiaïn.

The 20th day, as en ekiborōn, on which the boys belonging to the El kiborōn lineage are circumcised, and as the final day of the second decade.

The 21st day to 23rd day, as mgeïn.

[784] The 24th day, as initial day of the en aimen narok; on it no sacrifices may be offered, and frequently too, just as on the subsequent en aimen narok days, no circumcision is to take place.

The following days up to the end of the month, as en aimen narok.

Within these days, the 4th, 10th, 17th, 24th, and 1st are again especially familiar.

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132
Three months form a season; four seasons, the year (ol ari). The names of the seasons are:

Ol dumeril, that is, the time of little rainfall, which precedes the great rainy season. This falls in the eñ gokwa, named after the Pleiades, which then rise low on the western horizon.

/160/ Then follows the ol airodjerod, the season of the lighter after-rains, and then the ol ameli, the period of hunger, of drought.

The months of ol dumeril are: 1. ol gissan, in which the goats and sheep bring forth young; 2. ol adallo, that is, the heat of the sun; 3. ol golua.

The months of en gokwa are: 1. le erat, formed from er rata = green valley. The rain, which has fallen meagerly up to now, has been sufficient to cover with fresh green the valleys and deeper lying places in the otherwise still yellow, dry steppe. 2. os somisso, the dark, gloomy one. The sky is cloudy, it rains a great deal, the days are gloomy and dark. 3. ol ñerñerua, formed from nemeri = fat; the cattle soon become fat because of the young, fresh grass.

/160 cont./

805 821 132 The months of the ol airodjerod are: 1. le logunja airodjerod, also called oiĕni oiṅok, that is, the tied-up bulls. As a result of the rich fodder of the recent months, they have become wild; in the pasture they would be constantly fighting with one another, hence they are separated. 2. bolos (= middle) airodjerod, or also, but more rarely, called ol dāt. 3. kudjorok, that is, cold; cool weather distinguishes this month.

805 821 132 261 262 [578] The ol amḗju starts with the month kibḗr, that is, noise and strife. The pasture is sparse and as a consequence the cows give too little milk to satisfy all the people. Everyone tries to appropriate for himself some of the milk from the livestock of others, through which strife and brawls arise. Finally the milk no longer extends to necessitous satiation, and the majority of the warriors with a few cattle move into the forest for meat eating, which usually lasts not only through the entire month, but also even over the next month of ol dońgos or ol dońos or ol dońgosch, since even then the milk is still very scant. The name seems to be formed from the word eh guschusch = food scarcity. Not until the beginning of the third month, of the boschogge, do they return to the kraals. From the [276] abundant meat meals they feel very strong, and the heavy use of nerve-stimulating roots has affected their nerves to a high degree, and almost daily one or another has a fit of rage (1).

1. Cf. XIX, Nerve Ailments.

805 The Masai do not count years. Rather, they designate the year after the event seeming to them the most important one that happened during it, for example, after a livestock epidemic, a drought, the death of the high chief, a war expedition especially rich in spoils, etc. (2).

[171] 2. Just as the Babylonians, even in the 3rd millennium B.C., did not count the years, but gave each year a name after an outstanding event in it, especially after the deeds of the king. One proceeded similarly

/160 cont./

805 [171] /footnote 2 continued/ in Egypt, as the so-called Palermo stone has shown (*Vorderasiat. Gesellsch. Geschft. Mitt.*, 1905. II.)

Proceeding from the present year, one also designates, with the help of yesterday and tomorrow, etc., the next years in the past and future: *ol arí le ńgolé otolossoje* (*ol ari* = the year, *ńgole* = yesterday, *otolossoje* = /161/ elapsed), last year; *ol ari l eńg aiolońotolossoje*, the year before last; *ol ari l oguni otolossoje*, the last year but two. Furthermore *ol ari taisere olotu* (*taisere*, tomorrow, *olotu* = future), the next year; *ol ari l eńg aioloń olotǔ*, the year after next; *ol ari l eńg aioloń edia matua olotu* or, more briefly, *ol ari l oguni olotu*, the third year coming, etc. One very seldom hears designations going beyond the last and next year.

804 The only measure peculiar to the Masai is the hand span (*en demata*), measured, with outspread fingers, from the tip of the thumb to that of the middle finger. I saw only that the people measured with this the length of the spear blade, spear shoe, and sword blade, and heard how, upon ordering the parts named, they designated with so-and-so many hand spans the desired length to the smith.

XVIII.

000 Livestock. -- Cattle. -- Care. -- Castration. -- Donkeys. -- Goats. -- Sheep. -- Camels. -- Names for cows. -- Ownership marks. -- Brand scars for beautification and originating from the treatment of sickness. -- Cauterizing the horn attachments. -- Birth assistance. -- Sicknesses and their treatment. -- Cowbells. -- Tending the livestock. -- Drawing blood. -- Slaughter. -- Cutting up the animal and distributing the meat. -- Nomenclature of the livestock. -- Pasture in the steppe. -- Stockbreeding by the European settler. -- Useful and harmful fodder plants.

233 The Masai's greatest joy is the ownership of as much livestock as possible; all his thoughts and acts are directed toward preserving and enlarging the herds. The cattle are zebus (*Bos indicus*), among

/161 cont./ The cattle are zebus (Bos indicus) among
233 which one can distinguish a stocky, short-horned breed and a thinner,
[136] long-horned one. One almost never comes across pure representatives
of either, however, rather, as a result of plunder and crossbreeding,
all the types occurring in East Africa are represented among them.
The actual Masai cattle (ń gischu el masai) scarcely exceed in size
the average East African cattle. The foreign, that is stolen, cattle
especially prized are: on account of its conside[illegible]arger size, the
livestock from Irangi and vicinity (ń gisch[illegible]), that from
Unyamwesi and Usukuma (ń gischu ol m[illegible]) and further the
large-horned ń gischu e kiteto, named after the steppe area of
Kiteto, west of the area of Nguru. Among all the udders are relatively small and the yield of milk is consequently little. An exception to this is a low, stocky breed with short horns, which produces
a double quantity of milk and about which the Masai maintain that
they are quite pure descendants of the old Wakuafi cattle (ń gischu
el lumbua). The Masai call descendants mabgá. Since the calves
234 are not permanently separated from the cows, the women try to avoid
the natural restlessness at the milking by bringing the calf close to
the cow during the milking. They place themselves astride it and
hold its head firmly with the knees. The cow licks the calf, believes
that it is sucking, /162/ /Ills. 51 and 52 appear here/ /163/ and
is quiet. If the calf dies, one deceives the cow about its presence
by hanging the freshly dried /Fig. 74 appears here/ skin over a
stick. The cows are milked twice a day, morning and evening, and
each time give about one and a half liters of milk. They are never
milked completely; rather one leaves the calves with them afterwards. Until the calf is two months old, it is given the milk from
232 two tits, while the other two are milked. The principles of breeding and selection in general are well known to the Masai (Fig. 74).
Male calves that are not to be used for breeding later on are castrated
[412] at the age of 14 days (a-gelém). With a sharpened /Ill. 53 appears
here/ piece of sheet iron, such as is used for shaving, a cut is made
in the scrotum, then each testicle is grasped with the hand and
pulled out, together with the spermatic cords. "So that the wound
may heal more quickly," one sticks in a dead fly and ties one of
the removed testicles around the left foreleg of the calf operated on.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 217]

/Illustrations from p. 162 of the original source./

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Ill. 51. Masai cattle.

Ill. 52. Masai cattle.

/Illustrations from p. 163 of the original source./

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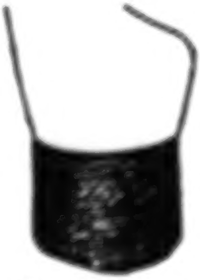

Fig. 72.

Buck apron.

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L. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 53. Masai cattle and donkeys.

/163 cont./
232 Bulls that develop unfavorably and seem unsuitable for breeding are
castrated by the smashing of the spermatic cords with the club
between the wood and string of a bow (s-1666). The testicles are
not removed, but are left to atrophy. In the same /164/ way one
proceeds to castrate goats, sheep, and donkeys, but the latter always
[825] not until they are fully grown. Bulls and bucks with unnatural sexual
[777] instincts are slaughtered as soon as the vice is noticed, since they
are regarded as bringing bad luck. It is believed that, as a result of
[784] their behavior, they bring the punishment of God upon the herd in
[731] the form of an epidemic.

231 The donkeys are small, square-built, strong, and steadfast.
With nicely arched cruppers, a rounded neck, firm and fleshy shanks,
they are very similar in shape to the zebra. Their coloring is a
uniform light gray with a black cross over the back and shoulders.
[492] They serve only to carry burdens, whereas oxen are only rarely used.

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C. G. Schillings phot.

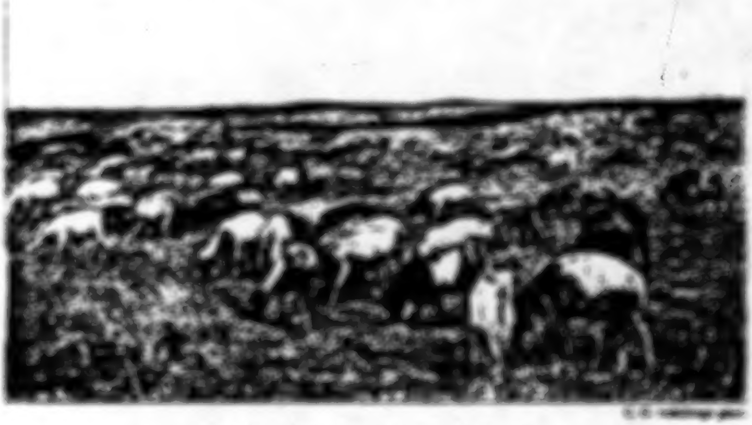
Ill. 14. Masai goats and sheep.

/164 cont./

231 Two breeds are distinguished, a shorter and stockier one and a longer-
[613] legged, thinner one. The latter is allegedly found only among the El bazegero lineages.

233 Among the goats a small breed and a large one can be distin-
[821] guished. The Masai have obtained the latter only through raiding expeditions in Pare, Unyamwezi, etc.; the true Masai goats are small. All have medium long, smooth hair, a markedly projecting forehead, and lop ears. The horns are usually only an inch long and have tips turned back somewhat. Among bucks they are larger, but also only rarely seven to eight inches. /165/ The sheep are only medium-sized compared to European ones. They have curly, coarse hair. Three breeds are distinguished, a large one (en ger sabog = large sheep) with fat rump, a medium-sized one (en ger kitit = small sheep), white with black head and medium-long fat tail, and a small (en ger kiberente: kiberente = poor, paltry) breed and with a
[232] long fat tail. Among the young female animals of the last two breeds the fat tail is cropped for fear it might be obstructive to the buck during coition.

The black-headed breed is stronger in North Africa and probably degenerated here, just like the last of the three breeds, which might



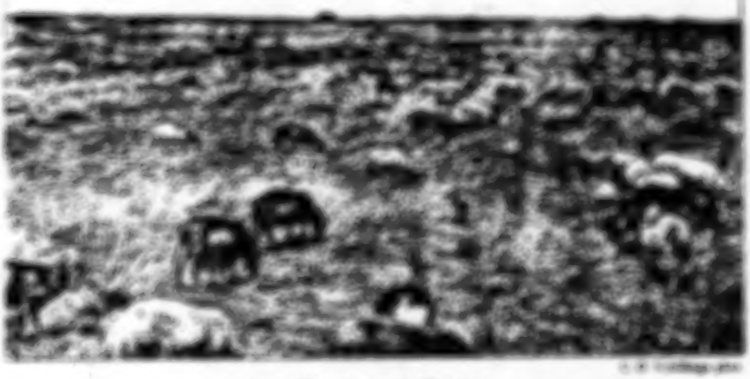
Ill. 55. Masai goats and sheep.

/145 cont./

233 be a breeding product of agriculturalists. The long fat tail, which, with good pasture, is thick and heavy and therefore walking is very difficult for the animal, can scarcely be the result of breeding by nomads. Moreover, among sedentary natives, such as the Wadschagga of Kilimandscharo, the inhabitants of the Pare Mountains, of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, the Irak, etc., I found the animals of this breed in incomparably better condition. In this connection I am thinking of the medium-sized animals, not of the specimens bred at Kilimandscharo for the amusement of the chiefs for hundreds of years, which even on only quite short marches are constantly made to collapse in the rear by the weight of their fat tails and which on distances of perhaps an hour's march can scarcely be transported other than by being carried.

Generally one finds crosses of all three breeds in the Masai herds. All have lop ears, ram noses, coarse shaggy hair, and, except for the old bucks, are almost entirely hornless.

/146/



Ill. 56. Masai Sheep.

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 93. Masai sheep.

231 [492] [179] /382/ Where the Masai are neighbors of the Somali (in British East Africa), the camel has also found entry among them as a beast of burden. They do not, however, generally share the passion of their neighbors, for whose palate the meat of these animals is a special delicacy. The Masai do not keep chickens, ducks, pigeons, etc. 233 552 The attachment of the Masai to their cattle, especially to the cows, makes them seem to them like companions and friends. Thus, their habit of giving their animals names, especially considering the extravagance that the people indulge in with proper names, does not seem at all surprising. The /Ill. 93 appears here/ name [illegible] means that the cow has come from a distance. [illegible] was captured in the vicinity. [illegible] is a cow given as bride price. [illegible] is one such that was received as a gift from an uncle or aunt. A cow paid as fine is called [illegible]. Each of the five cows that the

[187 cont.]

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Ill. 34. Bull with ornamental brand.

(The G [= Government] on the hind leg is not part of it, but would have been branded on the animal when it came to the fiscal herd.)

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captures of the first head of cattle on a war expedition receives as a reward is called Aberi. Other names for cows are: Narok-genjek, blackeye, En dabisi, brown one, Injo, cream-colored one, Enk-ingoroje, blackhead, Na-njugi, red one. A male calf dropped by the cow Sikijaa is called Le-Sikijaa, while a female calf is simply given its mother's name.

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234
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[613]
[188] Cattle, donkeys, and small livestock bear ownership marks. These consist of cuts or broad lines on one or both ears and of lines and curves burned on the left side of the body. The marks ([Plates 3 and 4] ol [illegible], ol [illegible], if put on the body; ol [illegible], ol [illegible], if on the ears) on the cattle and donkeys

/168 cont./

231 show to what lineage or sublineage the owner belongs; those on the
233 small livestock the owner chooses for himself. Probably every lineage
422 has several distinct marks. A glance at history will explain this.
[613] In the immigration of the Masai people, accomplished little by little,
[17] each of the many bands originally formed a closed whole, which each
lineage represented in it adopted a particular mark in order to make
its property known. So it was natural that later on different ownership
marks existed in connection with one and the same lineage, each
according to the affiliation with this or that band. Besides this some
that belong only to individual -- very wealthy and widely ramified --
families are also known, and then they are applied in place of the
others, not together with them. The marks on the cattle are the
same as those on the donkeys, although the
latter bear the ear marks almost exclusively,
[613] only very rarely also those on the body. If a
head of breeding cattle passes to an owner
belonging to another lineage, it is usually
given a new mark, and, to be sure, this one
233 then on the right side of the body. Besides the
531 ownership marks, cattle often have still other
signs burned in as adornment, especially
[232] circles or a sentry-box type of design. A
[412] circle around the root of the tail and, on
→ either side of it, one or two concentric rings
on the hind legs are found especially
233 frequently among bulls. In addition to these
232 cut and brand scars, which are therefore
supposed to serve in part for identification, in part for beautification
purposes, there is also a third type, which arises from operations
that are performed with a red-hot iron (Fig. 73) for the curing of
swellings on joints and tendons. These lines, usually lattice-shaped,
are also found among goats and sheep. On female calves the horn
attachments are often cauterized, so that they can not butt later on.
This operation further brings about, in the view of the Masai, an
enlargement of the belly, desirable for leather production.

Fig. 73

/180 cont./

233 232 At births manual help is given. As soon as the cow lies down, she is held firmly by a few people; others grasp the legs of the calf coming forth and pull it out. Then it is struck against the belly of the cow a few times, so that "she will love it," and then struck on the forehead with the palm of the hand, so that "it will quickly go to the udder and suck."

233 232 Swellings on cattle, for healing, are smoked with the glowing stalks of en dalale ol gase (Solanum spec.).

[237] Injuries to the feet of the cattle and goats are treated by a thorough washing with hot water and subsequent embrocation with cattle urine, as is a sort of foot rot (en jeliky), which /181/ frequently appears when the cattle stand for a long time in mud and dirt during the rainy season. [234] One tries to cure ailments of donkey hoofs by placing the hoof on a stone heated very hot and holding it there for a few moments.

In describing the internal ailments of livestock I am relying chiefly on the statements of the Masai, since only exceptionally did I have an opportunity to make observations on cause, course, etc.

[237] For coughs (eig lönger) the cattle are given a thin soup consisting of milk and pulverized, charred neat-skin. Ol ebinyo bark causes diarrhea in cattle. The infusion of a decoction of ol ojengalani bark (Sesbania aegyptiaca) for cattle acts beneficially on the afterbirth and curatively on the birth organs. To hasten the afterbirth after a miscarriage, one gives the cow an infusion of a root decoction from the ol jegi l ol alnöri (a Euphorbia).

For eye inflammation one spits milk into the eye of the neat and rubs it in it, or one drips into the eye the juice of the ol oiengerei kitok (Heliotropium Steudneri Vtke).

An epidemic disease among young calves, which is supposed to lead rapidly to death, is called ol dilema or ol digina by the Masai. [724] As the cause of the ailment they cite the eating of a certain bush en jaré (Pennisetum ciliare) and as symptom swelling of the lymph glands, which they often try to heal by cauterization (1).

1. In all the meat and fatty parts of the stricken

/169 cont./

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232

/footnote 1 continued/ animals there are said to be found heavy hemorrhaging and in the entrails a greenish, watery fluid.

Another frequent ailment of calves is called eng esmenjani and consists of a rash, predominantly on the head. The individual spots are grey and dry and are the size of a mark or a taler piece. The Masai know nothing about their cause. From time to time one gives the sick animal an infusion of fresh beef blood. The ailment is usually cured within a few months and is supposed to disappear at the latest after complete weaning.

For fever one gives the cattle an infusion of an extract from the pounded stalk of en geloschu (Capparis galeata Fres.) and sprinkles wood ashes on their fodder. Calves are given an extract of the pounded bulb of ol gĭse (Scilla spec.) to drink.

Ol ogesagen is a cattle ailment that usually leads to death overnight and, in the opinion of the people, arises through swallowing dust in the dry season. This ailment is recognized by the fact that the animals tremble all over their bodies. Drinking is supposed to hasten death, whereas the refusal of water shows that the animal will recover.

They know of no remedy against rinderpest. If the epidemic appears in the vicinity, they flee as far away as possible, and then, as soon as /170/ suspicious signs of sickness are observed in their own herd, the wild flight is resumed with the healthy animals, while the infected animals, which soon lose flesh, remain behind and die by the wayside. They call rinderpest ol odua. (1)

1. Pronounced 'lodua or also 'lotua.

= the gall, in whose morbid change they see the chief symptoms of the sickness.

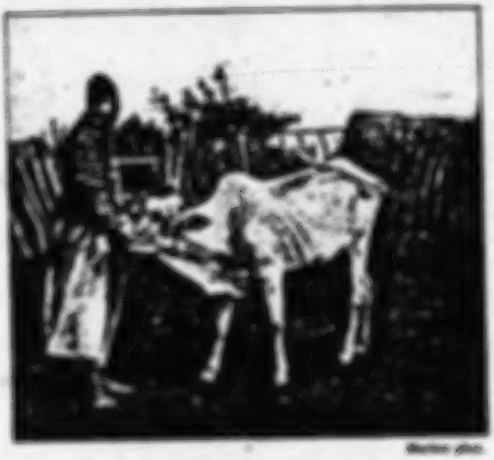
On the other hand, they are familiar with a protective inoculation against tuberculosis (ol gĭbĭĕt) (2)

2. Also ol kibiri.

/170 cont./

233 and first used it successfully on a large scale at the end of the eighties.
232 One or several cuts are made with a knife in the underskin of the bridge of the nose of the animal to be inoculated, so that blood flows copiously from the wound. At the same time the chest cavity of an animal

[[illegible]]



Merker phot.

Ill. 59.
Cow inoculated on the bridge of the nose against tuberculosis.

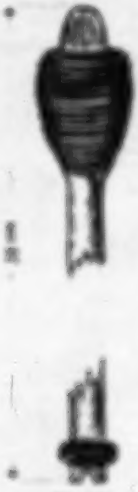


Fig. 14.

that has just died is opened and from it is taken a fist-sized piece of the lung, greatly swollen and filled with a watery fluid. One rubs the wound thoroughly with this piece, so that the fluid penetrates well. Soon after the operation the nose swells considerably and mucus flows copiously from the nostrils. The sickness comes out of the nose, the people say. The healing of the external wound is sometimes connected with a considerable ulceration, which not so rarely leads to a purulent inflammation of one eye, indeed to the complete loss of it. The ulcer heals with the formation of a thick,

/170 cont./

232 233 bony scar often five centimeters high, /171/ through which the inoculated animals, which are now supposed to be protected against becoming sick with tuberculosis, are permanently marked. Numerous observations in this direction showed me the justification of this view. [176] [791] The ol oiboni Mbatyan is regarded as the inventor of the inoculation method.

[136] In some years, and, to be sure, in the rainy season, great multitudes of dark green caterpillars one to one and a half inches long are found in the grasses of the steppe. Cattle that eat the caterpillars are stricken with oly ga ol gurt (ol gurto = the caterpillar). As symptoms of the sickness I observed first a few hoarse coughing sounds, then giddiness, which rapidly mounts and makes the animal stagger as though out of drunkenness; soon it lies down and is brought to a standing position only with difficulty, only to lie down again after a few minutes, whereupon death occurs often after only half [811] an hour. The treatment consists of bloodletting by an arrow shot (Fig. 70) into the jugular vein, whereby one to one and a half liters of blood is emptied out. Through that recovery is reached after just a few hours, as I observed in over 100 cases (1).

1. The microscopic examination of blood slides (ear, heart, spleen) of sick and dead animals gave a negative finding (Oberarzt /staff physician/ Dr. [illegible]). I observed the appearance of masses of the caterpillars in March, 1898, in the steppe south of Kilimandscharo, in December, 1903, in the steppe southwest of Kilimandscharo, in the entire region between the latter and Lake Manyara, and in April, 1905, in Daressalam /Dar es Salaam/.

[179] In another case, out of four head of cattle, after two had already died of the sickness, the other two, through the infusion of an emetic consisting of a mixture of sugar-cane beer and a tobacco extract, which was given upon the advice of the Wapare in Maramba on the southern end of Lake Jipe, could be cured.

/171 con./

233 Manamas on the southern end of Lake Jipe, could be cured.
232 Grazing cattle do not also eat the caterpillars, but first blow them away; thus, on the march, one should drive them slowly through a region infested with these caterpillars, so the blowing away is possible for them.

TheMasai designate as em bujangát a cattle sickness that most probablyis pulmonary anthrax, caused by the inhalation of dust containig anthrax spores. As a remedy they give the cattle a leaf extract of ol gítelegi mixed with a little milk.

Volvulus (e manjit) is treated by a vigorous blowing of air into the anus. One applies for this a wooden tube (ol gidod), which otherwise is used to store the ostrich feathers of the warriors' head ornaments. It is regarded as a symptom of volvulus when the sick animal, without showing any desire to eat, often lies down and rolls about. [415]

With the en dára sickness of the cattle the sick animal is said to emit often a strong carrion-odor; the lymph glands are swollen, the belly is distended. As the cause of the sickness popular belief names a large snake that has contaminated the pasture grass. A cure is not known; experiments, however, have shown us that in the first stages of the sickness a laxative (a bottle of salad oil or sour native beer would be given as such) brings speedy recovery.

/172/ The e' gigatía sickness, also called en gutuke on janá, is recognized by the fact that balls of gnu hair are found in the stomach of the stricken animals. The only symptom of the sickness, which, however, it has in common with many others, is the refusal of fodder. The people believe concerning the cause of the sickness that the beast ate the grass, contaminated with uterine blood and hair, from a spot where a gnu dropped young.

For the eig óa em benék of the cattle the Masai give the sick animal the strongly laxative extract from the pounded leaves and fruits of ol gabárnja (Combretum spec.) to drink. As the cause of the sickness they assume that the animal ate the grass on which a buffalo cow dropped her calf. According to their statements, mucus flows from the nose of the sick animal, it trembles over its whole body, and the dung has a ponceau-red coloring.

/172 cont./

232 233 For the hoof and mouth disease of cattle (ol gúluk), which is recognized by sores on hoofs, in the mouth, and on the tongue, one limits himself to treating the hoof sores in the manner described above.

[824] A morbid elongation of the hoofs -- ol airaacharasch sickness -- the Masai trace to the fact that the sick animals have eaten the ol aiascharasch bush (Crotalaria labumifolia). In the hot season this bush dries up, and the cattle do not eat it any more, whereupon then the tips of the hoofs are said to drop off soon by themselves.

For coughing (eńg erroget), goats and sheep are given a decoction of os sogonoi bark to drink.

The eng ga nairogua (eng ga = sickness; irogua, nairogua = hot) of goats and sheep is a sickness rapidly leading to death, whose symptoms are fever, weak breathing, and a distended belly. No remedy is known. The microscopic examination (1) of blood slides showed that it is a matter of pulmonary anthrax caused by the inhalation of dust containing anthrax spores.

One tries to cure -- usually in vain -- a pocklike rash of goats and sheep (eng ga narre) by means of two brand strokes that go from the nose along both sides of the body to the anus. With dissection pustule ulcers are found in the stomach.

With eńg ga eń goilín (en goilín is any small antelope), which afflicts only goats, the eyes stand out strongly. For the cure one makes incisions in the temples and drips hot fat into the eyes. Popular belief opines concerning the cause that the animals, during sniffing searches for fodder plants, had breathed in the dried excrement of these antelopes.

For severe flatulence, from which goats and sheep often suffer after an excessive eating of fresh grass, one punctures the belly with a sewing awl to let out the gases.

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1. By Gouvernementstierarzt /government veterinarian/ Dr. Brauer.

/173/

233 The foliage of the ol jani l el sirgon tree (Cadaba farinosa),
232 that is, tree of the donkeys, is regarded as poison for donkeys.
[231] Besides a horsefly, ol gimbai l ol sirgon, from whose bite the
[824] donkeys (bitten in the penis) are stricken beyond recovery, the Masai
[136] also fear for donkeys and cattle the tsetse fly (Glossina morsitans),
which they call en dorobbo. The latter is allegedly only dangerous to cattle if it bites them in the tip of the tongue. One seeks a cure by cauterizing the spot bitten, but the result is very doubtful.

For getting rid of fleas, one washes young livestock with an extract from the crushed plants of ol osidja gutok (Asystasia gangetica L.) or from ol abai (Microglossa spec.).

The powdered root of ol girigir (Acacia pennata Willd.) is blown into the nose of calves and small livestock, in order to drive out the maggots of the throat fly /warble fly/.

233 Cowbells (Fig. 77) in the form customary in Europe are found
534 generally, but here they are hung especially on oxen and only on
those cows that do not tolerate their calves. Smaller bells, often of wood or sheep horn with wooden clappers, are worn by castrated

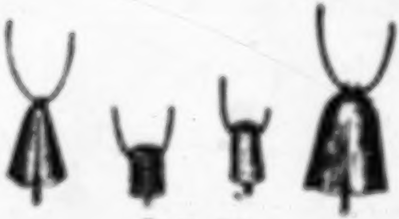

Fig. 77. ([illegible])

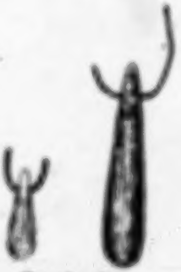

Fig. 78. ([illegible])

233 sheep and goats. As adornment one hangs around the neck of castrated calves clapper-shaped pieces of ivory (Fig. 78) or, for especially handsomely developed cattle, a leather band or a cord stitched with cowrie shells.

/173 cont./

233 [561] [857] Small livestock and donkeys are tended by little boys, cattle by older boys, under the supervision of a few old men. Dogs are no longer used for this now; rather the livestock heeds the whistle or call of the herdsmen. To what extent this is the case is best demonstrated when Masai flee with herds of livestock. A number of men, shouting and whistling, run before and behind the herd, [231] [178] which rages across the steppe in a mad chase. In former times the herdsmen quite generally used dogs. The dogs did not serve so much to keep the herd together, but more for guarding. They announce the approach of predatory animals by barking or by hastening to the herdsmen.

231 [862] [272] /174/ As has already been mentioned above, fresh livestock blood alone or mixed with milk forms a food prized as quite particularly nourishing. The blood for this is drawn off the living cattle and goats in the following manner: A strap is tied around the animal's neck in such a way that the blood returning to the heart in the large vein is blocked by it and breathing is not affected. Then a man [411] [416] shoots an arrow (Fig. 78) with a bulb-shaped, thick tip (ol boret), from which projects a scale-shaped sharp piece of sheet iron six to eight millimeters long and equally wide, into the swollen vein, whereupon the blood squirts out in a stream and is caught in a gourd bottle (ol buguet). The bleeding is stopped by a simple untying of the strap after the operation is finished. From a strong bull or ox approximately four to five liters of blood are drawn at one time, from a cow only half as much, and this is repeated every month. No blood is drawn from good milch cows and cows with young calves. Blood is drawn from sheep by means of an incision in the depression above the eyes or between the eye and the middle of the forehead. The slaughtering of cattle is done by a stab in the neck after the front and hind legs have been fettered; goats and sheep are suffocated by having their mouths and noses held shut. Cows are never slaughtered, not even when they are too old to be used for breeding. 231 242 561 Livestock that has died is eaten. As soon as the animal is dead, one removes the skin from the neck, severs the neck veins, and catches the blood flowing out in the skin. The cutting up of a head of cattle is done with the greatest care; almost every single muscle is carved

/174 cont./

231 262 561 [593] out, since special food laws determine to which class of people this or that piece will fall. From a head of cattle slaughtered during the meateating in the bush the warrior will send his father a shoulder-blade (ol kirobuscha) and for the wives of his father the head (ol ogunje), paunch (eh gonjóri), the entrails (memér), feet (el ojjelek), as well as the hind leg without the rear half (eh gubéta), and to the girls, the lateral belly-piece (e murté). The warriors eat all the rest of the meat. If they have visits from other warriors, the latter are entitled to the long, straight belly muscle (eh gelesmián) and rear hocks (el ornachéta). On the other hand, if a head of cattle of a married man is slaughtered at the kraal, the warriors get nothing. From the cut-up animal there is put aside first for the other married men: the tongue (ol ngejép), a shoulderblade (ol kirobuscha), a rear hock, the rear part of the hind leg (ol mónu), the long belly-muscles for the uncircumcised boys, the ribs (el eréb), a rear hock, the filet (en sendé), the "flache /flat/ Roastbeef" -- as my cookbook calls it -- (ol oni), the heart (ol dási). The rest of the meat is given to the women, who give the girls the lateral belly-piece and the neck (e murt) from it. The principal wife of the one to whom the slaughtered animal belongs is given the tail piece.

/175/ If the warrior slaughters a goat, the married men are given half the liver (e mónjua), the wives the paunch and head, the girls the back (en gorioh) and the feet. If a married man slaughters a goat, he gives the wives the paunch, the rennet bag, spleen, entrails, and head, the girls back and feet, the boys a side of ribs, breast (ol ngesé), lungs (el kibiach), heart, and a hind leg (ol garin murú), while he himself keeps the rest.

[593] From a warrior's sheep, the father gets the neck; the wives of the father, paunch, rennet bag, entrails, and liver; the sisters, feet and back. If a married man slaughters a sheep, the distribution to the women and girls is the same, and the boys receive the same pieces as from the father's goat. Of the individual pieces of meat, one boils [252] the bones for soup, furthermore the filets, the carved-out cutlets, the dark meat on the hind leg, and the heart. Everything else is roasted at the open fire. Brains and spinal marrow are not eaten, but thrown away. Bone marrow is sucked raw out of the smashed bones.

/175 cont./

136 [268] [229] Since the Masai do not eat game meat and hence do not pursue game in any way, it is usually very tame in the vicinity of the kraals and often grazes along with the cattle. The author saw an unforgettably beautiful scene in mid-1897 in the circular valley of Ngorongoro, where large herds of gnus and zebras, as well as Grant's and Thomson's gazelle, were grazing quietly and without any trace of fear beside and among the cattle herds of the Masai.

192 234 From the extensive nomenclature for the livestock, only the most important words are given here:

i gischu, cattle in general;
ol [illegible] (ol [illegible]) or (very rarely) ol mógira, bull;
ol geted (ol [illegible]) ox;
en geted (i gischu), cow;
en geted naigeno obo, cow that has calved once;
en geted [illegible] are, cow that has calved twice;
en geted 'leben, cow that has calved a number of times;
en geted [illegible], sterile cow;
ol gedari (ol gedar), small calf in general, which stays near the kraal;
ol [illegible] (ol [illegible]), older calf that is pastured farther away;
ol ashé (ol ashoi) older calf that grazes in the vicinity of the large livestock;
ol [illegible] (ol [illegible]), male calf;
ol asche or ol ahe (el asche, el ahe), male calf;
en [illegible] (en [illegible]) female calf;
eng asche (ing asche), female calf;
en sigiria (en sirgon), donkey in general;
ol [illegible] (ol [illegible]), male donkey;
/176/ en sigiria [illegible] (en [illegible]), castrated male donkey;
en sigiria (en sirgon), female donkey;
en sigiria naigeno obo, female donkey that has foaled once;
en sigiria [illegible], female donkey that has foaled several times;
ol [illegible] (ol [illegible]), male donkey foal;
en [illegible] (i [illegible]), female donkey foal;
ol [illegible] (ol [illegible]), full-grown male head of small livestock;

/176 cont./

231 192 es sube (es subeni), full-grown female head of small livestock;
ol balelo (el balelo), young male head of small livestock;
em balelo (en balelo), young female head of small livestock;
ol elerua (el eleru), head of small livestock only a few days old;
ol oso (el osoi), goat buck;
ol gine (el ginedji), castrated goat buck;
en gine (en ginedji), she-goat;
en gine elebok, she-goat that has dropped young several times;
es suben ed gine, she-goat that has not yet dropped young;
oldbalelo l ed gine, male kid;
em balel' en gine, female kid;
ol meregesch (el meregeschi), ram;
ol ger (el geri), castrated ram;
en ger (e gera), sheep;
en ger elebok, sheep that has dropped young several times;
es suben ed ger, sheep that has not yet dropped young;
ol balelo l ed ger, male lamb;
em balel' ed ger, female lamb.

233 311 [823] [135] [825] The far greater part of the steppes offers excellent pastures; only smaller or larger isolated stretches are quite unsuitable for this. The Masai know these precisely and scrupulously avoid them. What makes them unusable is first of all the occurrence of grasses that bring about digestive disorders and the lack of salt in sufficient quantities, through which a similar effect is brought about. In good pasturing places one always finds salt licks. The rain water standing in a depression in the ground has leached out the very saliferous earth and, after evaporation, has left behind a more or less strong, gray crust of salt. It is self-evident that one avoids those places about which the presence of the above-mentioned harmful insects is known. It is striking, however, that ticks are not feared at all.

561 233 When the pasture around the kraal has been grazed off, a change of dwelling is decided upon, which takes place as soon as a new pasture ground has been found by a few people sent out. Then there is activity in the kraal long before daybreak. After the cows have been milked, the cattle moves off as the first party. Then the herds of goats and sheep follows, and after these /177/ the calves. Young

361 /177 cont./

233 animals that go forward only with difficulty are carried in the arms.
[561] Boys take care of the livestock driving, under the supervision of
[401] married men. With each party is found a stronger guard of warriors.
[492] Meanwhile the women are still busy with the loading of the donkeys, on which all the household equipment is packed. More rarely a few oxen or cows must help out. After this work is finished, the herd of donkeys follows the tracks of the livestock. Behind them come the women, girls, and children; almost every one of them also drags along some household object or at least a small-livestock or neat
[701] skin. Oddly enough, a guard of warriors is not found with this party, as there was with all the preceding ones, but rather at most a few old men armed with spears or bows and arrows. Usually the destination is reached on the same day. If this is not the case, however, camp is pitched during the night within a hastily constructed barricade of thorny branches. The next morning the march then continues
361 before daybreak. After arrival at the new site the women immedi-
462 ately start laying out the kraal. Then the thorn barricade is laid out, and in the following days the huts are built. Erecting the kraal proceeds very rapidly; as a rule it is finished in a week at the latest. The old kraal was not destroyed upon being vacated. It is left standing and reoccupied later, after the pasture has recovered. Meanwhile, of course, much has deteriorated, so that the work of reconstruction almost equals that of a new installation. In the last
[136] few years, since the sand flea (Pulex penetrans) has become a pest in East Africa, the reoccupation of old kraals is declining more and more. In order to destroy the noxious insects inhabiting them, they are burned when vacated.

000 It is obvious that the European who wants to engage in stockbreeding here cannot move about with his herd in the manner of the Masai. Moreover, a division of the herd in such a way that sufficient grass is present throughout the year within range of the kraal for the individual parts does not seem feasible, and, to be sure, especially because of the difficulty of personal supervision and observation of the sicknesses arising, as well as of isolation in case of an epidemic. An improvement of the pasture by means of

/177 cont./

interim sowing of proven European fodder plants is probably excluded almost everywhere in the steppe, owing to the lack of sufficient and regular precipitation. Now, the stockbreeding settler, however, will probably never take up this line of business alone, but rather will also engage in agriculture -- if only for his own needs and those of his workers. For this he must establish his farm on the borders of the steppe -- since within it an agricultural economy is pretty much excluded -- in a fertile and sufficiently well-watered area. This is also the place to lay out a field with fodder plants, of which lucerne seems to be the most suitable, since numerous experiments with it produced the most excellent results.

/178/ Then, when the grass around the livestock kraal has been grazed off during the dry season, especially during the months from December to March, the herd will be driven for lucerne-foddering to the farm, to which also throughout the year individual animals that are sick or in a poor stand of fodder would have been brought temporarily. Since the Masai cattle, for European conceptions, are small and light, crossing with good breeds is necessary. For the time being, when the lack of a railroad does not yet make possible the sale of milk, butter, etc., breeding will solely be a matter of aiming for good livestock for slaughter, which will then, at suitable times of the year, be driven in herds to the coastal towns for sale. For an improvement of the meat, crossing with European livestock, Angler Simmentaler, Shorthorns is desirable. The meat of the East African humped cattle is too dry, too lean, for our taste, since the animals do not have a sufficient padding of subcutaneous fat. Instead all the fat is concentrated in the hump, which becomes flabby with meager pasture and swells with good.

Highly valued fodder plants are:

[illegible] [illegible] (ol *[illegible]*), for goats and sheep.

Andropogon [illegible] var. *[illegible]* (ol *[illegible]*).
This is regarded almost as a preventive against sickness of livestock.

Chloris myriostachya (ol *[illegible]*), for cattle.

Commelina Merkeri K. Sch. (ol *[illegible]*), for goats and sheep.

Cynodon dactylon (ol *[illegible]*), for cattle.

/178 cont./

Kyllingia alba (ol [illegible] l el [illegible]). for donkeys.
Maerua Johannis Volk. et Gilg (ol [illegible]). for donkeys only.
Panicum albovellereum K. Sch. (e [illegible]). for cattle.
" laetum Kth. (em [illegible]). for cattle.
" maximum Jacq. (e' [illegible]). for cattle.
Pennisetum ciliare (en [illegible]). for cattle.
" spec. (en [illegible]). for cattle.
" spec. (ol [illegible] l' [illegible] = the festival of bulls). for cattle.
Sporobolus festivus (ol [illegible]). for small livestock.
" indicus (ol [illegible] [illegible]). for cattle.
Tricholaena rosea (ol [illegible]). for cattle.
Wedelia (mossambicensis Oliv. [?]) (ol [illegible]). for cattle.
On the other hand there are feared:

Andropogon contortus (en [illegible] ol [illegible] = hyena arrow), owing to its sharp spikes for the eyes of the livestock.

Andropogon schoenanthus (ol [illegible] [illegible]). causes very severe diarrhea among calves.

Cadaba farinosa (ol [illegible] l el [illegible]). causes constipation in donkeys and cattle.

Maerua Johannis Volk. et Gilg (ol [illegible]). harmful only for cattle.

/179/ [illegible] [illegible] (ol [illegible]). feared because of its sharp spikes.

Schmidtia quinqueseta (ol [illegible]). causes colic and loss of hair among calves.

/179 cont./

XIX.

004 Internal ailments. Infectious diseases dysentery, malaria, chickenpox, smallpox, elephantiasis, parasitic cutaneous eruption. -- Ailments of the respiratory organs head colds, bronchial catarrh. -- Ailments of the digestive organs nausea, diarrhea, constipation, [illegible] [illegible] /strengthening meals/. liver pains, spleen pains. liver and spleen abscess. bilious fever, intestinal worms, ancylostomiasis. -- Venereal diseases lues, gonorrhea, cystic catarrh, [illegible]. -- Nerve ailments headache, earache, toothache, rheumatic muscle pains, nerve stimulants, the sun headache sickness. -- External ailments surgeons, tooth operations, bloodletting and cupping, swellings, abscesses. The post-ulcer sickness. The glandular disease. Sand fleas. Snake-bite and scorpion sting. Poison-arrow wounds. Conjunctivitis. Sprains. Dislocations. Bone fractures. Removal of foreign bodies from wounds. Abdominal wounds. Amputation. -- Midwifery and women's ailments. Midwives. Intensifying the labor-pain activity. Pelvic narrowness. Position of the woman in childbirth. Afterbirth. Removal of the umbilical cord. Treatment of the newborn child and the woman in childbed. Nourishment. Care. Nursing. Weaning of the infant. Uterus pains. Abortion. Fertility. Child mortality.

Internal Ailments

753 The Masai, in contrast to the Negro peoples, never trace the origin of internal ailments to the work of evil spirits and only rarely to magic prepared against the sick person by one of his personal enemies. In most cases they see the causes of illness in external or
757 internal influences harmful to the organism. Knowledge of the treatment of internal ailments is the common property of all the people; a mother treats her small children; older children or adults treat themselves according to traditional methods observed by them or related to them.

/179 cont./

Infectious Diseases

757 164 For dysentery (eig [illegible]) the sick one is given much liquid sheep-fat or melted butter to drink.

Malaria (eig [illegible]). At the start of the chill, the patient is given an emetic, for example, a cold, strong extract of the bark of ol [illegible] (Albizzia anthelmintica). Even before the fever breaks out, a decoction of ol [illegible] bark is administered, through which, in many cases, the outbreak of the fever is supposed to be prevented or alleviated.

753 825 [361] It is interesting that the Masai -- as they say -- have always regarded the bite of the mosquito as a prerequisite for an attack of malaria. They say that the latter, with its bite, inoculates the person with a poison that causes malaria. For this reason they never lay out their kraals in the vicinity of a swamp or other standing water, and also avoid those places in whose surroundings during the rainy season longer standing puddles form. /180/ In order to drive away the mosquitoes they burn (in the camp or in the hut) the peppermint-scented ol [illegible] ([illegible]). If a kraal is badly afflicted with mosquitoes, its inhabitants leave it immediately out of fear of fever (1).

> 1. So they told me as early as 1895. When, at the beginning of 1896, Zendeo with a number of his people came to Moschi, I received in reply to my question as to whether they had to suffer much with fever the answer: "No, there are no mosquitoes near our kraals."

757 Other emetics are: root powder of ol [illegible] (Cyathula [illegible] Vlm.), which is taken stirred in water; a decoction of roots and stalks of ol [illegible] (Barleria [illegible] Lindau); a root decoction of ol [illegible] (Solanum nigrum); the boiling down of a handful of bark or root of ol [illegible] ([illegible] Gürke); a cold extract of five finger-size pieces of the bark of [illegible] (Acacia [illegible] Bth.)

/180 cont./

757 and the chewing of the root of ol [illegible] (Withania somnifera L.) are regarded as acting especially vigorously. Children are given an infusion of the leaves of ol [illegible] ([illegible] multiflora (Hoch.) Sch.), because it has a considerably milder effect.

753 They call another greatly feared fever ol [illegible] ('en [illegible]) and see its original cause in the bite of a kind of tick living underground, which they designate as en [illegible] [illegible]. The patient is given liquid sheep fat mixed with the powdered grains of ol [illegible] ([illegible] lanceolata Forsk.). Presumably this fever is identical with relapsing fever, for which Professor Robert Koch identified as the carrier of the spirilla [156] a species of tick living underground (Ornithodorus [illegible]) (1).

1. During the day Ornithodorus hides in cracks of buildings or in the ground and emerges as soon as a victim approaches. Merker's conjecture could therefore correspond to the truth, and the more so since to me too the Masai designated and displayed an unquestionable Ornithodorus as the carrier of a fever. The ed. Dr. E.

757 Against chickenpox (o [illegible] or en [illegible]) no medicine is known. The sick person remains in the hut, is given as a drink a little milk [184] mixed with fresh blood and sheep-tail fat, two things that are regarded as strengthening; furthermore, as food, a piece of mutton roasted in the skin at the open fire.

For protection against smallpox (ol [illegible] or ol [illegible]) [756] healthy persons are inoculated in two incisions on the forehead with the smallpox pus (en [illegible]) of a sick person. Smallpox patients are [184] given a decoction of the roots of ol [illegible] (Solanum [illegible]) mixed with cattle blood as a diaphoretic and at the same time a nourishing remedy. In order to increase the sweat secretion, the [758] patient is laid beside the hearth fire. Diet: no drink except the above-mentioned medicine; as food, the head of a sheep roasted in the skin or another piece of mutton similarly prepared.

/150 cont./

757 [124] Elephantiasis arcti (ou [illegible]) is regarded as a punishment of God for incest committed. A therapeutic treatment is unknown. Other forms of elephantiasis are said not to occur among the Masai; the one mentioned seems to be infrequent to the point of having disappeared.

757 /151/ To cure the parasitic cutaneous eruption (1)

> 1. The eruption heals within three days if the affected places on the skin are well covered with a sanitizing salve (for example, zinc ointment), after they have been previously cleansed with soap.

(ol [illegible]) called upele by the coastal people, the body is rubbed with oil obtained from the ol [illegible] tree (Commiphora sp.), whereupon healing follows in two to three days -- as I was able to find out for myself a few times.

164 I have never seen among the Masai the [illegible] [illegible] (2)

> 2. [illegible] is often mistakenly taken for lues. With the administration of potassium iodide the [illegible] sores heal in the course of two to three weeks.

very common on the Kilimanjaro. To a corresponding question I always received the answer that this very infectious disease is unknown to them.

Ailments of the Respiratory Organs.

759 [064] Against [illegible] (ol [illegible] l ol [illegible] = cold of the nostrils) one sniffs tobacco mixed with the powdered bark of the ol [illegible] tree. In severe cases, as a diaphoretic, one administers the juice of the tuber of ol [illegible] (Momordica cardiospermoides Kl.) or a decoction of [illegible] [illegible] bark ([illegible] [illegible] K. Sch.).

[191 cont.]

[illegible] [illegible] Bronchial catarrh (ol-oikije ol-gorogor = cough). The patient is given a handful of the powdered bark of ol-markak (Croton spec.) stirred into fresh cattle blood, or a paste that consists of a third of a liter of liquid honey and two handfuls of the powdered bark of ol-[illegible]. A decoction of the bark of ol-[illegible] is supposed to have a loosening effect; for the same purpose one also chews the bark bast of ol-[illegible] (Acacia Merkeri) and of ol-lamuriai or ol-[illegible] (Gomphocarpus fruticosus spec.), and eats the unripe fruits of ol-[illegible] (?). The mother gives small children the juice obtained by chewing a species of Fagara (ol-[illegible]) or [illegible] ([illegible] [illegible] L.) or the leaves of ol-[illegible] ([illegible] [illegible] Engl.).

Ailments of the Digestive Organs.

For nausea one drinks a decoction of the bark bast of ol-lamuriai (Gomphocarpus fruticosus sp.) stirred with liquid sheep-fat, or one takes an emetic, such as stronger than the ordinary doses of ol-[illegible]-ol-[illegible] ([illegible] lanceolata), ol-[illegible] (Acacia [illegible]).

Diarrhea and abdominal pain ([illegible] ol-[illegible] or ol-[illegible], the latter word designates the watery excrement). To check it, one drinks extracts or decoctions of the bark of ol-[illegible] (Terminalia Brownii Fres. var. Merkeri Engl. and Terminalia Hildebrandtii Engl.) or of ol-[illegible] (Acacia spirocarpa Hochst.). In addition, bark extracts of ol-[illegible] (Ficus Sycomorus), a decoction of the bark of ol-[illegible] ([illegible] salicifolia D. C.), of the root /193/ bark of ol-[illegible], [illegible] broth in which a few pieces of the root of ol-[illegible] (Cissampelos pareira L.) have been boiled, or a root extract of ol-[illegible] mixed with milk. The powdered bark of ol-[illegible] ([illegible] [illegible]) stirred into fresh milk is regarded as a quick and sure remedy. For abdominal pains a decoction of ol-[illegible] (Cassia abbreviata Oliv.) is administered, or a leaf extract of ol-[illegible], also called ol-[illegible] [illegible] (Clerodendron discolor (Kl.) Vatke). Because of its mild action, the extract or decoction of a Commiphora species (ol-[illegible]) mixed with beef bouillon or an infusion of the leaves of ol-[illegible] (Cassia [illegible] Lam.) is popular. Pregnant women prefer this medicine to the ones previously mentioned. In order to

751 /155 cont./ In order to avoid the onset of a case of diarrhea as a consequence of the very popular copious enjoyment of liquid fat, a root decoction of the above-mentioned ol oiia tree (Ximenia americana L.) is administered.

757 Constipation (ol gílooni). The most popular remedies in severe cases are a decoction or extraction of the bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg) mixed with fat, or, in milder cases, the pepperlike grains of ol oiko (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.), which are chewed.

[827] Regarded as aiding digestion is the bark of ol mugu (Thespesia Garckeana F. Hoffm. and Dombeya reticulata Mast. vel aff.), of en dgrúgelio, also called ol egírugi (Turraea Volkensii Gürke), which is drunk mixed with meat broth, and of a still unknown Acacia species (ol aiili), which is why the warriors, during their meat feasts, add these powdered barks to their drinking water, as well as an extract of the pounded root of ol gbuin (Bridelia cathartica Bert).

"To clean out the stomach" the warriors take, once every three or four months, a medicine called en janigiri, consisting of the bark decoction of ol oiko (Maesa lanceolata), ol oelerian (Albizzia anthelmintica), ol madbali (Croton spec.), ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg), ol gotaissua (Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.), en eguetai or ol diajai (Cissus quadrangularis).

[302] As Tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/ and beautifying agent, pulverized bark of ol dilaighaani (Pappea capensis Eckl. et Zeyh.) is added to the drinking water. It is supposed to make the skin softer and more elastic, as well as to give rise to an increase in the padding of fat through which sharp contours are rounded. The remedy is especially popular among warriors.

757 For liver pains (ele a munjwa) one drinks a decoction of the bark of en oelo (Euclea fructuosa).

For spleen pains and spleen swelling (ele ol dassia), the powdered bark of the same tree, stirred to a paste with honey, is eaten or, mixed with honey beer, is drunk, as is a root decoction of en senetoi (Cassia didymobotrya Fres.), which as a rule is mixed with milk.

/183/

752 164 Liver and spleen abscesses are supposed to be cut open to drain off the pus. I saw scars in the areas in question several times, but was never able to observe the operation itself.

757 164 For so-called bilious fever (ol odua = the gall), an emetic is taken first, either a strong dose of grains of the ol odua (Maesa lanceolata) or a bark extract of olki (Acacia mellifera); then one drinks a root decoction of ol deregeli (?) or of ol masnai (?).

To get rid of intestinal worms (taeniae [ol goruo, ol guri] and ascarids [ol budi, el budok]) one uses decoctions of the bark of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica), of the root of ol deregeli (?), of the fruits of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata), or also of the powdered bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg), the latter of which is always taken with fat since otherwise it is too acrid and easily causes violent abdominal pains with diarrhea.

To cure ancylostomiasis (eng go ol gimbe) one administers a decoction of the bark bast of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica); the bark bast is cooked with meat; the patient drinks the meat broth.

Venereal Diseases

757 [164] [548] Gonorrhea and especially lues are quite rare among the Masai. This is due in part to the absence of professional prostitution, and in part to the fact that the Masai are familiar with the dangerousness of these diseases and their easy transmissibility. Those stricken with lues are segregated and may not enter any kraal until the external symptoms of the illness have disappeared; during this time they live outside the kraal in a superficially built hut surrounded by thorn branches for protection against predatory animals. Accordingly lues is called eng ga auló, formed out of eng go = the sickness, auló = outside the kraal. Lues patients drink a great deal of liquid fat and liquid butter for a cure. [539] One drips on the lues ulcers, as well as on those of the chancres, juice of the leaves of ol aimgirai (?), sprinkles on them a powder made out of the leaves of ol ngeramini (?), or burns them with Cuprum sulfuricum, which the Masai obtain in trade with caravans.

/155 cont./

757 For gonorrhea they use a whole number of medicaments, to some of which they attribute only or chiefly a diuretic effect, to others a healing effect as well. The principal remedies are the following: decoction of the bark of ol [illegible] (Embelia kilimandscharica), often mixed with calf urine; furthermore of ol [illegible] ([illegible] reticulata), ol [illegible] (Acacia cf. senegal Schweinf.), ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica) and ol geloi (?); a root decoction of the latter is also used, as well as of ol [illegible] (Cissus [illegible] Gilg), ol [illegible] (Capparis [illegible] Engl.), ol [illegible], and, finally, decoctions of the dried root bark of o'seteti (Salvadora persica) and of the wood of a Ficus species (ol [illegible]), which is regarded especially as a diuretic.

[164] /156/ For cystic catarrh one drinks a weak decoction of the root of o'seteti (Salvadora persica).

832 A bark decoction of ol [illegible] (Pappea capensis) is regarded as an aphrodisiac for men, one made out of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica) for women. The bark of the trees ol gilorit (Acacia abyssinica) and ol [illegible], used as seasoning for meat broth, is
[263] supposed to have the opposite effect among the warriors.

These last two remedies, however, are by no means regarded
[147] as sedatives, but, on the contrary, as stimulants. The people explain the effect ascribed to them here with the words: the warrior does not like the odor of the girl, by which probably a specific [illegible] [illegible] /stink of urine/ more or less clinging to the clothing of all women is to be understood.

Nerve Ailments

757 (164) With headache ([illegible]) a blister is produced on each of the temples and on the nape with the fire twirler (ol [illegible]) rubbed hot; more rarely one ties a cord rather tightly around the forehead and the occiput. The latter remedy is not peculiar to the Masai,
(177) but has been adopted in places from other peoples.

[164] For earache ([illegible]) one pours warm butter into the ear.

/ 158 cont. /

757 [illegible] With toothache ([illegible]) one bites on a very hot [illegible] of fat with the aching tooth. Pieces of twigs of [illegible] ([illegible] L.) and [illegible] ([illegible] L.) chewed to resemble a brush at one end serve as toothbrushes.

[illegible] For rheumatic pains in the muscles one makes use of massage, which is practiced by the women, or one makes poultices with the pulp of the pulverized root of [illegible] ([illegible]), which also finds use otherwise as a "mustard plaster." Married men have themselves massaged by their wives to get rid of pains in the leg muscles after long marches, whereas the warriors scorn this help as unmanly. Furthermore one administers a root decoction, preferably mixed with a broth from meat, of [illegible] ([illegible] [illegible] Vahl.) or of [illegible] ([illegible] [illegible]), or also a decoction of the wood of [illegible] ([illegible] (Benth.)). For rheumatic pains in the back one drinks a root decoction, sweetened with honey, of [illegible] or [illegible] ([illegible] Engl.). To cure articular rheumatism a root decoction of [illegible] ([illegible] L.) is administered. Besides these remedies, those that are regarded as diaphoretic, especially the above-mentioned [illegible] ([illegible]) and [illegible] ([illegible] R. Sch.), are also given.

276 [726] Other than for curative purposes the warriors regularly, and, to be sure, for the entire duration of their membership in the warrior society, take various sorts /159/ stimulants. These are taken especially on war expeditions and, even more, during the meat feasts forming the preparation for them. One of the most popular stimulants is the bark of the frequently mentioned [illegible] ([illegible]). One pounds a piece of bark about the size of two hand-palms with a club and then lets it steep for a few minutes in still hot meat broth. The other stimulants are [illegible] or [illegible] ([illegible]): an arm-long piece is cut up and boiled in water. The extract is taken mixed with goat-meat broth. Equally strong in effect is the root of [illegible] (?). One takes a piece of root three centimeters thick and approximately ten centimeters long, chops it twice, and cooks it with beef broth. The decoction smells disgusting.

/285 cont./

276 The effect of ol gesudhua (Myrica kilimandscharica) is weaker. To prepare the ordinary dose, one cuts 50 finger-long pieces from a thumb-thick twig and boils them. The decoction is taken mixed with goat bouillon. The effect of ol goitiak (?), the wood, bark, and root of which are leached out cold, is said to be similar. The root of ol girori (Acacia abyssinica) is regarded as particularly strong. For one dose one takes a thumb-thick piece three quarters of a meter long and cuts it into finger-long parts, which are leached out in cold water. The extract is mixed with beef soup. Other stimulants are obtained from the fruits of ol oiren (Myrsine [illegible]), the bark of ol jani 'oingi (Embelia kilimandscharica Engl.) and of ol jami (Acacia seyal Del.), the bulb of ol ngilenia, a still unnamed species of Haemanthus, and a few other plants.

The effect of these nerve stimulants, when taken frequently, is expressed in fits of rage with partial loss of consciousness. Several days, four to ten, before the attack the person in question will suffer from more or less violent crying fits, especially in the morning before sunrise and in the evening shortly after sunset. During the day these occur only if exciting scenes take place in his vicinity, such as quarreling or brawls, and then the crying fit is accompanied by a violent twitching in the muscles, especially in those of the limbs. The eyes are very red, the skin color appears noticeably darker than usual, and the patient refuses almost all food, he is taciturn and sullen, as though distracted. His companions are familiar with the danger that an attack of the patient would cause them and other people and therefore keep watch over him day and night. Often a dispute or a scuffle that the patient observes provides the immediate cause of an attack, but it also often occurs without any external cause. During an attack, breathing is markedly heightened and accompanied by deep groans, tears flow copiously, the body twitches as though in cramps, foam appears at the mouth, and -- as I afterwards heard from several patients -- during this everything appears to them colored blood red. Yielding to an irresistible /286/ urge for violence, the sufferer seizes -- if this is possible for him -- a spear or sword, dashes away with it, and attacks those meeting him, whereby not infrequently severe wounds and death occur. In the latter case it is said that

/138 cont./

276 consciousness returns immediately and the attack passes over into a quiet spell of weeping, whereas after a slight scratching inflicted on another, the patient's excitement is said to increase further. If the outbreak of the attack -- which usually occurs toward evening -- is noticed in time by the warriors squatting around the patient, a number of them throw themselves upon him, force him to the ground, and hold him firmly until the attack passes. This occurs, as a rule, after half an hour or an hour, but often it lasts somewhat longer. Then a restless sleep follows, interrupted several times by fits of crying and flow of saliva, until toward morning, when a second, somewhat weaker attack occurs, during which the patient is treated as before. This second attack is often somewhat briefer than the first and turns into a spell of weeping gradually becoming calmer, which as a rule is soon succeeded by general exhaustion, which ends in deep sleep. After this the patient usually goes on to a speedy recovery; more rarely it appears as though still another relapse is to follow, which will be expressed by greater violence of the weeping fits. That there is no third attack is traced back by the people to the fact that the patient was already fettered during the second one, his companions now guard him more carefully and keep away from him any opportunity for excitement -- even a glimpse of weapons. To hasten a cure, large quantities, a litre and more, of liquid fat is poured into the patient, which he usually also gets even in the preceding stage to alleviate the expected attack. The Masai call the attack [illegible] [illegible], and the one suffering from it [illegible] [illegible].

As frequent as the severe form of [illegible] [illegible] is -- since every warrior suffers from it several times in the course of his warrior period, and it is rare if one of them remains spared altogether -- the European will nevertheless mostly be able to observe only the much more commonly occurring mild form. Here the long pre-stage is entirely absent or is limited to a few hours or even only minutes, during which the patient sits gloomily and weeps. The attack lasts from about a quarter of an hour to half an hour and ends with general exhaustion followed by sleep. It should also be mentioned that among the sedentary Negro tribes who live in close contact with the Masai and

276a
[illegible]
[illegible]

/106 cont./

have adopted many of their manners and customs the warriors regard becoming stricken with the [illegible] as a sign of true, fearless warriordom, and they frequently simulate it for this reason. Amidst whooping cries the simulator with spear in hand dashes out of the camp and would surely not inflict an injury on anyone, even if -- as in the /107/ cases observed among the Wadschagga -- a few people did not immediately run after him, seize him, and lead him back.

The lack of any control over emotions and inclinations probably also plays a not unimportant role in the occurrence of [illegible]. Its cause seems to me, however, to lie entirely in the excessive use of the abovementioned excitants, so that the illness would not occur at all if they were avoided completely or were taken only in a very considerably lesser volume. Their harmfulness can be observed almost daily among the warriors in an abnormal state of nervous irritability. This view is based on my observations (with which all the statements on this point made to me by the Masai agree) that only the warriors, that is, the young, strong, healthy men, are stricken with [illegible], while boys and youths, before they enter into the association of the warriors, and even during the first period as such, and furthermore married men, as well as girls and women, remain completely immune to it. These persons, however, either do not take any of the stimulants named at all, or only in very small measure.

In this description of [illegible] one is inevitably reminded of the running amok of the Malays. Only the complex of symptoms is similar, however, while the etiology and the prognosis are entirely different. Whereas running amok as a rule ends with the death of the person concerned, [illegible] is cured within a few days. Whereas the effects of opium as the original cause of running amok is today no longer regarded as decisive, in every case of [illegible] the copious use of these agents only a short time before will be indicated.

/187 cont./

External Ailments

759 [232] Surgery is the domain of special *surgeons* (*ol aibôni*, *ol alaiti*) who extend their practice both to human beings and to cattle, goats, sheep, and donkeys. The calling as a rule is handed down from father to son. One cannot speak of a special caste here, however, since the surgeons occupy no special social position -- either in a good or a bad sense. Only the son of an *ol alaiti* who knows how to practice the art is *ol alaiti*, and, to be sure, only as long as he practices it. If, by way of exception, someone whose father is not a surgeon learns the art, he thereby becomes a surgeon. The surgeon thus practices a open calling.

As payment for help rendered, the ol alaiti receives, according to the difficulty of the case or the amount of work done by him, a head of livestock, from a head of cattle down to a young goat or a lamb. One should also mention the remarkable arrangement that he can make a claim regarding the payment only if his treatment has had the desired result, and the patient /188/ need not pay before the resulting complete cure. An established custom determines what falls in the department of the surgeon. The *ol alaiti* stays within these prescribed limits under all circumstances. If this is not conducive to progress, it has the result, on the other hand, that every Masai, when necessary, entrusts himself immediately to the surgeon without hesitation. He knows that the latter will not undertake an operation on him which he cannot safely perform, but rather that whatever he does, he has often seen and has done with an older colleague or alone. No narcotic agents are available to the surgeon, [152] but his patients have command over very "strong nerves," over an enviable mental sturdiness.

757 The juice of *ol giloriti* (*Acacia abyssinica*), chewed out and spat into the wound, and the charcoal powder of *ol doigoi* bark (*Harrisonia abyssinica* Oliv.) are used as *astringent remedies*.

Arteries have ligatures applied, if necessary, and, to be sure, by means of a leather strap placed around the limb, which is tightened by a short stick. The cut ends of the artery are then sewed together as quickly as possible with gut and tendon cord, after they

/195 cont./

752 have been grasped with the fingernails and pulled forward.

To the surgeon's department belongs first of all the extraction of teeth. This is done by three different methods. To remove the lower middle incisors, which among children is done for the first time at an early age and is then repeated after the change of teeth, one sticks the thin iron blade of an ax between the teeth and levers them out while tapping moderately hard laterally several times with a stick against the blade. The other front teeth are taken out only when they are already quite loose. One ties a string of cattle tendon around the crown of the tooth and a fist-sized stone at the other end of it. When this is done, the operator, for a very loose tooth, simply lets the stone fall, or, with one setting more firmly, throws it down. To remove a molar, one places a little stick almost finger-thick and approximately 20 centimeters long, with its lower end, notched swallowtail-like, against the tooth, and, to be sure, from inside, at right angles to the dental arch and then directs several vigorous blows against the free end of the stick. An assistant holds the patient's head. Tooth operations, with the exception of the ritual ones of course, are very rare. Among 100 men between the ages of 20 and 30 the author found two who each had a tooth gap. One had had a molar knocked out in the manner just described, the other had lost a front tooth through being butted by a head of cattle.

753 Bloodletting and cupping, on the other hand, are very common, especially for rheumatic pains and headache. To let blood from a vein on the hand or at the extremities, /196/ the blood in a skin vein, in a forehead vein on the head, is first blocked by a leather strap placed around the neck or around the limb above the cupping place. Then the surgeon places himself in front of the patient, the bloodletting arrow (cf. Fig. 70) against the bow, aims, holding the arrow point only five to ten centimeters away from the cupping place, and shoots into the swollen vein. To stop the bleeding, the aforementioned strap is merely loosened. For cupping on the back, chest, and belly, not the arrow but the razor is used. With it incisions a centimeter long are made in the skin, which has been drawn up roll-like with two fingers. These are arranged in horizontal rows, each of which numbers 10 to 20 cuts. It is by no

/150 cont./

957 means rare that two or three areas are cut for one operation. Most adult [illegible] have such scars in greater numbers however, one also often finds people whose entire torso is literally covered with cupping scars. It seems as though the people like to avoid being cut twice in the same spot.

Upon swellings one puts the pulp, allegedly acting as a resolvent, of the chewed plant of al [illegible] ([illegible] [illegible] ([illegible].)).

[illegible] Abscesses, when they are ripe, are punctured with a small, pointed, double-edged knife and cut open only after the draining of the pus by pressure. Then the wound is washed out with tepid water and cleaned out, using the nail of the index finger, as well as possibly also the aforementioned knife, or a sharp spoon. Finally, one sprinkles on it a caustic powder made from the root of al [illegible] (Plumbago zeylanica). The surgeon does not apply a bandage.

Abscesses of the mammary gland are merely punctured and emptied.

With panaritium the nail is removed and the wound washed out.

Suppurating lymph glands (al [illegible]) are treated like abscesses, but the lymph gland is cut out before the application of the caustic powder.

An ailment called al [illegible] = goat disease (1)

1. This is most probably a matter of anthrax carbuncle.

by the [illegible] manifests itself in that the person afflicted has one, but frequently two, hard lumps the size of a hazelnut under the skin, tapering into a visible point at the bottom. I saw these abscesses (see above) and their scars -- somewhat larger than a dime piece -- on the temples, on the chest, on arms, legs, and on buttocks. As

[963] the original cause the people cite the eating of meat of goats or sheep that died of [illegible] = hot sickness (2).

2. Pulmonary anthrax.

754 [752] /[illegible] cont./
The hard lumps are cut out. During the illness the patient is given a diet of meat cooked on charcoal and, as medicine, a decoction of the roots of ol [illegible] /[illegible]/ ([illegible]) or ol [illegible] with the addition of honey; a cool decoction of ol [illegible] ([illegible]) mixed with milk or meat broth or bark of ol [illegible] ([illegible] Vlke. or Gilg), which, as a rule, is mixed with a little honey or fresh [illegible], is also regarded as curative. The patient drinks this liquid when he is thirsty. The illness is supposed to lead to death if this diet is not adhered to and the patient takes in particular acid curds or milk, as well as cooked meat. On the other hand, if the prescribed way of life is observed for two or three months, the lump, gradually pushing outwards, is said to fall off. Since, however, the continuous meat diet is too expensive and the herb medicines cannot be obtained without difficulty, the operation is preferred in by far the most cases.

751 [752] A persistent fever connected with swelling of the three pharyngeal tonsils, accompanied by violent coughing and considerable loss of strength, especially common in youthful age, the Masai call [illegible] = gland sickness. Very probably it is a matter of adenoid [illegible] in the nasopharyngeal cavity. The patient turns to the surgeon to be cured. The latter, putting his hand into the patient's mouth, scrapes the pharyngeal tonsils with the nail of his index finger, or with a small knife, so strongly that they bleed profusely. A rather large number of people whom I questioned about the success of the cure asserted that they always could count on certain recovery. Two of my boys, Masai youths about 13 to 15 years old, fell ill with the above symptoms. In spite of careful symptomatic treatment, their recovery of strength was so unsatisfactory that, upon their request, I gave them permission to go to a nearby [illegible] kraal in the steppe for relief. After eight to fourteen days they returned, healthy and refreshed, and told me, which corresponds to the truth, that the surgeon had treated them in the manner described.

Fresh, simple wounds ([illegible], a dagger) are cleaned as one described above for the ulcers, but during this one tries to avoid unnecessary irritation, for fear of greater bleeding. On this account, many surgeons do not proceed with treating the wound until several

/[illegible] cont./

752 hours after the wounding. After careful cleaning, the wound is closed by the [illegible] sutures. The edges of the wound, fitted together, are lifted slightly, as though into a fold, with two fingers of the left hand, whereupon the pointed awl is quickly thrust through the two edges of the wound in such a way that the puncture openings in and out are the same distance from the edge of the wound. Then the awl is drawn out again and in its place is inserted a needle-shaped thorn of el [illegible] (Acacia [illegible]), el [illegible] (Acacia [illegible]), or el [illegible] (Acacia [illegible]). Under the projecting thorn ends a cord

[534] twisted out of camel [illegible] is led around in a circle in several windings; then the cord ends are knotted /[illegible]/ and cut off a short distance above the knot. The individual needles are not placed closer than four centimeters apart, so that the pus can drain out between them unhindered. A fresh wound that seems insignificant for making a suture is covered with a paste, which consists of the scraped inner of the fruit of [illegible] (Vigna [illegible]), or with the leaf of [illegible] (Cleome [illegible] [illegible] Vahl.). One also drips the juice of el [illegible], of el [illegible] [illegible] ([illegible] [illegible] Vahl.) or of el [illegible] | el [illegible] (Verbena officinalis L.) into the wound.

On the edges of small children's wounds that have been sewn up by him the mother puts a paste of chewed plants of el [illegible] or [illegible] ([illegible] [illegible] L.).

For penetrating wounds in the abdomen, [illegible], only the larger of the two openings is sewed up, which, since it is always a matter of spear or sword thrusts, is the thrust-entry opening. If this lies considerably higher than the thrust-exit one, the needles are placed closer than previously; if it lies equally high or lower, what was said above holds. Cuts are taken are sewed together like the wounds.

Old wounds (see [illegible], or [illegible]) that will not heal are burned out with a knife point and then closed with a cooled and heavily thickened paste made out of water and the sifted earth of a termite hill placed on them. The so-called leg ulcers (see [illegible]) are also burned out in the same manner. Then one places

[535] around the wound a border of cow dung a centimeter high, so that the wound itself forms the bottom of a bowl, and finally pours into it boiling sheep fat. For healing burns they are covered with a thick

[151 cont.]

752 paste of the pounded leaves of a climbing species of asparagus ([illegible]). The taking of an extract of the root and bark of ol [illegible] mixed with cattle blood and milk is regarded as beneficial for the healing of suppurating wounds. The decoction of the wood of a Ficus species (ol [illegible]) is supposed to have a similar effect, in that taking it "makes the wound dry."

[illegible]

Sand fleas (1).

[illegible]

1. The sand flea was brought into the Masai region in 1897 from Uganda. In June, 1897, it reached Kilimanjaro.

the females of which in particular eat into the soft skin parts of the feet, are removed as soon as they manifest themselves by an itching pressure resulting from their egg-swollen bodies. By means of a sharp acacia thorn, one pierces the layer of skin, usually only quite thin, lying over the sand flea (2)

[illegible]

2. Even [illegible] is mistaken: The tip of the rear abdomen of the female sand flea juts out into the open, without any skin covering. The Ed. [illegible]

and then squeezes it out by lateral pressure. During this one is careful to avoid injuring the animal, so that healing will not be delayed.

[152] For snake bite ([illegible]) one thoroughly squeezes out the tautly ligated wound, around which one has also made a number of punctures with the sharp thorn of ol [illegible] (Balanites aegyptiaca) and then cauterizes it with a red-hot iron wire. At the same time the root of ol [illegible] is chewed, whereupon vomiting follows. This method, however, is customary only if the one bitten is unable to reach a surgeon. Otherwise one has the ol [illegible] fetched immediately and, until his arrival, burns out the immediately ligated wound several times. Swellings of the lymph glands that may occur are also cauterized. If the ol [illegible] regards the bite as only slightly poisonous, he enlarges it by means of a few incisions and sucks it out vigorously. But if he regards it as dangerous to life, he cuts out around the bitten spot a piece of muscle from the size of a nut to

/188 cont./

752 that of an egg or even amputates the member (hand, finger, toe), if this seems to him absolutely necessary. After the operation the [758] patient is given raw sheep kidney to eat and a considerable amount of liquid sheep fat to drink, whereupon severe diarrhea soon sets in. Often one has him go through a sweat cure in that he is set over glowing charcoal on which leaves of [illegible] [illegible] and sheep hair are thrown.

On a scorpion sting (a-[illegible] el [illegible]) one has a woman who has given birth to twins or, lacking such, a pregnant woman spit and rubs the saliva over the painful spot. As long as the pain continues, [762] [761] the patient eats only raw goat liver, to which is ascribed some kind of marvelous effect -- as is also shown by the fact that it is the only solid food of the el [illegible].

Into the wound caused by a poisoned arrow another person sucks [757] as quickly as possible. At the same time the wounded one is given as an emetic a mixture of the juice of the fruit of an [illegible] ([illegible]) and the amniotic fluid (el [illegible]) of a gravid sheep, which is slaughtered for this purpose.

757 For conjunctivitis ([illegible]) a tobacco extract ([illegible]) or the juice of leaves of el [illegible] ([illegible]), el [illegible] ([illegible]) and el [illegible], or an extract of the leaves of el [illegible], is dripped into the eyes.

752 The surgeon removes the remains of a violently destroyed eye, by drawing it out of the eye socket, with an awl bent hook-shaped, far enough so that he can cut it off with the razor. The eye socket is then washed out with warm water and not bandaged afterwards.

[751] A place that has suffered a sprain or bruise the [illegible] rub with the juice of el [illegible] ([illegible] spec.). Sometimes they also apply the same drug by the method of rubbing the powder of the charred twigs into small incisions that are made on that place.

/189/ Dislocated limbs are set again and placed in a splint bandage that is not stiff. For a lower-arm dislocation the surgeon sits on the ground in front of the patient, grasps his lower arm just above the wrist, and sets it again by a gradually stronger pulling outward in the required direction. He then puts around the affected [757] part, from the middle of the lower arm to that of the upper arm, which are drawn together at an angle of 120°, a padded bandage consisting of a strip of sheep leather that is covered with as much thick and soft hair as possible. The padded bandage is tied with a

[128 cont.]

952 (257) narrow leather strap around it. Over this is put a second, stiffer bandage of dehaired steer's leather tied around like the first one. Finally, one fastens on the bandage, on both the inner and outer sides, a correspondingly bent wooden splint, with leather straps as before. The wooden splints are splinter-like and are only supposed to support the arm, not to stiffen it. The arm is tied up, in that one carries it in a sling put around the neck. The bandage is left on for about a month. The procedure is similar for other dislocations. A dislocated finger is not put in a splint. To set the lower extremities the patient lies flat on the ground.

For a bone fracture the surgeon investigates first the location and kind of fracture. With one or two bones lying together with a simple fracture, extension and counter-extension are done, as among us, by two assistants, while the surgeon takes care of the setting. Then he puts on the padded bandage and, on that, two flat, but firm splints, before he fastens the upper bandage of hard steer's skin with leather straps. For an arm fracture the bandage is left on for two months; for a leg fracture, longer. After an arm fracture is healed, the surgeon has the patient lift stones, at first light ones, then heavier ones, to strengthen the arm.

On the other hand, if the surgeon determines by contact that a bone of the lower arm or lower leg is badly crushed, he cuts the flesh concerned open lengthwise on the outside as far as is necessary for the removal of the individual bone splinters. When these have been taken out, the arm is sewed up again with the bovid-tendon suture. "Such operations are always successful, but it is more difficult with a crushing of the upper arm or thigh bone; then one never knows whether one will be able to keep the arm or the leg." This is approximately how a surgeon standing in especially high repute expressed himself to me. Further statements of his revealed that this is far more frequently a matter of compound fractures. If the ol aibani comes across such a case, he removes the bone splinters as before and, after he has put the tendons and muscles in order as much as possible, sews up the wound again. If, after eight to ten days, the fracture shows no tendency to heal and the patient suffers from fever, the surgeon proceeds to amputate.

[illegible]

[illegible] There might be described here a successful operation performed by the aforementioned ol [illegible]. In November, 1911, a boy fractured the right tibia quite close to the knee end, soon after the accident, was carried by his friends to a European settlement several hours away. There they asked the European for his help, but he did not dare undertake the treatment and ordered the people to take the patient to the hospital of the military station of [illegible]. Now whether the patient or his kinsmen did not agree with the plan to embark on a two-day journey is beside the point; in any case, the patient, on the following day, was brought to a rather large [illegible] to which the aforementioned surgeon, who, incidentally, lived six hours away, was fetched. He found a large, suppurating wound, out of which the lower end of the tibia projected, the marrow of which was likewise suppurating. The ol [illegible], proceeding from the wound, now cut open the lower leg on the tibia up to a handbreadth above the ankle and pushed out the lower end of the bone equally far. Then he broke this off about two centimeters above the lower point, removed the putrefying marrow from the rest of the tibia, cleansed the wound with warm water and by scraping out the upper part of it, and sewed it up with fine fibers. Three months later the boy was already able to walk and to resume his work as herdsman.

Of foreign bodies [illegible] in wounds arrow points most frequently. Taking these out, is certainly more difficult than to take out other foreign bodies, and it will therefore suffice to discuss the method used for this, since those for the removal of more harmless objects will follow from that. First of all, it leads to an operation, of course, only if -- which is seldom the case -- the arrow is not poisoned or if -- which fortunately often occurs -- the poison has become ineffective through decomposition. Since in battle the [illegible] as a rule is protected by shield and besides the leather cape also often deflects the arrow or at any rate greatly diminishes its force, deeper arrow wounds usually occur only on the extremities. If the entire arrow remains stuck in the wound, the operator learns immediately, without a lengthy examination, where the point rests and how it lies. If there are only muscles lying in front of the point in the direction of the shaft, he quickly pushes the arrow through, [illegible] out point and [illegible] on the other side, the shaft on the shaft-entry side. On the other hand, if bones lie in front of the arrow point, his method is considerably more complicated. Simply pulling out the arrow through the shaft-entry

752 /[illegible]/
opening is, however, impossible because of the barbs. The surgeon then has two methods. Which one he will employ depends upon the individual case. He either waits for arrow around in the wound until the barbs have become so filled and coated with muscle fibers that they are no longer /[illegible]/ able to offer resistance to a pull backwards, or he treats the arrow like a broken-off one, for which he has the following ways of operating. The point projecting by contact from the outside is removed in such a manner that one makes on the shortest path between it and the skin an incision as wide as is necessary in order to permit drawing it through. Since no forceps are at the disposal of the operator, but rather he must grasp with his fingers the arrow point to be removed, the incision must be quite large. A hidden point is sought in the following manner: the surgeon inserts his finger into the dart-entry channel and cuts through at the end of the fingertip from the outside inward, then sticks his finger into this opening and gropes further into the dart channel, in order to make a second incision where his fingertip now lies. It goes on in this manner until he has reached the arrow point with his finger. If only muscles now lie in front of it, it is pushed forward with the finger in the direction of the skin, until it emerges. If a bone blocks this path, however, the operator either forces the arrow point away from its direction and toward the outside, or he cuts toward the arrow point from the outside in order, as described above, to remove it by way of this new channel.

An arrow point that penetrated into the abdominal cavity from the front is removed by an operation, although, according to statements of the surgeons, the prognosis is unfavorable. The case is more hopeful, on the other hand, if the arrow point penetrated into the abdominal cavity from the back and thereby has already encountered considerable resistance in the strong back muscles. In any case, an attempt to give relief by means of an operation is always made. The surgeon, with his finger, follows the dart-channel, for which this is often enlarged to an extraordinary extent with the knife, until he finds the point. The operation, of course, is most extensive when the arrow point is lodged in the stomach or in an intestine. After he has first drawn it out with his finger, he sutures the cut

[illegible]

752 stomach or intestine with tendon cord and awl, then the inner and finally the outer wound-edges of the enlarged dart-entry opening. An arrow point that has penetrated into the lungs is taken out in a similar manner.

Spear thrusts in the abdomen are not uncommon in war. One or several intestinal coils are probably always injured by this. Moreover, a more or less large bundle of intestines always wells out from the thrust-entry opening and that is exposed to the greatest soiling. Against the latter, one proceeds with the greatest lack of consideration in that a few companions of the wounded man wash the soiled intestinal parts with cold water at the nearest brook. In a cloth -- [illegible] -- attached around the neck at the top, around the hip stump at the bottom, the patient carries the welling-out intestines to the nearest dwelling [illegible]. The surgeon then first sews up the intestinal tears with tendon cord and awl, then washes the intestine with warmed water, and then stuffs it through the thrust-entry opening back into the abdominal [illegible] cavity. After that he sews up the outer wound-edges of the abdominal covering with the twisted-strand suture.

If an amputation is indicated, it takes place on the leg below the knee and on the whole arm at the nearest joint. Only on the thigh, even if there exists the probability that a second amputation in the hip joint must be undertaken, [156] is it performed first as much as possible 20 centimeters below the hip joint, at any rate not a decimeter higher than necessary, so that fastening an artificial leg (Fig. 73) is possible. There is nothing special to be said about the technique of severing a limb in the joint. From the limb taken off two flaps of skin are preserved, which are drawn over the area of the incision and sewed together there. 752 The artificial leg is made of wood; its length is measured off on the sound leg. The upper [157] hollow into which the leg stump is set is lined with woolly [illegible] and [illegible]

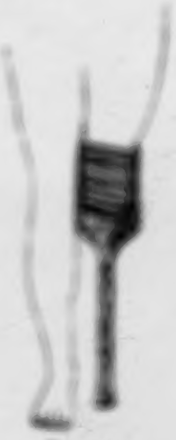

Fig. 73

/[illegible] cont./

732 See wooden peg [illegible] continuation leg, by means of which the
757 artificial leg is splinted to the leg by laced leather straps.

Midwifery and Women's Ailments

759 Midwifery is in the hands of older women, who, as [illegible] (sing. [illegible]), predominantly practice the calling of [illegible] and have at their command a surprisingly accurate anatomical knowledge of the body parts in question. It seems that only in
843 exceptional cases are they not called upon at a birth. At the beginning of the last month of pregnancy the midwife examines the pregnant woman several times, in order to determine by palpation of the abdomen the position of the child. The head position is regarded as the most favorable for the birth; thus, if she notices during the examining another one, she attempts to change it to the desired one by means of a massage.

844 As soon as the first labor pains begin, the midwife, who lives either in the same kraal or in the vicinity, is called in. She finds the woman in labor, who, incidentally, is not regarded as unclean, on the bed in her hut in a squatting, sitting, or lying position. With a normal birth the assisting woman remains in attendance without performing any kind of superstitious or irrelevant manipulations. On the other hand, if it proves necessary to bring about an intensifying of the labor-pain activity, the midwife, with the help of a few women, first leads the woman in labor around for a few steps each. If the desired result is not obtained in this way, further help is given by means of a light massage. Only if these remedies prove insufficiently effective does one attempt the last one: The woman giving birth is [illegible] slowly lifted by her feet by several women until her body hangs vertically and the crown of her head touches the ground, whereupon the midwife massages her abdomen in the direction of the navel.

The use of internal medicine to promote labor-pain activity is rare; a mixture consisting of liquid sheep fat and a decoction of [illegible] root (Cordia [illegible]) is regarded as effective.

The midwives mentioned regard the undertaking of versions through insertion of the hand, in analogy to the birth assistance given livestock,

/137 cont./

844 as practicable and useful in and of itself, but undoubtedly does doing more harm than good with it because of the impossibility of observing the necessary cleanliness. Deeper, internal, plastic and operative intervention to facilitate or to make possible the child's emergence does not seem to be practiced anywhere. Support of the perineum to prevent tears does not take place, but the opening of the vulva is not infrequently enlarged by a small incision above or by one above and below, in order to prevent tearing of the entire perineum.

845 759 One stands helpless when confronted by a pelvic narrowness obstructing the birth. Mother and child succumb to it. Although this situation practically never occurs among the Masai living in the tribe, it was often observed among those living in the European settlements, and, to be sure, the pelvic narrowness was always [illegible] because the woman was too young. These last Masai, in the manner of the coastal people, and in contrast to the Bantus, marry very young, and since the woman must always be considerably younger than the man and, on the other hand, the choice of girls is limited, it not infrequently happens that the latter, upon entering marriage, though sexually mature, nevertheless do not yet have a fully adult skeleton. This phenomenon, not infrequent among primitive peoples, must perhaps in general, and in this instance in particular, be traced back to premature sexual intercourse and, because of that, premature menstruation.

844 During the birth act the woman giving birth adopts either a position "on all fours," similar to the knee-elbow position, or a sitting one, in the latter of which she places her legs against her mate and leans herself against a hut pole, which she grasps with her hands above her head. The first position is probably the most widespread. Two women standing beside the woman giving birth, to the right and left, holding her by the shoulders, seem to be trying to hold her suspended. In front of this group, with her head under the woman giving birth, crouches the midwife, in order to receive the child.

"As soon as the head and one shoulder are born," as an old informant expressed himself, "the rest follows by itself; only rarely is it necessary

[10th cont.]

844 that I give a gentle tug with a hooklike insertion of the index finger into the armpit of the child."

[illegible] In order to hasten the exit of the afterbirth, one of the assisting women tries to promote labor-pain activity by tickling with a feather the palate of the woman giving birth. This manipulation is also used in rare cases during the periods of the preliminary and of the actual labor pains. During the afterbirth period the child's umbilical cord is removed. In that the umbilical cord ([illegible]) is first tied close to the body with a cord of bark bast and then cut at a place an inch away from the body with the instrument otherwise serving as a razor, the [illegible]. A navel bandage is unknown. The afterbirth, which is not the object of superstitious customs, is [illegible] into the [illegible] by the midwife in some districts, buried there at night in others. [844]

The newborn child is cleansed by a rubbing with liquid fat. According to statements of the people, this treatment, however, is supposed to represent not so much a cleansing as a strengthening and comfort. Then the child is laid beside its mother on a soft leather skin freshly greased. As soon as the latter has recovered from the birth act, she chews five grains of [illegible] ([illegible]) and gives the child an extract of these as a purgative. On the following day the newborn child is given its first bath, consisting of a tepid extract of the twigs of [illegible] (Physalis [illegible] L.) and the leaves of [illegible] (Commelina spec.), to which is ascribed the action of a protective magic against sickness. Cold baths, say, for the purpose of hardening, are unknown. The child remains unclothed. 846 [853] [illegible]

The woman in childbed leaves her bed as a rule as soon as her condition permits, which is usually already the case on the following day. Her medicinal treatment consists first of all in the administration of laxatives, for which in this case a mixture made out of liquid fat, honey, [illegible] salt, and a few pounded [illegible] corns, as well as a leaf infusion of [illegible] ([illegible]), is especially prized. Furthermore, she is given a beef soup seasoned with [illegible] bark ([illegible] Benth.), as well as a decoction of [illegible] ([illegible]), a leafy [illegible] plant, or a leaf infusion of [illegible] ([illegible]) or also a decoction of 846 757

/198 cont./

846 roots and leaves of o'mdoi (Abutilon indicum Wettst.). To both is
847 ascribed the effect of promoting the recovery of the birth organs. This is further assisted by putting on a leather body belt (ol gitati, il gitatia) 30 centimeters wide. As a means for strengthening and for increasing the milk secretion, one gives the nursing woman a root decoction of ol asesiai (Cassia tenuifolia Engl.) mixed with fat.

853 During the first weeks of life the newborn child, which, incidentally, is often put at the breast soon after birth, is given, besides the mother's milk, a great deal of liquid butter, which during the first eight days even wholly replaces the former in case the child refuses the breast. [415] Later such a child is given /199/ cow's milk as a substitute for mother's milk, and, to be sure, from a nursing bottle (em buguri ed gosai [Fig. 80]), which consists of a hollowed-out bottle gourd, over whose upper, open end, as a sucking stopper, is turned a screw of leather pierced at the tip. During the sucking the mother is usually seated, while the child lies horizontally on her lap or squats beside her on the ground. More rarely the woman stands and holds the baby on her arm in a sitting position; even more rarely mother and child further lie side by side on the ground. The suckling period, during which the mother is called en dometoni, lasts about two years. Its end as a rule is conditioned by the onset of a new pregnancy, in that the woman nurses a male baby up to the third month of pregnancy, a female one up to the fourth or fifth month. 862 Weaning, for which superstitious considerations are of no importance, comes to pass either in that one removes the baby from the mother, takes it to another hut nearby, or {853 / 415} → the mother makes the breast distasteful to it by rubbing her nipples with the bitter juice of the en sugoroi aloe. 853 A premature drying-up of the mother's milk is explained by the woman's physical constitution. The woman seeks to

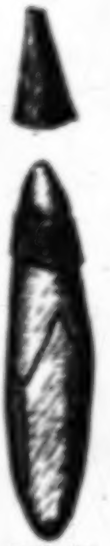

Fig. 80. (½)

/199 cont./

853 bring back the milk secretion by a copious drinking of liquid sheep fat. Meanwhile the child is nourished with cow's milk.

757 For pains in the uterus (ol gumóti) and in the uterine ligaments (es sabói, es silói) the woman drinks a root decoction of ol malgolai (Grewia villosa).

847 824 [231] To induce an abortion, the one concerned drinks a decoction of dried goat manure or a strong decoction of os segi (Cordia quarensis) or ol durgó root. During the subsequent two or three days of convalescence she takes a weak decoction of ol mukutan bark or one of the bark of ol oilale (Colubrina asiatica).

163 Concerning fertility, the relationship of the sexes, and child mortality I was able to discover the following. The largest number of one woman's confinements that became known to me was 17. The 87 old women questioned had given birth to 548 children all together, which gives an average of 6.3 confinements for one woman. Of these, 231, therefore 42.2 per cent, were boys, 317, therefore [165] 57.8 per cent, girls. Before their circumcision 38.7 per cent of the children died, including the stillbirths.

845 842 It should also be mentioned that the realization of a twin pregnancy is regarded as having arisen through one conception.

Masai

XX.

000 Death. -- Inheritance. -- Hereditary succession. -- Last wishes of the dying. -- Sacrifice to ward off impending death. -- Treatment and interment of the corpse. -- Funeral banquet. -- Mourning. -- Burial. -- Burial of Chief Mbatyan. -- Distribution of the inheritance.

763 When a family father feels death approaching, he calls his people, his wives and children, to him, in order to tell them his last wishes. [428] These apply principally to the division of the inheritance and saying further -- probably always without exception -- that the eldest son of the principal wife is to be the successor in the personal kraal. Following this, the old man, with the words *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, or *[illegible]*, i.e., roughly: "come, I want to bless you," turns to the chief heir and gives him advice about keeping the members of the family together and supporting them in case of possible impoverishment, about care for the brothers who are still minors, as well as for the surviving wives and daughters. He admonishes him further to be friendly and gentle toward the members of the family, of the lineage, of the tribe, and toward all Masai in general. He tells him that he is to celebrate the supplication feasts and to pray, and should also hold the relatives to this. He advises him to be thrifty, but warns against miserliness, and finally he presents him with one of his ornaments, as a rule, an armband, in memory of this hour.

The husband squats at the deathbed of a wife in order to hear her last wishes, which consist in her entrusting her children -- likewise present -- to his care.

[782] In the hope of warding off death, the dying one has a black bull slaughtered as an offering to God. His eldest son leads the sacrificial animal out of the kraal, slaughters it by killing it with a stab in the neck, then removes the skin, cuts up the animal as usual, and leaves the heaped-up meat lying as a sacrifice. No prayer is spoken.

764 First of all the ornaments are taken off the deceased individual; sandals and leather apron remain on him. If the deceased is a family father, his sons quickly slaughter a black ox and boil out the fat.

/310 cont./

764 With one part of it they fire [illegible] [illegible], the other part they pour over the corpse, after it has been taken out of the hut and laid out on a steer's skin. Amidst the lamentations of the women remaining in the kraal, the men carry out the dead man and lay him down after a few hundred steps. The corpse is laid on its left side with the head toward the north, so that the face is turned toward the east. The legs are drawn up and lie one upon the other. The left arm is drawn up in such a way that the hand lies close in front of the head, whereas the right arm is bent at the elbow in a right angle; the upper arm rests on the abdomen of the dead man, the hand touches the ground in front of it. [161] If one laid the dead man down in any other way, according to popular belief, /311/ another death would quickly occur among the offspring or other relatives of the deceased. 76 The same is feared if a married man dies far from his kraal, which is why a family father, if he becomes seriously ill abroad, has himself taken home as quickly as possible. In contrast to this, warriors only wish to die abroad; death in the hut is not a proper soldier's death. Those who have fallen in battle are left lying on the spot on which they fell. In a few lineages it is customary to place the corpses of old people not simply on the ground, but in a shallow, troughlike pit at most half a meter deep, which, however, is not filled up.

764 [162] After the corpse has been put down outside, the sons, with the eldest taking precedence, or -- if he is still a child -- the brother of the deceased, cover it with green branches, whereby each says the prayer "Ng ai pasinai, etua baba eng jamala, [illegible] [illegible] pakoll, [illegible] ai glachon, [illegible] [illegible] gera," i.e.: "My God, father is dead. I pray, give health, give property, give children."

In case of a woman's death, after a black calf has been quickly slaughtered, her body is anointed with fat by women who are not relatives and then carried out of the kraal; the body of a person who leaves no children is carried out of the kraal, without being anointed or other formalities, and is laid down -- as always -- a few hundred meters away. If someone dies outside the kraal, he is left lying on the spot where death overtook him, and the ones present throw a few bunches of grass or leaves on the corpse. Later, upon passing

764 [766] /311 cont./ Later, upon passing the place, one again throws a stone or a handful of grass on that spot where the dead lay. The more respected he was, the longer this custom expressing veneration is continued.

[781] If the laid-out corpse is immediately devoured the first night by hyenas, this is regarded as a sign from 'Ng ai, at whose command the animals act here, that the deceased was a good human being. [782] On the other hand, if one finds the corpse still untouched the next morning, the survivors bring a black ram as a sacrifice to appease the wrathful god. No prayer is spoken in this connection.

765 After the disposition, a funeral banquet takes place, at which the animal whose fat served to anoint the deceased person is consumed. Everyone is welcome to take part. Formal mourning is observed only after the death of adult male persons. The period of mourning does not begin until one or more months after the death, and, to be sure, with the survivors shaving their heads (1)

1. Cf. the passage Micha /Micah/ 1, 16 (from the time around 750 B.C.) and Jer. 7, 20 /sic: see 7, 29/ (from the time around 600 B.C.).

--and the principal widow also cuts her nails -- and ends as soon as the hair has grown back about an inch long. /312/ The mourners remove all ornaments, for which the women also unwind the wire spirals from their necks and the wire cuffs from arms and legs; they do not take part in any feast or dance and may not marry during the period of mourning. For the death of a warrior his fellow comrades and fellow section-members, as well as his brothers and half brothers, mourn by shaving their heads and removing their ornaments.

766 [791] [213] [764] [337] In contrast to the simple exposure of the corpse, that of a chief (ol oiboni), of a married man of the El kiboron lineage, and often also that of a spokesman (ol aigwenani) is buried. The bottom of a pit a meter deep is covered with a steer's hide smeared with fat, and upon this the corpse is laid in the position described above. A second steer's skin, likewise rubbed in fat, is then spread over the corpse. Now the pit is filled with stones and earth and the latter

/[illegible] cont./

stamped down firmly so that hyenas will not be able to dig up the grave. The chief's grave, as well as often the graves of the rich [illegible] old men, are crowned with a larger or smaller stone mound, as a sign of veneration for the dead. Natives passing by will throw a few bunches of grass on the latter, whereas on the former, which is regarded as sacred, they from time to time pour a little milk as an offering.

Concerning the burial of [illegible], his son [illegible] told me the following: When the old chief died, his large bodyguard was gathered around him, and immediately couriers set off in all directions, in order to bring the sad news to the kraals lying far from one another. From everywhere [illegible] came streaming in, the relatives of the deceased all appeared, down to the smallest infant. Every one brought a fine fat-tailed sheep along, which, after a large herd was assembled, were slaughtered. Meanwhile the corpse had been laid out on a bear's skin. Beside this the closest relatives laid their leather aprons and others added theirs to a line ca. 100 paces long, the aprons being placed so that they formed a channel. Now the butter-fat he was poured on the corpse and flowed along the channel. Then the body was buried, whereupon all the people brought grass and heaped a pile several meters high over the grave, which was then covered on the sides as well as on top with layered stones. In contrast to this description, there is a rumor circulating repeatedly among the people, according to which [illegible], several days before his death, in a state of mental derangement, is supposed to have secretly left the kraal at night and wandered about in the steppe, without the men of his guard, who had followed him, being able to find him. Then, when he was found on the fifth day, he was dead and his body already decomposed.

If in one kraal several young people or even children have died of some illness within a short time, it is abandoned, first because it is regarded as unlucky, but then also /[illegible]/ to enable the survivors to forget the sad event more easily. In such cases of death one can always observe deep sorrow among the relatives, whereas the death of old people, even own parents, is accepted more calmly. "The old ones are now resting, they sleep, their time has come."

[illegible]

Upon the death of the father, his sons inherit the herd left behind, etc., to be sure, each inherits from it the livestock that his mother has had the care and use of up to then. Since the man provides best for his principal wife and gives more livestock to her than to the other wives, her sons naturally inherit more than those of the other wives. The relatively largest part of the livestock is inherited by her eldest son, the principal heir. The livestock that a sonless woman has in her care is divided among the sons whose mothers live on the same side of the kraal, the center line of which is formed by the two entrances, as the door. The custom that the father distributes a not inconsiderable part of his livestock among his sons is [illegible] to [illegible]. It remains in the herd, however; it is only when the son moves into the warrior kraal that the father gives him a number of cows from it in order for him to be able to cover his needs in milk, and furthermore from time to time a head of cattle to slaughter. Thus the father actually reserves the right of disposal over the livestock, even though the sons designate it as belonging to them, and it is part of the legacy in the inheritance. The wives of the deceased actually pass into the possession of his elder brother, but as a rule continue to live with their sons. The other wives, who have no sons, nowadays not infrequently go back to their parental home. The eldest son of the deceased takes the father's place for the surviving daughters, which in practice is expressed only in that he confers the consent for their marriage and the bride price will be paid to him. Upon the death of the mother, the daughters inherit her ornaments, and the household equipment used by the former up to now also passes to them. From the estate of a warrior, his brothers, preferably the older ones, receive his weapons and half of his livestock, while the other half goes to his father.

[194 cont.]

XXI.

000 Religion. -- Monotheism. -- Religious services. -- Explanation of natural phenomena. -- Prayers. -- Supplication feasts. -- Sacrifices. -- The snakes. -- Evil spirits. -- Sorcery. -- Amulets. -- Evil eye.

771 In a comparison of the ethnography of the Masai with that of the peoples neighboring them, living around them, no chasm as deep as in the field of religious outlook appears anywhere. Whereas in almost all the areas of ethnography we otherwise find a more or less strong influencing of the latter by the former -- from mere external things, _[sic]_ such as ornaments and weapons, to more deeply incisive social changes, such as, for example, the shaping of warriordom after the Masai model -- the religion of the two shows a sharp separation, which nowhere permits any interplay of the one in the other. In sharp contrast to the anthropolatry, the worship of departed human spirits, and the polydemonism of the Negroes, ascending in all forms and gradations, stands the simple, straightforward monotheism of the Masai.

776 Their god is called 'Ng ai and is an incorporeal being, a spirit. The people do not think about his appearance. The making of pictorial or sculptural representations of God would be a sin, according to his commandment given to the Masai. God is the creator of the world, the earth, and all that it harbors. He governs everything through his will. He is the guardian of the natural and moral order of the world. The laws and commandments that are valid in the life of the people and of the individual are expressions of his will. God is almighty, omnipresent, omniscient, benign, infinite, eternal. [771] _'Ng ai eyielo_ = God knows it. _'Ng ai eishoriy ol dobyenak, 'l tunghia gilon_ = God gives human beings the good things, _ol lol 'l Eng ai_ = it is the will of God, are words that one can hear every day, and they are not often used thoughtlessly, for a deep religiosity is peculiar to the Masai generally. God's benevolence forgives human beings a great deal and for a long time. Yet human beings are too weak and sinful, so that God has to punish from time to time for

[illegible]

impoverishment. He does this through sickness, drought, or cattle epidemics.

The Masai feel that they are the chosen people of 'Ng ai: all other peoples should be subject to them. God created the world with all that is in it only for them, and thus everything on earth belongs to them. If they obtain booty in war against another tribe, they are only taking what has been given to them by God for their own, what lawfully belongs to them, and what that tribe is unlawfully withholding from them. "If the el meg would voluntarily give us our property, for that is what the livestock in their possession is, we should not have to make war on them. But since they do not do this, we are forced into war." And they are constantly waging this war against the despised, savage heathens, who know nothing about 'Ng ai and do not pray to him, but to spirits, which is why he does not assist them and always makes the Masai victors for a worthy cause.

In their journey through life God protects the Masai through guardian angels, who are pictured as winged, invisible beings of human form. The guardian angels are the same sex as their proteges: a male individual has an ol dungani l 'Ng ai, a female one an en gerejani 'Ng ai, watching over them. The angel accompanies the person always and everywhere and protects him from dangers, so that he will not succumb in the struggle for existence before the lifetime previously set for him by God has run out; only then does the person die. The angel carries his soul /[illegible]/ to the other world and then undertakes the protection of a child born on the same day. Every day a Masai dies and every day one is born, the people say.

Into the other world (ol geraridi = cloud land, i.e., the land where the clouds come from) go the souls of all the deceased, both those of the Masai and of non-Masai, both those of the good and those of the bad people. As soon as a soul reaches the portal of the other world, which lies far to the south (Kopekadi), God decides its future fate. The souls of good people gain entry into paradise, which is equipped with all the beauties and splendors of nature. Lush pastures with fat cattle alternate with lakes, rivers, and cool glades whose trees bear the most delicious fruits. In the midst of this splendor the good souls live in human fashion, but without care, trouble, or

[Text cont.]

earth. Every day they receive the best food in abundance. Here, however, in accordance with God's command, each one may marry only one wife. The other world, like the earth, is divided into individual lands, each of which is intended for the souls of one people, so that the person who arrives there will find his deceased relatives. Bad human beings are denied this paradise; they are driven into a barren, waterless desert. Those not so bad also gain entry into paradise through God's grace, though not to live in carefree happiness but to do hard work.

This is the island religious doctrine as it is handed down and taught by the old men. The superstitional explanation of natural phenomena has nothing to do with the religious doctrine. In these one sees only the works or expressions of God and therefore observe at least the more powerful ones with something like reverential awe. It should be expressly emphasized that it is only a matter of this and not, say, demonolatry, the deification of personified natural forces.

The sun [illegible] is regarded largely as a reflection of God, like the gloriously colored morning and evening heavens. The clouds mask God before the eyes of mankind, they surround him, from there he looks down on the bustle of the earth. This seems to explain why the islanders call the redness of the morning and evening sky 'Yg ol [illegible], the clouds 'Yg ol [illegible], and the blue, cloudless sky 'Yg ol [illegible]. These literally mean "the red God," "the white God," and the "black God," but should properly be translated as "the divine red," "the divine white," and "the divine black," for actually the people see in these phenomena no gods and nothing godlike or to be worshipped like him. It should also be mentioned here that God, who in ordinary speech is always called 'Yg ol, is often called 'Yg ol [illegible] or [illegible], that is, the black God, in the prayer songs to be discussed later. The islanders themselves do not have any explanation for these strange word-formations, and I have not been able to learn anything from them from which an interpretation could be derived.

[illegible] More infrequent than the above explanation for the sun is the one that it and the moon are servants of God, whose duty is to illuminate the earth. In this the sun is regarded as feminine, the

[illegible]

moon as man-slave, corresponding to their exact formation, [illegible] and [illegible]. That this view is not peculiar to the Islanders, but was somewhat uncritically adopted by them is evident from the fact that to a question about the reason for it one is given a very childlike reply, if any at all. "The sun has to work all day, the moon only a few hours at night, consequently the enslaved one is probably a woman, corresponding to the weekly performance of work!" Others again have the sun and moon married; sometimes the former is the man, sometimes the woman in this marriage; it is only certain that both travel, one behind the other, toward the west, where the [illegible] in the clouds. Where the tendency toward personification of natural phenomena is peculiar to a people, one must expect that firm views exist at least about the most important and most frequent ones, and therefore the uncertainty in these explanations also shows that it is a matter of something that the Islanders adopted, without having any understanding of them.

The first-born child of 'Yg ai, the girl [illegible], brings to human beings the greatest benefit, the rain, and thereby shows that God is satisfied with the doings on earth. His eldest son, [illegible], announces through thunder and lightning that God is angry with human beings because of their bad behavior and at the same time admonishes them to improve. A rainbow is the sign that God is satisfied with the doings of the Islanders and is therefore well disposed toward them. Wind and storm are the raging of a wrathful God. Hail announces coming rain. A [illegible] ([illegible]) shows that now plentiful rain will fall and that the people will be spared misfortunes, such as livestock epidemics and [illegible]. A comet, on the other hand, means misfortune; sickness and death will befall human beings and livestock. Upon the appearance of a very bright comet in the eighties there soon followed the great livestock epidemics, smallpox and tuberculosis.

The Milky Way is the path along which the children of 'Yg ai wander as bright stars. From here they observe the doings of mankind and report on them to God. Other stars are his eyes; now and then one of them shoots forward from there toward the earth, in order to see more accurately -- a shooting star. Venus, which the Islanders call [illegible], announces rain through particularly bright

[illegible]

771 light. The milky stream and maybe /the two Magellanic Clouds/ are two lakes from which the cattle of 'Ng ai drink. The Pleiades [illegible] through their rising in the east, announce the onset of the great rainy season named after them. In Orion ι and the two small stars beside it form a constellation called [illegible] = the widows. The stars δ, ε, ζ, θ and the two small stars on a line with ι form another constellation. In it δ, ε and ζ are three [illegible] who are about to marry these widows. [illegible] This constellation is called [illegible] = the remarried widows, in contrast to the three [illegible] who stand alone. The two large stars in Centaurus [illegible] and the four principal stars in the Southern Cross are boys who herd the cattle of 'Ng ai, which are represented by the small stars of the Milky Way. A ring around the sun or moon heralds rain. For the warriors on an expedition this phenomenon is regarded as portending rich spoils. Just as sun and moon have made a kraal for themselves, so will the warriors on their way have to lay out such a one for the captured livestock (1).

1. For the cardinal points [illegible] = the sides of (God) the Masai have the following names: North = [illegible], which also designates the land of the original home. South = [illegible], i.e., the battles; it is the direction in which the Masai traveling south always had to endure new battles against the long-settled [illegible]. East = [illegible] = the sun comes. West = [illegible] = the sun sets.

772 In case of distress, danger, sickness, or other calamities, all the people pray to God. Otherwise the men say a prayer mostly only on special occasions, whereas the women pray daily, mornings and evenings. Children do not pray at all in some districts, in others only the girls pray, and in still others all children learn it at the age of six to eight, usually through their mother. In praying, one turns the face to the north, or in the morning toward the rising sun and in the

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] evening toward the setting sun. Both the original home of the Masai and the paradise where the souls of the deceased live lie in the north. Every prayer, as a rule, begins with: 'Ng ai [illegible] or 'Ng ai [illegible] or 'Ng ai [illegible], i. e., Dear God, I pray, I plead. Following this a praying woman thanks 'Ng ai for having protected her and hers and prays to him further for protection, for the preservation and increase of the livestock, and that many children may be granted her. During the prayer she extends her arms toward the sky. During this she holds bunches of grass in both hands or only one in her left hand, while she has tied several blades around the right upper arm. With every prayer the woman offers a little milk to God. Either she squeezes a few drops out of her own breast -- and, to be sure, the right one -- or she pours a little on the ground out of a gourd bottle. She offers a similar sacrifice morning and evening during the milking, in that she lets a little milk flow to the ground both from the udder and from the milk vessel.

[illegible] As has already been mentioned, men in general only rarely pray. The married men belonging to the El Kiboron lineage, who often pray morning and evening, form an exception. I must leave it undecided as to whether all do this regularly, since I saw only a few old men of this small and now very dispersed lineage. Among other married men there are also individual ones who pray to God every morning to keep them and their healthy and to give them a goodly number of wives, children, and livestock. /316/ But these are exceptions. As a rule they content themselves with greeting God, in the morning after having left the hut, by spitting several times in a northerly direction, sometimes also in the direction toward the rising sun. The prayer of the old men runs: 'Ng ai pasinai, [illegible], [illegible] = Dear God, also protect me, give me strength! The younger men, the warriors, pray in the morning, before they set out for a meat meal in the forest, and during it in the camping and in the evening. Furthermore, on a war expedition they pray daily, early in the morning before marching off and in the evening after arrival in camp. In doing so they squat close together, while a leader (ol aigwenani) and a benefactor ('l [illegible]) go through the group.

/205 cont./

782 immerse the individuals with the blades of a fodder grass praised for cattle, and say the prayer. This runs 'Ng ai pasinai, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] = may God give us cattle, give us many cattle, keep us healthy.' While driving the captured livestock together, they sing a song of praise, which begins with the words: Ilai narok, oho. Ilai [illegible] [illegible] = black God, oho, we hurry ... etc.

In sickness, both the patient and his relatives pray for health for him. In serious cases of illness a black cow or a black ox is slaughtered, and part of its blood is poured on the floor as an offering to God. If the sick person is an old man or an old woman with numerous descendants, one slaughters a likewise black, gravid cow, whose calf is left lying outside the kraal for God, after the place has been sprinkled round about with the amniotic fluid.

776 782 Both in order to honor God and at the same time to supplicate him for something, the Masai celebrate feasts at approximately monthly intervals: these usually take place on moonlit evenings, more rarely they start in the morning or early afternoon.

One of the most frequent supplication feasts (ol ngêr = the supplication feast) is the ol ngêr l ol [illegible], which during some periods and in some regions is celebrated almost every month, in others at considerably greater intervals, by the married men and the boys together, in order to supplicate God for the preservation of the health of human beings and livestock. In the kraal a large fire is kindled with dry wood (from the ol oirien tree), upon which green wood with leaves (from the ol [illegible] tree) (1)

1. Cordia quarensis Gürke.

is tossed, so that a strong development of smoke comes about. A powder made from the wood and bark of the ol [illegible] tree, which smells like incense, is sprinkled in the fire. The thick column of smoke climbs toward the sky and takes the fragrance to God. Now one leads up a large black ram, washes it carefully with honey beer, and sprinkles it with the powder of the o [illegible] tree. Then it is suffocated, drawn, and cut up. /206/ Each of the

[Text cont.]

participants eats a small piece of the meat, after he has roasted it in the ashes. Furthermore he is given a strip of the skin, from which he then fashions amulet rings, one for himself, the others for his relatives. The ring protects the wearer from sicknesses of every kind. Men wear it on the right middle finger, women wear it on the large spiral-shaped neck ornament of iron wire. During the feast the participants constantly sing:

Ngai [illegible], [illegible], Ngai [illegible]
Ngai [illegible], [illegible], Ngai [illegible]

(Ngai [illegible] = may God feed us; [illegible] = water the cattle, [illegible] = give us to drink, give rain.)

On the following day the women carry fresh cattle dung to the ashes and knead a mush from it, into which is mixed a medicine that an ol goiatiki has prepared and brought along. With these preparations the second part of the supplication feast has begun, which is called ol [illegible], i.e., supplication feast for the cattle. Amidst the same songs as above the women spread the medicine on the livestock in the form of lines and curves, and, to be sure, on the spines of the cows and female sheep, on the right side of the belly of the male animals and those female ones that have not yet dropped young. With this the feast is over. The goats are not smeared, but are driven to pasture even before this ceremony. As the reason for this the Masai say that Ngai does not like goats because they do not modestly carry their little tails hanging down as a fig leaf.

Another supplication feast is celebrated only by the married women in order to implore God to give them children. It is called [illegible] Ngai ol [illegible], i.e., may God hear the word. In or near the kraal the women gather in the forenoon, together with a sorcerer (ol goiatiki), around whom they station themselves in a circle. Every woman is then given an amulet by him, which she hangs on the hip cord of the skin apron. Then he sprinkles their heads and shoulders with a medicine, which, besides milk and honey beer, also contains one of his secret remedies, for which he is rewarded with a few sheep. Then the women dance and sing throughout the day under a shade tree, during the night in the kraal, until dawn.

[illegible] In the usage the following prayer is commonly repeated: 'Ng ai, [illegible] [illegible], i.e., God, I implore you always I pray, we pray to you always, we pray for children, for birth for the barren women.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the [illegible] days (from the 13th to the 27th of the month), a joint supplication prayer, ol [illegible], often takes place on the day of the new moon. The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold extract of ol [illegible] twigs ([illegible]), and a white powder obtained from the ol [illegible], while they say the short prayer: 'Ng ai [illegible]!' That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

[illegible] If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior standing class, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As payment for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (ol [illegible]) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

825 826 773 613 The lineage of the El kiboron believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboron kraals are not rare.

[illegible]

Allegedly they came into the [illegible] peoples; on the other hand the latter often use them as frightening devices against both [illegible] and [illegible].

The [illegible] are not familiar with devils, but indeed with the — male — demon [illegible], whose body is hard as stone and therefore invulnerable, who bears the head of a predatory animal and whose feet are armed with claws. He lies in wait on paths and trails passed by by many, in order then to rise up and devour those who approach. For most adults [illegible] is merely a bogeyman for naughty children. "Do not go too far away," the mother says to the children, "otherwise [illegible] will get you."

If a person brings misfortune, illness, or death to another through sorcery (or [illegible]), this is usually the effect of a power inherent in the magic medicine, which is based on the composition of the medicine and is effective through the recitation of certain formulas and the execution of special gestures. The aforementioned amulet ring (ol [illegible]) protects one against the effect of magic made by another person. Women who go into the neighboring areas of foreign tribes to buy vegetables especially protect themselves from their sorcery. They smear their foreheads and cheeks with cattle dung or wear around their necks a cord on which are strung small, split sticks. Other amulets that I found contained, sewed in leather, a mixture of plant powder (from wood, [illegible] roots, barks), after which they are named, and a secret medicine of the ol [illegible], who alone is able to prepare the whole in such a way that it is effective. The [illegible] amulet is worn by women around their necks and is regarded as promoting conception. We have become acquainted with another amulet prized by the women [illegible] in connection with the boys' ol [illegible] feast. The ol [illegible] is tied around the ankle and protects one from ailments of the legs. The ol [illegible] is worn by warriors around the neck or wrist for protection against sorcery. In hand-to-hand combat the powder contained in it is also scattered toward the enemy, whereupon the latter is supposed to be forced to give up his resistance. The ol [illegible] protects the husband from the anger of his wife when he has committed some folly, for example, has gone beyond the customary limits on

[illegible cont.]

[illegible] company adventures. The powder also serves as love magic, in that the woman sprinkles herself and the man with it, through which his love for her is heightened. If a woman loses her first child soon after birth, she hangs in the doorway of her hut during her next pregnancy an amulet that consists of a few cowrie shells sewed on a small piece of leather and a little bag, made by the ol [illegible], containing medicine to protect the expected child from sickness and death. The plants preferred by the ol [illegible] for the manufacture of his magic medicines are [illegible] ([illegible]), [illegible] ([illegible]), [illegible] ([illegible]), [illegible] ([illegible]), [illegible] ([illegible]), [illegible] ([illegible]).

[illegible] The belief in the evil eye, which makes human beings and livestock sick, is also generally widespread. One afflicted with the evil eye ([illegible]) may not let himself be seen in the vicinity of the kraals. He is anxiously avoided by all people and therefore builds a kraal of his own, in which he lives alone with his family. If he ventures to enter a strange kraal, he must be prepared to be killed. If a human being or a head of livestock suddenly falls sick or dies without one's being able to explain this by natural causes, it is often believed that the reason for it must be sought in the doings of an evil sorcerer (ol [illegible]). Only if such a one has not been in the vicinity for a long time is the misfortune traced back to a punishment from God.

/Tit. note/

LAW.

000 Law. -- Concerning family and personal rights, cf. 2nd Part, II, IV, and III. -- Property rights. -- Things found. -- Barter or purchase. -- Liability of the relatives for debts, gift. -- Penal law. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Revenge. -- Composition. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury of various degrees. -- Accomplices. -- Immoral offenses. -- Suicide. -- Kidnapping. -- Theft. -- Treason. -- Arson. -- Cowardice in war. -- Death penalty. -- Fines. -- Degrading punishment of warriors. -- Compensation for innocent accused persons. -- The mentally ill. -- Warning. -- Legal proceedings. -- Courts. -- Example of a /Masai/ criminal case. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit. -- Pleading. -- Swearing to the truth. -- Torture for asserting the truth. -- Ordeals in the search for truth. -- Secrecy procedures. -- No international prosecution of criminal deeds.

691 An awareness and understanding of justice are very little developed among the Masai. Therefore only a small number of customary legal provisions exist, which are by no means uniform for all Masai, but rather often enough vary in the different districts. As nomads, among whom individual families frequently live alone or with their closest relatives in a kraal, by themselves, without having neighbors in the larger vicinity, they make do with fewer laws than another tribe whose numerous members are supposed to live within definite fixed limits in permanent order and peace. Furthermore, the nomadic life in and of itself leads to a freer conception of life, which opposes tutelage through laws and often prefers to let might come before right. But in order to understand the great inconsistency in individual legal decisions, one must above all take into consideration the feeling of solidarity, which is strongest in the family and always still strong enough in the tribe to arouse from the first great prejudice against anyone who does not belong to the tribe. The questions concerning family and personal rights have 593

[184]
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593 already been discussed elsewhere (1).

1. Cf. 2nd Part, II, IV, XX.

All disputes arising in this connection are settled by the head of the family without formal procedure.

421 The property rights are little developed. There are no provisions
with reference to landed property. The pasture land of the district
is the common property of all its inhabitants. The plains are so
large that there is more than enough pasture for everyone's herds.
Property belongs to a single individual, not to the family jointly.
425 A lost article, if the loser lives in the vicinity and is known, will
be returned for a reward (for example, for a spear that has been
found, a small goat or a piece of meat will be paid as finder's
reward). Otherwise the finder keeps it and it is up to him whether
or not he ever returns it. If a stolen article is sold, the buyer becomes
the owner, while the person stolen from has to look to the thief for
compensation. Even up to 30-40 years ago ivory that was found was
heedlessly left lying. Then the Masai learned to appreciate its
value from the caravans coming from the coast, and it became
customary that, of the two tusks of an elephant that was found, one
belongs to the finder, the other belongs to the members of his lineage
living in the vicinity and known to the finder. The division among
[439] the latter takes place through the exchange of the tusk for livestock
437 with an ivory buyer. Among themselves the /213/ Masai barter
438 only livestock for livestock. A small cow is paid for with a fat ox
[435] for slaughter. In former times, before the rinderpest, when the
people still had huge cattle herds but few donkeys, a donkey cost
two small cows, whereas now, since the ratio has changed, it is
paid for with five goats. A fat goat or a sheep is bought for a male
439 calf two to three months old. In trade with caravans, etc., people
regard as trade articles, besides livestock, especially wire of iron,
brass, and copper, glass beads, such as have already been mentioned
in the enumeration of the ornaments, and, more recently, here and
there, also colored cloth, especially the cotton fabrics known by
the Suaheli /Swahili/ names schiti, konguru, and gamti. The Masai

/213 cont./

439 designate the first one as en añga en djore, i.e., war cloth, because the warriors like to dress up in it; the konguru they call en añga bos, i.e., colored cloth, and the gamti, ol garascha.

43 The demand for the individual trade articles varies a great deal. At times the need for one kind is so well supplied that it is either not taken at all or far below its value. Correspondingly, the value of another kind often rises disproportionately high through the heightened demand. A lengthy discussion back and forth precedes every exchange or purchase transaction. As a sign of a settlement, the seller spits [452] on the object. The exchange follows at once; only trustworthy acquaintances are granted credit. The risk in the matter, for cattle, does not pass to the buyer until the day after purchase, otherwise immediately.

426 686 The creditor proceeds against a nonpaying debtor first by complaint, and if this remains without effect, he helps himself to his property by force, provided that the debtor can comfortably pay, but for some reason, usually one that has nothing to do with the debt, does not want to pay: a road that is also often taken as the only one. Only upon his impoverishment will the creditor become earnestly pressing. [672] Then, if the debtor is incapable of paying, his brothers and half brothers, or if such are not present or are unavailable, his paternal cousins must pay. Whether the former or the latter pay, the repayment of the debt is always arranged so that no great economic hardship arises for the one paying. The creditor, if he does not voluntarily [626] enter upon the arrangement, is forced into it by the public opinion, which is often expressed in violence. An inconsiderate collection of an outstanding debt actually never occurs; rather, the creditor almost always displays an extraordinary kind-heartedness and forbearance about it and often lets himself be put off for years or waits patiently until the debtor or his heir is in such a good position that the repayment of the debt will be easy for them. It may also happen that the [581] creditor takes a daughter of the debtor and, after she has reached marriageable age in the service of one of his wives, marries her. [583] Since the creditor, even in this case, /214/ pays his father-in-law the bride price, the debt remains standing in full and the kinship [672] bond only makes its repayment more certain. The heir is liable for

/214 cont./
426 the full debts, not only up to the amount of the inherited property.
686 If a warrantor is liable for the debt, he must satisfy the creditor if
[672] the debtor is unable to pay and, through that, becomes a creditor
of the debtor himself. The liability of the warrantor does not end
with his death, but passes on to his heir.

431 The nonacceptance of a gift is a rude insult to the giver and
therefore never occurs. Giving is followed by counter-giving,
except when the thing given was solicited by the ol momai = divine
judgment. The Masai is put into the awkward position of having
to ask in this way only if, for example, on an expedition of war, he
has come a long way from his home district and finds no members
of his lineage in the kraal to which he has come. The petitioner
hangs from the roof of the hut of the one from whom he wishes to
have a head of cattle a stool with the legs upward, or he wraps the
legs of the stool or a bow with grass. This type is more urgent than
the former, since the request must be granted before the grass dries.
[784] The ol momai is a divine judgment. A person who does not grant
the request expressed in the ol momai sign will soon be punished
by 'Ng ai through death or illness. A person who did not grant the
[783] request until after the grass had dried has himself absolved, for his
own peace of mind, by a gathering of old men whom he entertains
with a head of cattle and honey beer. It is believed that by the
observance of this formality and by the statement of absolution of
the old men God, too, has forgiven the sin. Upon handing over
a gift, the giver always spits on it.

675 Loans or contracts are unknown. The creditor does not have
426 a right to the corpse of the debtor; neither debts nor misdeeds or
764 crimes committed by the deceased have an influence on the nature
of his burial.

628 No distinction is made between murder and manslaughter, but
682 there is one between these and negligent homicide. If murder was
committed on a boy or warrior, it is expiated by blood revenge
carried out by boys and warriors or only by warriors. Any brother
[593] of the one murdered is first of all entitled to carry out the blood
[672] revenge and, further, any man belonging to the family. Blood

/214 cont./

628 revenge goes first against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not
682 available, against his brother or any man of the family of the
[672] murderer. Usually blood revenge is commuted by composition
[593] (wergild), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the
avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of 200-300 cattle --
[613] now fewer in many cases -- which the murderer, together with his
[614] people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the
vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger
is free to accept or reject the composition. /215/ Blood revenge is
not carried out longer than one or two months after the murder;
composition then takes its place.

The kraal of the ol oiboni is regarded as a place of refuge. If
[578] the murderer has confessed his deed here, blood revenge may no
longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the
payment of the composition. Murder committed on a married man,
a girl, or a woman is never expiated by blood revenge, but by a fine.
Until the payment of the composition or fine the murderer is called
[326] ol oikobani (pl. el oikob). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished.
[564] On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently
kills a Masai, a band of Masai consisting of married men, warriors,
and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

682 Negligent homicide is expiated only by fines. These are very
613 minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage.
672 If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male
member of the lineage (warrior, married man) and every married
female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock
the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half
[614] is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is
paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong
to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she
will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man
has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a
682 beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no
634 distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally
184 or negligently, for example, in Loita, where blood revenge is also
[672] only very rarely used.
[628]

/215 cont./

682 only very rarely used. In these areas the perpetrator, as punishment
634 for the killing or the murder of a man, loses all his property; his
184 livestock, his wives and children pass over to the heir of the deceased. For killing a woman who has not yet given birth to a child, only half of the livestock of the perpetrator will be given to the widower. For the killing of a woman who has children, the perpetrator pays her husband 19 head of cattle and 19 goats or sheep. In this some distinguished as to whether the woman killed had a son or a daughter; in the former case the fine is greater than in the latter one.

683
[682] Bodily injury with a fatal result is regarded as the same as murder, as is one that results in the loss of a leg. A person who cuts off another's arm (in some districts this applies only to the right arm) or makes it useless pays the injured one a few head of cattle and later, in case the crippled one is killed in battle, also the fine customary as atonement for murder. It is assumed in this case that the cripple was killed only as a consequence of his inability to fight. Serious injury to the head is atoned for with the payment of a cow, an ox, and a sheep, among others only with the payment of a cow; the fracture of an arm or leg, with the payment of one or two head of cattle, likewise the fracture or loss of a finger, with /216/ the exception of the two index fingers (os sogutíhoi or ol osokutoni), which, as magic fingers, are "dangerous and evil." The destruction of an eye remains unpunished. One who tears off another's ear lobe pays him a goat or a sheep for it.

672 One who acts as an accomplice in a crime against life and health is punished in the same way as the perpetrator.

684
[682] Rape, abortion, unnatural lewdness, which is said to occur as sodomy (1),

1. Cf. the remarkably frequent prohibition in 2nd Mo. /Exodus/ 22, 19; 3rd Mo. /Leviticus/ 20, 15; 3rd Mo. /Leviticus/ 18, 23; 5th Mo. /Deuteronomy/ 27, 21.

are not punished.

/216 cont./

682 A person who attempts suicide must, in some districts, pay a head of cattle to the one who prevented him from carrying out his intention.

685 Kidnapping and sale do not occur.
[624] Theft of cattle often leads to a fight if the thief and the person robbed belong to different kraals
[628] lying far apart and at the same time to different tribes. Among
[614] fellow tribal and kraal members the theft of a head of cattle is atoned for with a fine of up to ten head of cattle, that of a sheep or a goat with the payment of a head of cattle. Anyone who has eaten some of a stolen head of livestock, even if he did not know that it was stolen, must contribute to the payment of the fine. If the stolen head of cattle is found still alive and is returned to the owner, this acts in such a mitigating way that in most cases no punishment at all takes place (2).

> 2. 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 22, 1 and 4: If anyone steals an ox or a sheep and slaughters it or sells it, he shall restore five head of cattle for an ox and four head of small livestock for a sheep. If the one stolen is actually found alive in his hands /the Ger. Haut, "skin," here evidently should be Hand, "hand"/, from ox to donkey to sheep, he shall restore double.

One who acts as accomplice in a theft pays half the fine, while the thief has to raise the other half. One who steals a spear must return it and is given a beating as punishment. If the spear had already been sold before the one robbed discovered the thief, the latter must pay the former a cow, while the spear remains with the present owner. Theft of a shield is punished with the payment of a female goat. One who kills a stranger's livestock without stealing it must provide a replacement.

687 The death penalty is given for treason in war and for deliberate
685 incendiarism. Negligent incendiarism is not punished.

/216 cont./

687 There is no special punishment for cowardice in war. The
[626] warriors, however, mock the coward in front of the girls and make
him ridiculous in their eyes. One who makes anyone ill through
683 sorcery pays a head of cattle to the one bewitched. If the latter
dies, the sorcerer must pay the fine levied for murder and is himself
driven away.

681 The death penalty is carried out in that a band of armed men
attack the defenseless sinner and kill him with spears. For a war
/217/ traitor the execution is carried out by warriors, for an arsonist,
by those injured by him. Fines are usually paid in installments. In
general their amount is not fixed for the individual offenses. In the
one area this, in the other that is regarded as the norm. Diminished
ability to pay because of precious livestock sicknesses or unsuccessful
wars naturally lowers the fine. Moreover, if in the district the
fellow members of the lineage or tribe of the perpetrator have a
preponderance in numbers or power over those of the injured one,
the fines are considerably smaller than in the opposite case; then
murder is often punished as negligent homicide, or many a time
even left entirely unpunished, just like other crimes or misdemeanors.
[672] Irresponsibility is regarded as mitigating in some districts, in others
not. An attempt is not punished. Self-defense is not mitigating.
[714] A degrading punishment exists only for the warriors and consists of
[701] cutting off the guilty man's braid-coiffure, as is well known, one
[684] of the insignia of his standing. This punishment is said to be inflicted
[685] most frequently for rape committed on a married woman, less often
also as additional punishment for theft. Innocent accused persons
734 are remunerated with a goat or a sheep. The mentally ill occupy
672 an exceptional position in the legal world only insofar as they are
unable to pay fines. In most cases their people are then liable.
The latter therefore keep in fetters the sick person who is inclined
[755] toward misdemeanors or crimes. Frequently, too, if an ol goiatiki
does not succeed in curing him through magic remedies, he is tied
to a tree at some distance from the kraal, to be devoured by predatory animals.

/217 cont./

681 Unknown in penal law are: an aggravated death penalty, for example, death by fire, the principle of an eye for an eye, the view that the perpetrator must pay with the body part with which he has sinned, as well as symbolism, inprisonment, enslavement, a public monetary fine besides the composition, public monetary fines in general, a right of pardon.

683 579 There still remains to be pointed out one penal decree, which, however, exists only for warriors. That the calling and way of life of the warriors, who are impressed primarily by brute strength and force, are not suitable for preventing rowdiness is obvious and is shown by the frequent, more or less rough brawls among them. Insofar as they seem useful for promoting personal courage, they are not punished; for those connected with bodily injury what was said above applies. For the brawls a stick or a club is used as a weapon and the shield for display. In order to force the opponent to leave himself open, one directs a blow on the left lower arm holding the shield, and, to be sure, not infrequently so violently that it is shattered. Now, if a warrior has already inflicted broken bones on the opponent several times, especially in the manner just described, all the warriors, under the leadership of their ol aigwenani, gather together and announce to him that he will be outlawed if he once more /218/ engages in a brawl; if the one warned violates this prohibition, every warrior of the kraal is justified in killing him.

692 561 [556] [628] The legal proceedings are the same in civil and penal cases; in both there is only one court for the people of a district. For the warriors this is the speaker (ol aigwenani); for the older married men an older, respected, i.e., wealthy, man chosen each time by the persons concerned to settle the particular case presented. In controversial matters between warriors of different kraals or, which is usually the same thing, of different areas, the speakers concerned jointly confer and decide, either alone or, if they do not reach a definite decision, with the advice of an ol aunoni, whose voice is then decisive. In disputes among married men of different areas a mixed council of elders decides. The ol oiboni may be regarded as a court of review, who, however, is called upon only in those 692 cases which concern the commonweal. There are civil proceedings

/218 cont./
692 only in putting forward property claims, and then only in the rare
cases in which self-help is not preferred to legal procedure. The
prosecution of a punishable deed does not take place by official
action, but only on the basis of a complaint raised by the injured
party. Judicial proceedings are generally customary.

685 The procedure in the penal case of a livestock theft, which
occurs frequently, is to be shown. It is to be assumed that an ox
has been stolen in the pasture. If the boy tending the livestock
observed the theft, he notifies the owner of the herd (father or
brother of the herdsman) upon coming home in the evening. Otherwise the wives of the owner, in looking over the livestock, immediately notice the loss, since they know every head precisely. All
the conversation in the kraal only revolves around the theft, and
through that it becomes known on that same evening, not only in
the home kraal, but also in the neighboring ones. The friends of
the one robbed declare themselves ready to pursue the thief and
track down the stolen head of cattle. If their investigation leads
[692] to their discovering the ox or parts of it, so that the thief can be
convicted, there are as a rule no judicial preceedings, since the
perpetrator and his accomplices usually immediately declare themselves ready to pay the customary fine. If, however, the investi-
[787] gation is without success, the person robbed turns to a sorcerer
[694] (ol goiatiki), who, on the basis of an oracle (eṅ gidoṅ), gives him
a description of the appearance of the thief, whereupon the one
robbed will accuse of the theft a man who fits this description. The
695 one so accused appears in the following proceedings as defendant,
685 in the same way as, say, one who is charged on circumstantial
evidence. The one robbed selects as leader of the proceedings a
[693] respected old man who must have formerly once been speaker of
[202] the warriors. This man determines /219/ the day and place of the
proceedings and has this announced by a crier, who goes to the
[237] neighboring kraals, draws attention to himself by blowing a kudu
or oryx horn, and informs the approaching people about the matter.
Further, the judge summons plaintiff, defendant, and possibly
witnesses by messengers. If the defendant refuses to appear, he is
forcefully led up by friends of the plaintiff. Anyone may appear a
as a witness. Relatives of the defendant may refuse both to give

/219 cont./

695 testimony and to appear. Other witnesses who do not appear are
685 punished with a beating by the party of the plaintiff. The proceedings, in which only male individuals may participate, take place as a rule under a shade tree close to the kraal in which the judge lives. Each new arrival, after he has greeted the judge, squats down on the ground in front of him. After those who were invited and a larger number of listeners have appeared, the proceedings begin. The judge rises and says the following prayer: 'Ng ai dadjaba ijok, jo ijok e magilo, jo
[782] ijok ṅ gischu = May God protect us, may he give us strength and livestock, to which those assembled reply: ehḁ or eschḁ (may he give). Then they proceed with the matter. Plaintiff, defendant, and witnesses are heard, one after the other. They assert the truth either by the word ewai = in truth, aischḁ 'Ng ai ṅ gischu = so certain that God may give me livestock, or by various curses; maoa 'Ng ai means: may God kill me if I speak an untruth; maoa en abere = may a spear kill me if I lie. With this last formula, one picks up a little sand with the spear point and brings this to the tip of the tongue. Another curse consists of chewing a few blades of grass and with that saying the words: madaduarigí kuma ṅ gonjet tęn eledjęr ata 'Ng ai, i.e., may this grass be poison to me if I have lied before God.

For exacting truth, torture is customary, tęna ęn obíni, i.e., tie the string! The string of a bow is tied so tightly around the upper arm of the defendant that it cuts into the flesh. If the testimony has not succeeded in convicting the defendant and if he cannot prove his innocence by an alibi, an ordeal is used. The most common is the ol momai l os sarge, i.e., the ordeal of the blood. The defendant is given a bowl with a mixture of blood and milk. Before he drinks, he says the words: 'Ng ai a-ok elle sarge, tęna nanu ajawa ena geteṅ, naga elle sarge, i.e., God, I drink this blood, if I have taken that head of cattle this blood will kill me. If the defendant does not die after eight to fourteen days, proof of his innocence is provided by that. Another ordeal is the ol momai l en jerta natoijo, i.e., the ordeal of the dry wood. By accepting these, he invites God's punishment upon himself if he is guilty. He will then soon /220/ be dead like the dry branch, whereas otherwise he will remain vigorous and healthy, as the green one still is. Less common is the

/220 cont./

695 ol momai l eñ gauo, the ordeal of the bow. A bow is placed on the
685 ground and a magic horn is set at either end of it. This is a goat
horn that is filled with a medicine made by a sorcerer. As soon as
the defendant has stepped over the bow, his lot will be, if he is
guilty, the punishment of God, that is, in this case death. The
effect of the ordeals rests on the firm belief in them. The guilty
one is convinced that the punishment of God will have to strike him.
He imagines that he is ill and sees his salvation only in an open
[783] confession. He goes to the one robbed, confesses his deed, pays the
customary fine, and begs for forgiveness. Only by gaining the latter
can he escape the consequences of the false oath. The one robbed
[572] must in this case -- if he himself does not wish to invite the punishment of God on himself -- grant the pardon and does so through words
and spittings, whereby at the same time a friendship is initiated
between the two. Besides the aforementioned ordeals there are two
others which are not accompanied by curses. The ol momai l ol
origa l en gulugok or ol momai l ol origa l eñ gob = the ordeal of
the stool made of earth. The defendant must sit down on a specially prepared lump of earth. If this crumbles under him, he is
regarded as guilty. The other one, the ol momai l eñ gine (of the
goat), is used only if the defendant is a non-Masai. The defendant,
standing, takes a goat between his legs and cuts an ear off it. If
the blood issuing from the cut spatters him, he is guilty.

The majority of the assembly decides whether and which ol momai is to be used. The accused must submit to the ordeal, and, to be sure, only he alone. He may not substitute a proxy. It is never used against witnesses and plaintiff. The ordeal always constitutes the conclusion of the session, which the leader then terminates with the same prayer with which he began it.

If the ordeal has done no harm to the defendant within ten to
fourteen days, he is completely cleared of suspicion. The one
[787] robbed turns to a sorcerer (if he had already turned to such a one
for the first proceedings, he now goes to another one), who again,
through the eñ gidoñ, gives a description of the guilty one. As soon
as the one described is found, there are proceedings against him.

/220 cont./

562 694 695 Women are also entitled to make a complaint. Evidence presented by witnesses is valid only to the extent that the persons assembled for the proceedings wish to be convinced by it.

683 [692] The crime of sorcery is only rarely dealt with in a judicial assembly. For the most part the one bewitched, after he has learned from an ol goiatiki the name of the bewitcher, prefers to induce the latter, through gifts, to bewitch him healthy again. Thereupon the two conclude friendship /221/ or, however -- and this not infrequently happens -- the bewitched one now kills his opponent, and, to be sure, without inviting blood revenge upon himself because of it.

681 648 [575] [787] There are no secret societies for the purpose of legal actualization or for other purposes. Bier tests or the belief that the dead person will reveal the murderer in a dream are unknown. The Masai do not live with other peoples in such a relationship that the latter could demand or request expiation for murder or some other crime or misdemeanor committed by a Masai on a non-Masai. In this case, therefore, the deed remains unexpiated, whereas the Masai as a rule practice retaliation if the deed was committed on one of their people. Whether or not the murder committed on an Asá or an ol Kuafi by a Masai is expiated depends in each case on the greater or lesser degree of friendly relations that exist between the communities of the murderer and the one murdered. In most cases expiation does not take place, whereas if the injured one is a Masai, his fellow tribesmen will answer with war.

/221 cont./

XXIII.

000 Tales: Lion and Ichneumon. -- Hyena and Jackal. -- Hyena, Jackal, and Monster. -- The Man-eating Bull. -- The Sly Old Man. -- The Worried Father. -- The Wild Animals. -- The Punishment of God. -- Proverbs.

Tales

Lion and Ichneumon

539 In ancient times men and animals lived peacefully side by side; only the lion would now and then cause discord by quarreling. This grew worse and worse; almost every day a child or an animal was missing and was not to be found again. No one knew where the vanished ones were staying. Then one day an ichneumon, from its hole in the ground, saw how a lion approached with a child in its mouth, settled down nearby, and devoured its prey. Meanwhile human beings and animals were so disturbed by the inexplicable disappearance of their children that they called together a great assembly. The lion was not afraid that its infamous deeds would become known, for even if it were to be observed at them, no one would dare accuse it, the mighty and powerful one. When all were assembled, an old man posed to the assembly the question as to whether anyone knew who the evildoer was. All were silent, until suddenly the thin little voice of the ichneumon made itself heard. "I know who it is," it cried, whereupon all present besieged it with questions. But the ichneumon answered: "I am so little that not everyone would hear me if I spoke; let us go to yon termite hill, I shall climb up and then name the guilty one for you." With that it sprang ahead and all followed. In the front row /222/ of those standing around the lion had stationed itself and looked at the ichneumon with a threatening glance, so that it would be silent. But the latter did not let itself become disconcerted and cried: "The evildoer is the lion." Scarcely were the words spoken when the lion

/222 cont./

539 pounced on the little animal, but it had already disappeared into a hole in the termite hill. By its rage the lion had shown that it was really the guilty one. The elephant and the rhinoceros threw themselves upon it before it could escape and killed it.

Hyena and Jackal

A hyena and a jackal lived together as friends in one kraal. Each of them had cattle, the hyena many, the jackal fewer. Alternately one of them tended the entire herd, and on the days on which the hyena was with the livestock one of the jackal's head of cattle disappeared each time. When the hyena had eaten the last of its cattle, it came home weeping and said: "When I led the herd to the watering place, your cattle suddenly disappeared in the water." The jackal, in disbelief, demanded that the hyena show it the spot. The latter led it to the banks of a pond, into which it had stuck the tails of the devoured cattle, and said: "You see, the tails of your cattle are still sticking out." Then the jackal wanted to pull the cattle out of the ground again; it pulled at the tails; one after the other it pulled them out. Then the hyena said: "The cattle are stuck too deep, you have torn off their tails." The jackal acted as though it believed this, because it was afraid of the hyena. Now the latter daily devoured one of its own cattle, while the jackal set out to buy others for itself. When it came back with a cow, the hyena had only one ox left. The next day, while it was pasturing the two animals, the cow dropped a calf. Upon arriving home in the evening, the hyena told the jackal, through whose apparent credulity it had become bold, that this calf belonged to it because its ox had dropped it. "Can oxen bring calves into the world? I know only that cows do this," the jackal interrupted, incredulously. The hyena replied: "Does not God give cows the calves? Can not God do everything? Can not God also give calves to oxen? If you do not believe me, let us call together all the animals, who will settle our dispute." The jackal declared itself in agreement with that. Now the hyena summoned the large animals, the jackal the small ones. Of the latter, the birds settled in the foliage of the tree under which the conference was to take place, while snakes and

/222 cont./

539 similar animals crawled into the holes at the roots. The jackal now said to the elephant: "Elephant, you are the largest animal and can shout the loudest. Shout to the clouds and ask God to whom the calf belongs. God will hear you, he is everywhere, therefore also above us." The elephant shouted and a little bird hidden in the branches answered: "The calf belongs to the jackal." Then the latter spoke again: "Elephant, now shout /223/ downwards also, God is everywhere, therefore also in the earth!" The elephant did as he was bidden, and a concealed snake answered: "The calf belongs to the jackal." The calf was now awarded to the latter by all the animals, because God had awarded it to it.

The second part, in which a weak animal dupes a mightier one, is repeated in several fables.

Hyena, Jackal, and Monster.

A hyena and a jackal lived together as friends in one kraal. Every evening the two set out to plunder. The hyena never came home until daybreak and usually still hungry, while the jackal returned after only a few hours, having eaten his fill. Now the hyena wanted to know the place where there was such abundant food and asked the jackal about it. The latter replied: "Every evening I look for an ash heap and rub my muzzle in it, that is what makes me so quickly satisfied and fat." In reality, however, the jackal had one day met a monster (en diamassi or tiamassi) that devours human beings and animals. It had crept after it and observed how a rock wall that it approached opened at its call: "Stone, open up" (os soid bollo), whereupon the monster disappeared into the rock, and the latter closed after it again. Then the jackal lay in wait nearby, and after the monster had come out again, it cried: "Stone, open up." When the rock opened, the jackal went in and found a big cave in which lay huge piles of meat and bones. Now every day it went there, where it was able to satiate itself both quickly and effortlessly.

/223 cont./

539 The hyena had followed its advice and returned with a muzzle colored white with ashes. It did not feel satisfied, but, indeed, because of its appearance it had become the laughingstock of the other animals. This aroused the jackal's compassion; it took it along in the evening and led it to the cave. When it was satisfied, it asked the hyena to go home with it, but it did not want to. So it told it the formula with which it could open the rock. The hyena, however, was so busy eating that it only half listened, and then when it was ready to go, it did not know the magic words. Soon afterwards the monster came home and was very astonished to find the hyena. The latter told it how it had got in. The monster answered that it could stay, but would have to serve it, it should break apart some bones during its absence and with their marrow feed its child, which was lying in the back of the cave. When the hyena then broke apart the first bone, a splinter sprang from it into the head of the child and remained lodged in it. It tried to pull it out quickly, but out of carelessness pushed it in still deeper, so that the child died. The old monster immediately asked upon its return: "Where is my child?" The hyena /224/ answered: "It is sleeping." "Bring it to me," ordered the monster, and when the hyena made excuses and said: "If you wake it, it will die," the old monster itself went to look and found that it was dead. Now it tied the hyena to a tree and then went off to fetch a stick and to thrash the murderess of her child. The latter screamed so, however, that all hyenas came running. One of them asked: "Why are you tied up and who did it?" It answered: "I live with a monster that gives me too much meat to eat; I have been eating the whole day and now I am supposed to drink a big pot of fat. When I did not want this, it tied me up here; it will come presently with the pot of fat." Then the other replied: "I have not had any fat for a long time. I shall untie you, then you tie me up in your place." Said, done. When the monster returned with the stick, it thrashed the strange hyena, but stopped when it had explained what had happened, and graciously took it in. A few days later the monster slaughtered many cattle for a great feast, to which all the hyenas were invited. When they had eaten their fill and the monster had proved to be an amiable host, it said with a friendly

/224 cont./

smile: "I had taken one of you in as my child, it ran away and left me this one in its place. Though I also love this one here very much, I long for that one and should like to take it back." Thereupon the other hyena rushed forward and cried: "Mother, here I am!" The monster seized it, led it into the cave, and killed it there.

The Man-eating Bull

The largest cow in the kraal dropped a male calf. Because of its handsome coloring (it was spotted white, black, and reddish brown), it attracted everyone's attention. When the cow was milked, however, the hands of the milk women became diseased from it. All the women in the kraal tried it in turn, but none was willing to milk the cow a second time. So the calf got all its mother's milk and became larger and stronger than the other calves. After it was full-grown it showed a rare confidence, it always nestled up to the herdsmen and the children loved to play around the handsomely spotted bull. One day, when they were playing hide-and-seek, the child who was supposed to look for the other later was stationed behind that bull. But the children in hiding waited in vain for the one who was seeking. Finally they went to look, but could not find it. They asked the bull, and the latter answered: "It went home." There the children then looked further, but again without success. An old man had observed the herd from afar and had seen that the bull had devoured the child. He ran to the kraal and told the people that that bull was in truth a monster (en diamassi) and had just devoured a child. They therefore decided to move away immediately and leave the bull behind. /225/ During the night they loaded their belongings on the donkeys and departed secretly, leaving behind the sleeping bull with six head of cattle lying around him. In the morning eight strange warriors came to the abandoned kraal and wanted to divide up the cattle, but since there were only seven, the bull was awarded to two brothers. The younger of the two was particularly enchanted with the handsome animal and, during the march, did not leave its side. Suddenly he heard how, between its roars, the bull kept saying: "Eight, eight, eight." That seemed uncanny to him; he thought, the bull may be a monster, it

/225 cont./

539 may have just counted the warriors and was pleased because it would be able to devour eight warriors that night. He told the others his suspicions, but they laughed at him, the youngest, who was imagining impossible things out of fear. After they had arrived at their kraal toward evening, all eight of them lay down to sleep in a hut. During the night the bull rubbed itself against the hut wall, whereupon one of the warriors went out to chase it away. After a little while the bull rubbed itself again; a second one went out, and so forth, until only the two brothers remained in the hut. When the bull again scraped itself, the older of them wanted to go out. The younger one warned him and said: "The bull is a monster, it has devoured the others and will devour you, too, if you go out to it." The older one, however, did not believe him, but went and did not come back any more than the others. Now the younger one made a hole in the outer wall of the hut and thus escaped. He ran to another kraal and brought back many warriors. They surrounded the bull, threw their spears and swords at it. In its panic the bull cried: "Do not kill me, just cut off my tail, then the devoured ones will come out of my body." The warriors, however, killed it anyway and carefully cut it open. Then the seven warriors whom it had devoured during the night came out; but the child whom it had devoured first was already dead.

The Sly Old Man

An old man possessed a large herd of goats that he himself tended every day. His goats were the fattest far and wide. They aroused the envy of all strangers, none of whom had succeeded in persuading the old man to sell one of the animals. Moreover, his vigilance had made it impossible for one of his goats to be stolen from him. One day the warriors of a neighboring kraal arranged to steal a couple of head from him. There where the old man drove the herd along every day, there were several holes dug by wild pigs. One crawled into each of these and then covered himself with grass. The eyes of the old man, however, soon

/225 cont./

539 spotted them. Smiling, he called out to them: "My children, come and help this old man drive the herd together." Then they stood up and helped him. Put to shame by the guile of the old man, they decided to persuade him /226/ to turn around for a moment, whereupon they were going to stun him by a blow on the nape with a club. For this they appeared before him the next day in the pasture. One of them started a conversation with him, then suddenly turned around and asked the old man: "What is that bird back there eating?" "There?" asked the old man and, without turning around, pointed backwards with his stick. "I don't know!" "Just turn around," said the warrior; but the old man replied with a sly smile: "No, otherwise the bird will eat me too." Now they wanted to try it with a nocturnal raid. For this one of them crept at night into the old man's kraal, where the latter was keeping watch over his goats. Just as he was a about to go off with a few goats, he saw the old man lying there with drawn bow, and feared the arrow at the next moment. He therefore screamed for mercy. Only now did the old man, who had been sleeping with bow and arrow in his hand, wake up. Again the warrior went off, unsuccessful and humiliated; again the young men found themselves outwitted and, because of that, humiliated. With cunning the old man was not to be got at, that had now become clear to them. So they decided to go over to force and to murder him. When he saw them coming the next day, he called to them: "My children, you will be hungry, look here, these two goats are particularly fat, take them and slaughter them at once." Overcome by this friendliness, they gave up their plan, but set to work immediately to consume the goats. During this the old man drove his herd on with drawn-out ii calls (one uses these otherwise not for herding, but only to call people to come). Astonished at this, the warriors asked whom he was calling. He replied: "No one, this is my herding call, to which I owe it that my goats are fatter than the others." The warriors believed him and calmly became absorbed again in their meal. Suddenly, however, the people who had hastened up at the call of the old man fell upon them and cut them down.

/226 cont./

The Worried Father

539 The warriors of a Wakuafi settlement wanted to make war on the Masai and for this purpose sent spies ahead. The latter returned with the announcement that they had found an ol bul place upon which lay roots of the ol osarua tree. They concluded from this that the Masai were at the moment living only on roots and must therefore be greatly weakened. An old man, however, advised them and told them that it was precisely with these roots, which they cooked together with meat, that the Masai gained great strength. The young men, however, did not believe him and pressed further for war. In order to keep at least his own son from this expedition, whose unfortunate outcome he foresaw, he struck him on the knee with his club in such a way that he was unable to walk for a long time. The others went to war and were all killed.

/227/

The Wild Animals

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825 Many, many years ago men and women lived in different kraals. The former had cattle, the latter used as livestock the wild animals, which at that time were still quite tame. One day a woman slaughtered a wild animal and then requested one of her children to drive the herd to pasture. But the child did not obey and first wanted to have some meat. Meanwhile the wild animals ran to the pasture by themselves and since that time never again returned to the kraal.

The Punishment of God

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A poor Wandorobo widow, for whom no one cared, went to a Masai kraal with her two small boys, so that the latter, by tending livestock, would earn a living for her and for themselves. The man whose livestock the boys tended there took the old woman in. Soon afterwards a wife of this man gave birth to twins. The Wandorobo woman, who had hoped that the Masai would soon marry her, saw with discontent how he redoubled his concern for the young mother, and her jealousy of the latter increased to such an extent that she plotted her destruction. Thus, one day when the young mother left

/227 cont./

539 the kraal for a short time, the foreign woman stuck the two children in a large wooden pot and threw it into the nearby river, which carried it far away. Then, both hands full of cattle blood, she waited in the hut doorway for the mother of the little ones and, when she came home, smeared her face with the blood and ran out screaming, accusing the other one of having devoured her own children. When the people saw the blood on the face of the one accused, they believed the accusation. The man divorced his wife and inflicted on her the punishment that she was to tend his donkeys until her death. Then he married the other woman. Meanwhile the two children had been adopted by a distant tribe. Children who were playing on the bank had seen the pot arrive, caught it, and carried it to their father. There the boys grew up to be warriors. One day a war expedition was undertaken against the Masai and those two were sent ahead as spies. In the vicinity of a Masai kraal they found an old woman who was herding donkeys. Since it is not customary for women to herd, they asked her why she was doing this work. Then she told them the story of her misfortune and the injustice done to her (1).

1. In Hollis, p. 137, the variation: " and made themselves known as her sons." Ed. Hommel.

When the warriors saw the hatred of the woman against the members of her tribe, they disclosed to her their plan and obtained the assistance of the old woman. After they had quickly killed the boys tending the livestock, they took a bell from the neck of a head of cattle and hung it on a donkey. They tied the latter very close to a tree so that it constantly cried out and rang the bell. The Masai in the kraal heard this and assumed that livestock and donkeys were peacefully grazing. In the meantime, /228/ however, the warriors had made away with the herd and had taken the old woman along out of gratitude for her help.

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829 Finally there should be repeated a little story in which a Masai, returning from the Berliner Kolonial-Ausstellung /Berlin Colonial Exposition/ of 1896, told his countryman about a custom observed there. He said: "In Germany little children do not get food from their mothers (as among us), but they are herded there like small livestock. On the street stand tables, and on these lie plates. When

/228 cont./

539 177 829 the herd of children arrives, the children sit down at the tables and eat. When they have finished eating, they are driven on." -- He had seen the pupils of a school, who were being conducted through the exposition.

Proverbs

539 Mẹti ol duṅgani lemẹt ol ogunj' enje = There is not a human being who does not have his head. (Many heads, many minds.)

Mẹti ol duṅgani lemẹt dobir en dog' enje egeniogo = There is no human being who does not do his business according to his plan.

Ol duṅgani tenẹjo nedim aidobira = The person who wants to, can do. (Where there is a will, there is a way.)

Ol air torono, ol ari sidai = A bad year, a good year; in the sense of: sunshine follows rain.

Ol duṅgani ạmăda éaré t em baie kete = A stupid person is beaten with little things. (One gets to a stupid one with trifling means.)

El jeruata kumok mẹ sidan = It is not good to have many friends.

Ol ari sidai kake esodjo ol torono = A good year is followed by a bad one; in the sense of: Pride goeth before a fall.

Ol duṅgani ọ̄rta 'n dogi ẹẹta el jeruata kumok, ol duṅgani lemẹta 'n dogi mẹta hạnjạ = A rich person has many friends, a poor person has nothing. (A friend in need is a friend indeed.)

El duṅganak ạte minje sidan, enigi jogi njạge 'n dogi = Few people are good if we want something (from them).

Toniño 'ñ gutuke ol duṅgana' bạge, kake torbare ol ogunj' enu = Listen to everyone's advice, but follow your head.

Gulla duṅgana' l enjerna mẹjollo (ol) adjo hạnjạ, gulla duṅgana' l ẹgeñai ninje ejollo (el) adjo sidan = One's own people know nothing, strange people know fine words. The proverb has the meaning of "No man is a prophet in his own country."

Ol duṅgani oschắl ojello aiẹ́sẹ́ga duṅgani ogul t ol ossẹ́g l enje = A weak person can conquer a strong person through his intelligence.

Añas enă 'n dogi, bai-dogi en daa = First this matter, then the food. (Work before pleasure.)

/229/

Third Part

I.

M 184 The Wandoróbo of the three branches of the Masai people.

[177] The customs of the Wakuafi are in general identical with those of the Masai, and where a slight difference appears in one or another of their colonies, it is to be traced back solely to the influence of the M [128] neighboring sedentary Negro tribes. Such deviations are therefore not peculiar to the Masai people as a whole, and a discussion of them M would go beyond the compass of the present study. On the other hand, D it is necessary to go into more detail on the customs and practice of 121 the Wandorobo belonging to the Masai people, who, in their timid D seclusion, have maintained themselves quite without foreign influ- [177] ence (1),

> 1. With the exception of such by the Tatoga, a tribe anthropologically very close to the Masai people.

and to present the differences shown by a comparison with the customs of the Masai, as well as to substantiate the correspondence in the main points.

M D 101 184 We have seen that members of all three branches of the Masai people fall under this name (2).

> M D [128] 2. In what follows nothing will be said about the Wandoróbo not belonging to the Masai people, who are seen, mixed with Tatoga and Masai, as remnants of an extinct Semite people -- who embraced the sun cult.

D 101 The Asá stem from the oldest epoch, the El asiti from the middle one, and the El gassurek from the most recent one (3).

> 3. The other designations with which the Wandoróbo of the individual districts name themselves have geographical meaning.

/229 cont./

184 The fact that in many things the Asá served as a model for the latter two and that the El asiti also often designate themselves as Asá follows
[224] from the circumstances. They are both merely /230/ hunters, whereas
[233] among the El gassurek the tendency toward animal husbandry has still been preserved here and there.

128 In the following, for obvious reasons, only the Asá will be discussed.
197 Therefore the accompanying native words have been taken from the Asá idiom.

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The fact that the Asá are divided into the same tribes and lineages as the Masai and Wakuafi and that they also regard the ol oiboni[1] as their chief has already been mentioned at the beginning. It is to be

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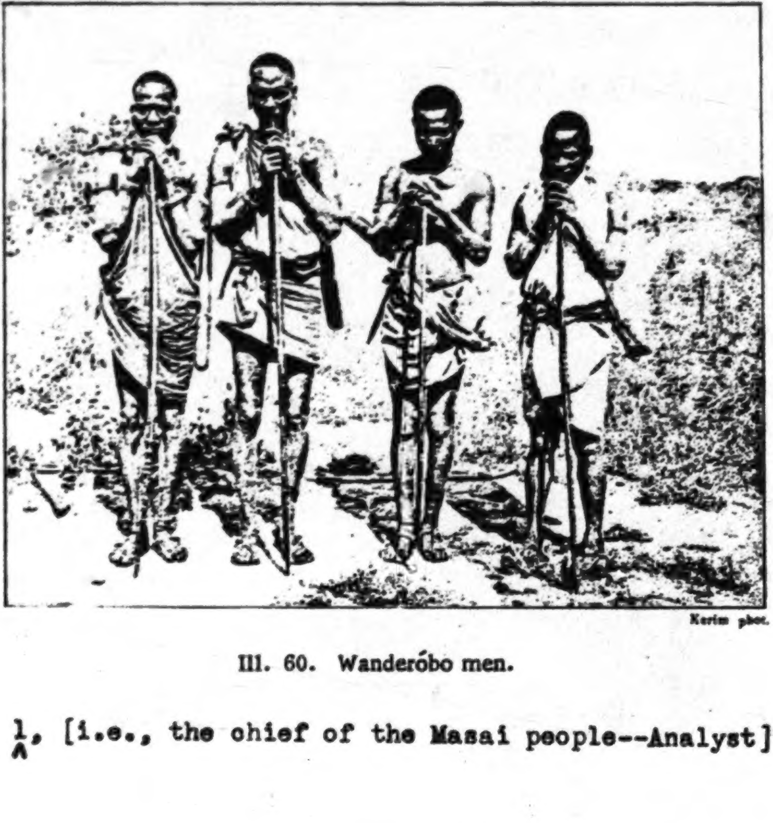

Karim phot.

Ill. 60. Wanderóbo men.

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[1] [i.e., the chief of the Masai people--Analyst]

/230 cont./ It is to be
613 noted, however, that there seems to be no El kiboron among the Asá,
171 as is shown by both the consistent assertions of the people and the
observations of the author, who did not find any members of that
lineage among them anywhere. The respect and esteem that the El
kiboron enjoy among all the Masai people sufficiently explains the
fact that, with the displacement of the Wandorobo at the time, they
were adopted into the community of the oppressors.

/231/ II.

000 Plan and arrangement of the camp. -- The huts. -- Household
equipment. -- Daily life, food, work. -- Earthen pots. -- Baskets.
-- Leather dressing. -- Market trade. -- Honey extraction. --
Manufacture of bows and arrows. -- Spears. -- Dance and song.

361 The Asá roam the steppes as hunters, in that they wander with
[224] the game, whose meat gives them food and out of whose skins they
[237] make their clothing. This circumstance brings along with it the
fact that they can not live together in large kraals, but rather,
divided into small bands, are forced to stay here today and in a
[342] distant place a few weeks later. Accordingly, their camps (*aijo*)
only consist of hastily built small huts (*morog*) that are made out
of branches and grass. The camps as a rule are hidden in dense
[487] bush and have no special enclosure. The paths and game runs
leading to them are carefully barricaded with thorn branches and
thus made inaccessible. Only the practiced eye of the Asá will
find the wonderfully concealed entrance to the camp.

621 Only two or three families, rarely a few more, usually live in
one camp. Next to their huts are found those in which the unmarried
[591] circumcised men (*dobonog*) live with the young girls. As among
[192] the Masai, each young man has his favorite girl. He calls her
sanjet uan, she calls him *sanjeg uan*, words in which one again
[171] finds the Masai word *sandja*. Their huts are designated as *morog*

/231 cont./

621 to dobonog, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the
[192] aija to dam̄a, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we
[171] find, even in the name, a separation into kraal of the married and
kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

171 The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself,
353 resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even
415 sparser. A honey pot (madjé, madjeog), a gourd bottle (mget) for
237 drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenua)
283 for collecting honey, a larger one (ndaro, ndareraūg) for water, a
352 few earthen pots, larger ones (idug, idia) and smaller ones (ruguba,
412 ruguba) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out
of an animal skin (scharu, schǎruga) to tie up the slain meat, a cord
twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for
the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees
(meriñgo), along with a few dehaired skins (fulót) that serve as beds,
as well as ax (haūo, hauereg) and knife (pandyug), constitute the
492 principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the en
412 dereta /pack-holders/ of the Masai, here called lalaho (lelewgg),
413 as well as a hammer (giribét) for forging and a chisel for designing
177 the arrow points (mad, mara), and finally that sharpened small piece
of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (herá, hererá). The entire family,
592 namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children,
live in one /232/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.
512 The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They
[224] set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted
[264] meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting
[825] grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then feeds
more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun
already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children
leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook
the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat
[251] is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and
512 thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten.
264 Actually the Wandoróbo do not have definite mealtimes: as long
as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

18: Merker--306 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/232 cont./
262 If lean times then come, one tries, as well as one can, to appease
the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
[252] fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw,
usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
251 long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
439 dried, it is stowed away in the aforementioned tree, close to the
231 camp; cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Masai
for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
262 Wandorobo, in barter with sedentary tribes, are able to come into
[439] the possession of vegetables, they also live on these, but actually
only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be
had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
only a side dish, especially for woman and children. Many of them
[272] detest milk and base this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed
only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some
go so far as to throw away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[171] they eat that of a slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no
doubt but that the previously mentioned Masai belief, according to
which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these
273 customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
[271] way as the Masai, also serves them as a beverage. The latter prize
[171] that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the
fact that the Wandorobo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
264 only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together.
Both the foods for the man, his wives, and children and, on the other
[252] hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
[415] From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (kitokog), of
273 which each adult sharing in the meal has his own. From the food
171 laws of the Masai, the custom that young unmarried men may not
drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a
276 luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved
by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little steppe
salt and /233/ fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing.
Women also like to chew the snuff.

/233 cont./
512 After breakfast the day's work begins. Huts must be repaired
[356] and renovated, for which branches and twigs for the frame, bast
for binding it, and long-stemmed grass for covering the roof and
[462] lining the walls are procured. When the women are not busy with
this, with cooking, with fetching water and gathering firewood, one
usually sees them sitting in the shade with some handwork. They
[294] sew clothing, bags, leather covers for the wooden pots, cut straps,
[281] etc. Concerning the ornaments, the Wandorobo make for themselves
306 those things that the Masai also make for themselves; they only buy
439 the metal-forged work from Masai blacksmiths. The making of the
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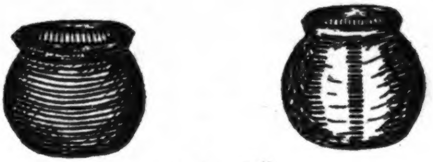

Fig. 81. (1/10)

ball-shaped earthen pots (Fig. 81) falls to the women. From dark-gray clay (anjet) they shape the pot with their hands (without a wheel) and let it dry in the sun, after it has been decorated, usually with cord ornamentation. Before being fired, it is usually stuffed with dried grass prior to being put in a fire made with dried tree bark with which it is entirely covered and in which it remains until it takes on a dark red color. The finished pot, in order "to protect it from cracking during use," is thoroughly heated on the hearth fire, and then boiling water, in which a bone has cooked, is poured in.

281 The dressing of the hides from the most recent hunting booty
also takes a great deal of time. Those intended for sale are, of
course, simply nicely cleaned of all meat and fatty parts and then,
pegged to the ground with sticks, dried in the sun. The others,
[171] however, which are to be used to make clothing, are worked into
000 leather in the way described for the Masai. As there, the tanned

294 /233 cont./ As there,[1] the tanned
412 hides are sewed into articles of clothing with an awl (maramaog)
283 and a thread twisted out of animal tendons (asug). If a number of
hides for which, at the moment, one has no need for one's own
439 use has piled up, a few old men with women and children, laden
437 with skins and also steppe salt, set out for a neighboring area. Where
the distance between this and the Wandoróbo camp is such that it
permits frequent trade, these caravans appear at the regularly held
markets. If, however, they are able to come only rarely, they
[805] peddle their wares, inasmuch as, out of ignorance of time reckoning,
they do not wait for the market days. They readily find customers,
since both articles are very much in demand. The agriculturalist
principally dependent on a vegetable diet always needs salt, but he
can only rarely extract it himself, since as a rule the arable soil
contains no salt or such not in sufficient quantities. The need for
hides /234/ is also often greater than the local production, even
today when fabrics have largely replaced the leather clothing. After
protracted haggling, an agreement is finally reached, and the
Wandoróbo, satisfied, set out for home with the bartered vegetables.
If the hunting was sometimes particularly lucrative or if an elephant
or rhinoceros was killed, part of the meat would also be sold to the
always meat-hungry agriculturalists. Many of the latter, for example,
the Wataita and Wakamba, also buy the meat of predatory animals
from the Wandoróbo, others disdain it altogether, and therefore, in
trading, they test each piece for smell and taste.

231 Old men, who only now and then in the evening lie in wait for
[889] game at a watering place, devote themselves outside the camp
especially to the checking and supervision of the beehives (Fig. 82),
a large number of which hang within an hour's range. These are
wooden tubes 120 centimeters long and /Fig. 82 appears here/ 30
centimeters thick, with an interior breadth of about 25 centimeters.
231 They are made by hollowing out a correspondingly long piece of tree
322 trunk, a very arduous task because the tools are so primitive. After
412 the trunk, through hewing with an ax, appears circular in cross-section
and tapered at both ends, it is smoothed on the outside with a
knife (pandyug). Two instruments are used for the hollowing out:

[1] [i.e., among the Masai--Analyst]

/234 cont./
231 the first consists of the ax blade
322 stuck into a wooden handle like
[412] a knife and is used as a paring
chisel; the other is a hollow chisel
(nja) with which one smooths the
tubes on the inside. The two
openings are closed corklike by
flat wooden covers fitting into the
opening, into each of which two
holes permit entry for the wild
231 bees. For hanging, one puts
[283] around the middle part two loops
twisted out of lianas, which are
connected, handlelike, by a
plaiting of lianas, like the straps
of a holdall. The beehive is
picked up by this handle with a
hooked branch, at the upper end
of which is lashed a second one
with a hook on top. With the
[422] latter the whole thing is hung in the branches of taller trees. On the
side hanging downward the beehive bears an ownership mark. As a
rule it is the same as the one that is burned on the long tang or on
the extension tang of the arrow point. On the beehive one finds it
either whole or only its lower part. Before the honey is removed
/235/ the bees are driven out by a very smoky fire kindled under
the tree (1).

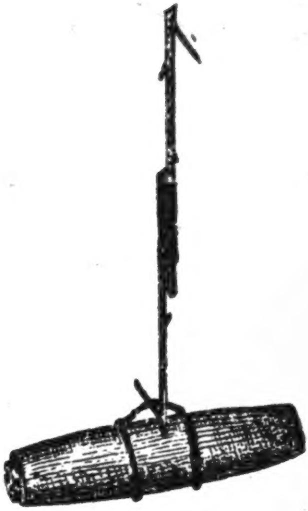
Fig. 82. (1/10)

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[171] 1. I never observed among the El dorobo a stupefying of the bees by means of Bovista (Lycoperdon), such as I saw on Kilimandscharo among the Wadschagga.

/235 cont./

231 Then a man climbs up to the beehive, fastens it to a rope, unhooks it, and very slowly lowers it to the ground, so that through the continuing effect of the smoke the bees will also be driven out of the combs or stupefied in them. It is obvious that through this the honey must become very dirty, and, in fact, it tastes strongly of smoke and contains a large number of dead bees and larvae. No other method of driving the bees out is possible, however, and since they are extremely vicious and the people, only scantily clad, expose such large areas for their stings, the honey gatherers have to be enveloped in a thick cloud of smoke for their own protection. I was able to observe the viciousness of the native bees several times. It is by no means rare that a swarm will attack a caravan and sting some of the porters and donkeys into unconsciousness, the latter even to death. Tobacco smoke in particular incites them to attack, but they also seem to dislike loud singing and shouting.

In extracting the honey, one leaves about a quarter of it in each
[251] comb so that the bees will not abandon the hive. The extracted honey
[415] is packed into leather bags or wooden pots and thus stored. The capture of wild bees is unknown. Where such are found in a hollow
[136] tree, one hangs in the vicinity an empty beehive that has previously been smeared on the inside with the extraordinarily aromatic honey of a Melipona species (subspecies Trigona) (2)

2. Identified by Herr Dr. Enderlein from samples sent to the Museum für Naturkunde /Museum of Natural Science/, Berlin.

222 known as el maĩn. In order to be able to extract the honey of wild bees from hollow trees, one drives them out by holding aloft a burning branch with which one climbs to the hole.

411 In the camp one sees the men wither squatting about dully or
322 busy with carving, such as the beehives just mentioned, or with
[461] making bows, arrows, and clubs. The stick intended for the making
[462] of a bow (Fig. 83) (from the ol borogoi tree) is rounded, cut tapering at both ends, and then scraped smooth. After it has been rubbed

/235 cont./
411 with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited
322 together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is
[283] extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The
[237] projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly
cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with
some fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick,
first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound
[237] with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a
[824] not yet described species of gladiolus known as diriēē, whereupon,
[412] on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/
411 centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion
[237] with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feather-
[136] ing -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron perc-
[283] nopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine
[824] bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned.
Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering
and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting
of the shaft.

[325] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/
[322] do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved
[171] from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears,
of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the
[439] blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the
camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of
the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.
415 The Asá for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from
[439] sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait
[285] shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so
829 popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the
171 words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our
families, would have to starve."

512 With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes
517 over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done
and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old
[273] people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a
[535] gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance
[533] and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

18: Merker--312 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/Illustrations from p. 236 of the original source./

411
284

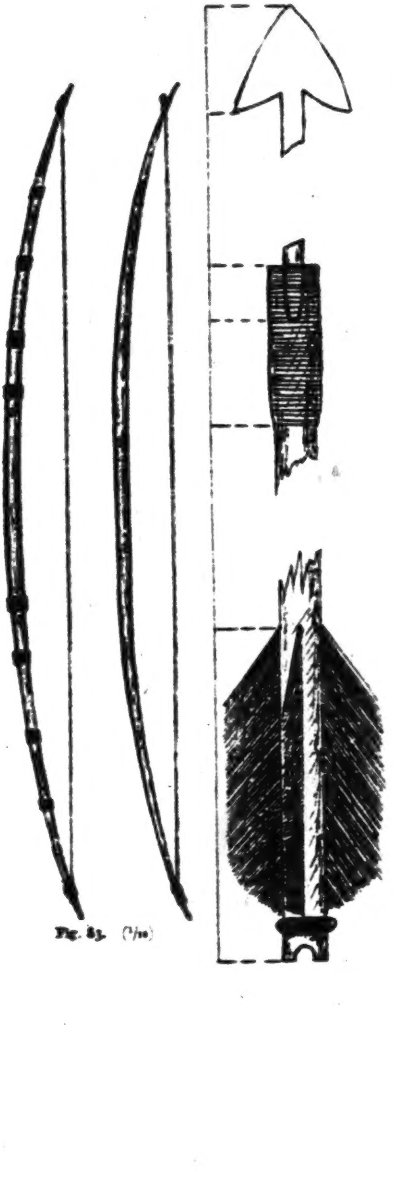

Fig. 83. (1/10)

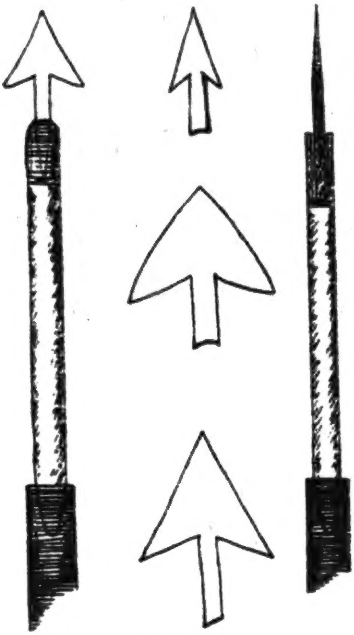

Fig. 84. (1/1)

18: Merker--313 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL6
Asa

512 /237 cont./

517 which now and then, as though as an answer, the cry of a predatory [273] animal resounds over to them. The dance differs from that of the [535] Masai through the fact that the men do not lift their feet, but only [533] raise their heels. 535 The narrow, twisted plaza of the camp permits 121 only dancing on the spot. Just as there, here too it is accompanied [361] each time by song.

533 In a falsetto (1)

[126] 1. Recorded by Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki.

the tone, just barely reachable, roughly the A above middle C (sometimes stricken), is strongly accented and shrilly sung out. In an extremely irregular beat the succession of tones now descends in the six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord of A. At the A below middle C the chest tone sets in, but relatively softer then the falsetto, until, descending in the same degrees of the scale, the second A below middle C is reached. The final tones are more certain, because they lie better for the singer; the falsetto usually hovers around the tone sought, in part uncertainly, in part playfully.

Appoggiaturas, triplets are repeated all the more frequently the more certain the artist gradually feels in adhering to the melody -- sit venia verbi /so to speak/. No other figures are observed. Finally the voice once more glides within the seventh chord up and down the last octave; or the fundamental tone is phrased in contrapuntal fashion at the end. The entire song is an irregular variation of a six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord. It is limited almost entirely to two octaves. Through the greater probability of being hit properly the fundamental tones of the chord form the natural rest points for the voice and may sometimes be interpreted as strong parts of the measure. In marching they coincide with the putting down of one foot. Nevertheless there is not any sort of time that can be observed. The delivery is often parlando, and the tempo also corresponds to this style. The fact that the /238/ text is arranged ad libitum /at will/ for each use heightens the interest, if not the musical enjoyment, of the listeners.

/238 cont./

539 533 An overheard text is: "If I were a bird that is sitting beside the river and a zebra came to drink, I would, in the little bird's place, kiss (or bite) it, because I love it very much. But I am big and therefore can not."

512 Around ten o'clock at the latest the merriment reaches its end, and the camp is finally wrapped in silence.

825 The statement of the Wandorobo, according to which it is still supposed to have never happened that human beings have been killed by predatory animals within the camp seems remarkable. They
[789] therefore do not fear them at all and believe themselves safe from them because of their magic medicines, some of which, according to popular belief, keep the wild animals far away, while others have the effect of the cap of invisibility.

III.

601 Kinship designations and terms of address.

The kinship designations are the following:

Father: aba or baba.
Mother: jējo or ea.
My wife: mai totuan.
My brother: bidjog uan.
My sister: bidjot uan.
Half brother: weku baba.
Half sister: wetu baba.
Brother of the father: bidjog e baba.
Sister of the father: bidjot baba.
Brother of the mother: bidjog ea.
Sister of the mother: bidjot ea.
Son of the father's brother: weku bidjog baba.
Son of the father's sister: weku bidjot baba.
Daughter of the father's brother: wetu bidjog baba.
Daughter of the father's sister: wetu bidjot baba.
Son of the mother's brother: weku agogesch.
Son of the mother's sister: weku bidjot ea.

/238 cont./

601 Son of my brother: msumbetog bidjog uan.
msumbetog bidjogesch.
Daughter of my brother: wetu bidjogesch.
Son of my sister: weku bidjot uan.
Daughter of my sister: wetu bidjesch.
Grandfather: agoija.
/239/ Grandmother: a mama.
Father-in-law: roiagesch.
Mother-in-law: ratotuan.

The terms of address for relatives are:

Father: aba or baba.
Mother: jējo or ea.
Wife: mai.
Stepmother: ea.
Son: msumbetog (pl. msumbe).
Daughter: illeto (pl. illug).
Grandfather: akuja.
Grandmother: akuja, koko, a mama.
Father-in-law: ba-geteñ.
Brother: bidjogesch, ba-suben.
Half brother: bidjoguan, ba-suben.
Sister: bidjesch.
Half sister: bidjot uan.
Uncle: agogesch.
Aunt: ea.
Mother-in-law: ba-ger.
Brother-in-law: ba-suben.
Sister-in-law: balelo.

593 171 The head of the family is the family father, who has the same rights as among the Masai.

601 171 For the Masai terms of address eraijo, engĩjo, abula and araba, the Asá have the words ego-ea, eto-ea, agogesch, and arāmó (see p. 56).

/239 cont./

IV.

000 **Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young men to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Forcing the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.**

595 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny
exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to
acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives,
584 and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest
171 childhood seem to be more frequent here than among the Masai, but
no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after
circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old,
after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the
Masai, the /240/ betrothed persons live apart and may not even see
each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in the one camp, and
[836] in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes
[848] pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not
[684] always take place, as among the Masai, but rather the one who made
her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a
head of cattle.

561 Here, just as among the Masai, the young men of an age class
582 together decide upon their entering the standing of the married, and
574 their fellow campmates confirm this intention by a feast correspond-ing to the *ol geteń l ol bā*, in which friends and neighbors participate.
[273] They are served game and honey beer, the latter of which, however,
the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to set the
[224] feast for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests
can feast heartily on meat.

583 Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be
[439] paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even
before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five beehives, and,
soon after her circumcision, half of a slain female elephant with
the tusk that belongs to it; furthermore, two head of cattle, which

/240 cont./
583 are bought from the Masai for ivory, and finally half of the meat of
[439] a slain female head of game approximately the size of a zebra. The
mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bride-
groom a beehive apiece. Instead of the beehives the parents-in-law
in some regions, especially where the Wandorobo live in close contact
[601] with the Masai, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the
bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other ba-geteh,
bridegroom and mother-in-law ba-ger, bridegroom and the brothers
of the bride ba-suben, according to ancient Masai custom.

583 For beauties no higher price is paid. For a childless widow
587 the usual price is paid, but only after the birth of the first child and
after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband
the price received for her before her first marriage. For a widow
who gave birth to girls only, no bride price is paid; instead, however,
583 the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise
nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the
bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride.
[584] If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothed persons
dissolve the betrothal, the portion of the bride price already paid
is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the
full price serves the father-in-law for a few months as hunter for
the remainder owed.

584 If the father of the girl has stubbornly opposed the courtship,
he is finally forced to consent by means of a divine judgment.
The lover stealthily creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a
[784] rope of grass around the wooden honey pot. The father is said /241/
to give his consent regularly then, since otherwise the punishment
[583] of God would kill him. In place of this custom, it also happens
[171] that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter -- as among
the Masai -- flees to him without her parents' knowledge.

837 Wife exchange occurs, but legal marriage does not arise from
it. The woman does not remain with the other man for longer than
a half to a whole year. If she feels pregnant before this time, she
returns to her husband.

582 Among the Asá the same marriage obstacles hold as among the
171 Masai, but the great distances between the individual tiny camps

/241 cont./

582 171) often necessitate a more lenient interpretation, so that there has often come about a practice according to which the bridal couple may not be related more closely than the third degree.

585 After the completed paying of the bride price, the bride is handed over to the bridegroom, and the latter either takes her along immediately or leaves her for two or three weeks to learn housekeeping with his mother, so that the latter will instruct her in housekeeping.

[171] There is nothing new to be said about the wedding customs. A jus p. n. /jus primae noctis/ also exists here, and, to be sure, in the same form as among the Masai.

586 (171) Divorce, as among the Masai, comes about if the husband drives out the wife or if the latter runs away from him. What was said about the possible return of the bride price there also applies. With the divorce all the children remain with the father. The woman keeps the infant only until the end of the nursing period, which she usually spends with her parents, whereupon the father also takes this child to live with him. If a pregnant woman runs away from her husband, he may demand the child, without compensation, after the weaning. Husband and wife may remarry immediately after a divorce, though a woman who is nursing a child is supposed to wait until its weaning. Divorced couples may reinstate the marriage by mutual consent, without any formalities. What was said of the Masai about the dissolution of a marriage through the death of one partner and about the remarriage of the other marriage partner applies. [589] [171]

/341 cont./

V.

060 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. -- Killing newborn children. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality.

843 [842] [824] The opinion that the author heard expressed a number of times by Asá-Wandorobo, that pregnancy is more or less bound up with a definite time of year, and, to be sure, in such a way that either conception takes place at blossom time or birth takes place at the time of the fruitage of the poisonous tree *Acocanthera abyssinica*, appears surprising.

[224] /342/ During his wife's pregnancy the husband does not pursue a game animal shot at in hunting, because it is believed that the latter, at his approach, will resist the poison and escape. Therefore, after he has shot an animal, he returns to the camp and from there sends another man out to look for the animal. The pregnant woman [825] may not be beaten. Neither he nor the pregnant wife may step over a procession of migrating ants. She is forbidden to eat meat from a wild animal that died or was killed by a predatory animal, likewise soup, and furthermore honey in which dead bee larvae are found. She must avoid coming near a chameleon or a snake, or exposing herself to the heat of the sun for any length of time. All this, in the opinion of the Asá, would harm the fetus.

[302] [202] If the woman visits another camp, she smears her forehead with white clay beforehand in order to announce her condition to its occupants. On the way there she is accompanied by a little girl, [368] [825] whom she leads by the hand. As the reason for this, the people say that a miscarriage would take place if the woman went without a girl and on the way saw the previously mentioned weaver bird or heard its dil-dil-dil calls. A woman pregnant for the first time is 843 431 given gifts by all the people (men, women, boys, girls) of the camp and her friends in the neighboring camps at about the middle of her pregnancy. She is presented with a leather apron, a pair of ear pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

/242 cont./
843 pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

During the last two months before her confinement the woman
is given only a meager diet, so that the birth will be easier. Here,
[301] too, as among the Masai, the pregnant woman wears no ornaments.
[171] On the day of the confinement the husband may not leave the camp.
844 His mother or mother-in-law acts as midwife. Besides the obstetric
[171] methods of the Masai, there also exists here the custom that the
husband, to increase the labor-pain activity, perhaps moistens with
his saliva the chest, abdomen, and back of the woman giving birth
and then massages them gently with circular movements. While
doing so, he several times calls out the words: "Mighty God, let the
child come out!" The umbilical cord (os sotua) is severed with a
razor-knife (besera) and then, together with the placenta, buried in
the hut. It is not the object of superstitious customs. It is regarded
[777] as unlucky if the child's upper incisors come through before the lower
[856] ones; it is believed that this will cause illness or death in the family.
846 The young mother may not leave the hut until five days after her
confinement, out of consideration for her health, not for superstitious
853 reasons. The suckling period lasts one and a half to two years. Besides
mother's milk, the little one is stuffed with a great deal of the fat
of game, of which that of the large pachyderms is particularly valued
as infant food.

845 Deformed newborn children are killed by strangulation by the
847 midwife immediately after birth. The highest figure known to me
163 /243/ of confinements of one woman was 11. From 27 aged Asá
women questioned, 154 children were born, which gives an average
of 5.7 per woman. Of these, 81, therefore 52.6 per cent, were
165 girls, and 73, therefore 47.4 per cent, were boys. Before their
circumcision 70 = 45.5 per cent had died, in which the stillbirths
591 are included. Until their circumcision the children live in the hut
of the mother.

/243 cont./

VI.

000 Name-giving or adoption of names: boys, girls, hunter, married woman, parents.

553 The Wandorobo are not as extravagant with names as the Masai. As soon as the upper incisors of the child -- boys and girls -- come through, it receives from the mother at a small feast a name that remains the principal name for its whole life. As soon as a boy can crawl, the father gives him a second name, with which only he calls him. Neither among the Asá nor among other Wandorobo did the [171] author find names peculiar to them; rather, the people bore those that we were familiar with among the Masai. To the question as to the reason that determined the choice of names, they usually answered: "An esteemed and wealthy Masai was called that;" If all a woman's previously born children died, the newborn child is given the name Bolét.

The girl, at her marriage, is given a second name by her husband, outside of whom, however, no one calls her by it. After a brave [171] deed performed in hunting his compeers give the dobonatog a name corresponding to the one that the ol morani[1] receives after killing an 553 enemy in war. The occasion is often the slaying of an elephant, to 551 which the names ol oibor giri or kisedja refer. The former refers to the appearance of the elephant meat, which, because of the white (ol oibor) fat, looks speckled (giri). The latter indicates that the elephant was shot in the papyrus reed called os sedja. Another name is ol oiba sioki (Masai word), i.e., the one who does not hold back, but rushes ahead. The one who has been away from the camp for considerable time on a greater hunting expedition is called ol dejeti upon his return, a name that the one who has joined the Masai for a period of time also receives.

551 After the birth of the first child, the parents are named after it. For example, if the child is called Bolońgos, the father is designated as arag Bolońgua (father of B.), the mother amo B. (mother of B.). After the death of the first child, the parents, in like manner, are

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[1] [i.e., a Masai warrior--Analyst]

/243 cont./
551 | named after the oldest living child. Among the Asá one likewise finds
the custom whereby the son, after the father's death, is called by his
name.

/244/ VII.

000 Circumcision of the boys. -- Age classes. -- Organization of the
circumcised young men. -- Circumcision of the girls.

881 | The circumcision of the boys and girls is exactly the same as
171 | among the Masai and takes place at the same time as that of the
561 | Masai boys. The newly circumcised boys (bogodendet, bogododĭg)
form an age class (ebindadet), which borrows its name from that of
561 | the Masai. For two to three years after their circumcision the boys
171 | are called barnotig (sing. barnotendet), corresponding to the el barnot
of the Masai. When the latter become el móran, the former corre-
spondingly become dobonog (sing. dobonatog), and later, with their
marriage, daĕma (sing. daĕmog), corresponding to the el moruak of
[291] the Masai. The bogododig dress exactly like the es sibolio, and, like
[223] them, they set out to hunt small birds, with the skins of which they
adorn themselves. When the corresponding age class (ol boror) of
the Masai gets a new name, that of the Asá adopts it also. They
[178] cling to their old customs even when their present mode of life makes
them unnecessary. The reason the Wandoróbo have no names of their
[791] own for the age classes is -- also according to their own explanation --
that the ol oiboni,[1] whom the Asá also call ndĕarug, does not give
them any and would regard it as extremely audacious if these poor,
despised people came to him with such a request. The ebindadet
also choose their head -- the ol aunoni of the Masai -- who here is
called njĭg or kisiridjo or also aunoni. As among the Masai, this is
an honorary position without duties, but here without any privileges
[692] either. Here the kirua kidet, whose task is chiefly to settle disputes,
corresponds to the ol aigwenani of the Masai. The kirigit corresponds
[224] to the ol oiñoni of the Masai. He is the leader in hunting, especially
on larger expeditions, which often lead the young Wandoróbo in
[555] pursuit of elephants far from their camp. Only one who, in hunting

[1] [Chief of the Masai people, and according to Merker, also chief of the Asa--Analyst]

/244 cont./

561 171 224 555 elephants, buffalo, and lions, has distinguished himself through courage and decisiveness and who shows these qualities anew again and again is elected kirigit.

881 About the circumcision of the girls, it is only to be said that, adorned, a few days before the operation they set out for the neighboring camps to bid farewell to their younger girl friends. On these [425] visits they are permitted to appropriate anything that they wish (food, clothing, ornaments, etc.), without special permission from the owners.

Concerning the reason for the circumcision the Asá also say that God commanded them to undertake this on their children.

/245/

VIII.

000 Hunting. -- The weapons, bow, arrow, hunting spear. -- Ownership marks. -- Preparation and effect of the arrow poison. -- Treatment of arrow wounds. -- Stalking. -- Hunting dogs. -- Station. -- Battue hunting. -- Practice of hunting. -- Game. -- Superstition. -- Meat meals of the hunters in the bush.

411 [561] [224] For the dobonog of the Wandoróbo hunting is what war is for the El móran of the Masai. Their principal weapons are bow and arrow. The two-sided bow ([Fig. 83] gari, geleweg) has the shape of a flattened segment of a circle. It is as a rule 1.50 meters long and very sharply flexible. With it belongs a leather quiver ([Fig. 85] mądiĕt, madimoig) with arrows ([Fig. 84] mat, mara). The wooden arrow-shaft bears a small notch on its rear end for setting it on the bow string, and directly in front of it the three-part feathering (haiya). [439] The iron point, which the Wandoróbo usually buy from Wakuafi and Masai blacksmiths, but also from sedentary Negroes, and more

/245 cont./

411 [439] rarely also make themselves, as a rule has the so-called arrow shape.
It bears either a short, flat
tang, which is lengthened
by insertion into a cylindri-
cal one ten centimeters long,
or else the latter and the
point are worked continuous-
ly out of one piece. Now an
and then one also finds
arrows among which the ex-
tension tang is made out of
wood. These come from
[439]→ Ukamba, where the Wandor-
ŏbo, who call them mijerá,
have bought them. The tang
is stuck loosely in the arrow shaft so that the latter can
fall off when the animal has been hit. Less frequently
they use wooden throwing-spears (Fig. 86) with a
loosely inserted, poisoned iron point, which, like the
arrow point, remains sticking in the animal hit, while
the wooden shaft falls off. They also attack the
[224] sleeping rhinoceros and hippopotamus with a sharp
sword, which they tie on a stick and use as a thrusting
or throwing spear. One leaves this weapon sticking in
the wound so that, if the animal flees, it cuts the
entrails still more by striking on the ground and
against the bushes. Both types of spear are called
422 muschŭg. Both the point and tang of arrows and
[411] throwing spears bear a filed-in ownership mark
[224] (Plates 5 and 6), by which one can recognize tribe
and lineage of the owner, in order, upon finding a
slain head of game, to determine its hunter. Like
the ownership marks on the cattle and donkeys of
the Masai, the symbols here are not the same for all
Wandorobo, but vary more or less in the individual

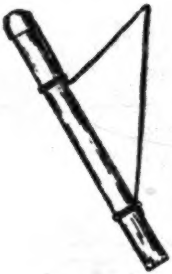


Fig. 85. (1/10)

Fig. 86. (1/10)

/245 cont./
422 districts. Besides such marks one also finds /246/ others that belong
to individual large families and are then used in place of the former,
411 not together with them. The point and tang of the arrows and throw-
278 ing spears are always smeared along their entire length with a plant
[824] poison, which the Wandorobo themselves brew out of the wood and
roots of the Acocanthera abyssinica, which they call adug, i.e.,
poison (1).

000 1. Prof. Dr. L. Lewin, Berlin, produced a glycoside, amorphous ouabain, from Acocanthera wood that the author sent to him, which shows the following characteristics: it tastes bitter and is copiously soluble in cold water; Drehung /rotation/ $[\alpha]_D = -32^\circ$ for a 2 per cent cold dilute solution; it expands at 180°C; it has the per cent composition $C_{30} H_{48} O_{13}$; it is precipitated by means of tannin; dissolved in concentrated sulphuric acid, it gives a quickly arising and strong fluorescence in green. -- Prof. Dr. E. Stadelmann, Berlin, clinically tested ouabain for serious heart ailments and expressed himself, among other things, about the results as follows: "Ouabain is easily soluble and I took advantage of this circumstance to inject it subcutaneously or intramuscularly. Injected subcutaneously or intramuscularly in a concentration of 0.3-0.4 mg. of ouabain three times daily in the above concentration, I have so far obtained for the most part among my heart patients a very prompt, excellent result in the direction of digitalis, without unpleasant side effects. If the experiences up to now continue to be equally favorable -- and I have no reason to doubt it -- there would

/246 cont./

000 /footnote 1 continued/ be a substantial
therapeutic advance to be recorded here."
From "Uber Acocanthera Schimperi als
Mittel bei Herzkrankheiten/On Acocanthera Schimperi as a Remedy for Heart
Ailments." By L. Lewin and E. Stadelmann.
From a report delivered to the Berliner
medizinischen Gesellschaft /Berlin Medical
Society/. Berlin, 1906).

278 824 Although the tree is not rare in the steppe around Kilimandscharo, its
poisonous nature nevertheless generally seems to be known only to the
Wandorobo, since other tribes do not manufacture the poison them-
[439] selves. Thus the former sell it, for example, to the Wadschagga, the
Wakahe, the Wakuafi of Aruscha tschini and of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/,
the Wapare, etc. To brew the poison two Wandorobo always go a
few thousand meters away from the camp into the bush. After they
have collected branches and roots of Acocanthera abyssinica, they
split them into thumb-thick sticks and prepare for the cooking in
separate places. The wood is boiled for several hours in an earthen
pot that is half filled with river water. Then it is removed, and the
liquid obtained is thickened by further cooking to a viscous porridge-
like consistency. The finished poison is black and looks like pitch.
278 During its preparation no woman may come either in the vicinity of
562 the poison pot or in that of the man doing the cooking. The woman
834 who brings food and firewood therefore places these objects within
[784] calling distance. They believe that the effect of the poison is weak-
ened or entirely destroyed through the contact or even merely the
presence of a woman, whose person they, in their naïve beliefs, are
unable to separate from the idea of sexual intercourse -- since the
latter, according to their view, is an element acting against the
poison. The same would be the case if the wife had intercourse with
another man during the time the husband is busy preparing the poison,
or if the husband cooked the poison while his wife was pregnant. The
[415] finished poison is stored in a wooden pot (madjé) or in a leather bag
/247/ (améta), and, to be sure, like the quivers with the poisoned
arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far
from the camp.

18: Merker--327 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/247 cont./
278 arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.
562 Only in rainy weather do they bring the things into the kraal and
834 keep them there in the hut of an old woman who herself, in their
[888] view, can no longer come into consideration in the above respect.
They even make themselves responsible, relative to the intensity
of the sexual intercourse, for the slow dying of the animal struck
278 by the poisoned arrow. The poison is smeared on the arrow point
411 with a wooden spatula, and, in order to protect the dried substance
224 from crumbling or from dissolving in damp weather (since it is very
[237] hygroscopic), it is wrapped with a strip of thin antelope skin that is
[281] dehaired and made soft by being rubbed with fat. The poison acts
very quickly, and, to be sure, by suddenly stopping the heart activity.
In the case of a genet shot in the abdomen, breathing difficulty
set in after five minutes, along with rapid movements of the
nostrils and violent, cramplike muscle twitchings of the body and
limbs. With brief interruptions of a quarter to a third of a minute
the symptoms were repeated and increased in intensity. The pupils
dilated to a circle. Nine minutes and 18 seconds after the shot the
pupils, up to then blue-black, suddenly became sea-green, and,
with violent twitching, death came. With quite fresh poison death
is supposed to come in even a shorter time. In the steppe the poison
is tested by shooting an antelope with an arrow newly poisoned. If
on the trail of the fleeing animal one finds fresh urine and excrement,
the poison is regarded as acting too weakly. Good poison put in the
foot of a live turtle must lead to its death before it has crawled five
278 or six steps away. Neither the Asá nor the Wandoróbo are acquainted
752 with a physiological antidote. For smaller, simple, and penetrating
flesh wounds immediate washing with fresh urine is supposed to help.
Aged Wandoróbo often showed me scars on their own bodies, especially
on arms and legs, which are supposed to have been caused by
shots with poisoned arrows two to four centimeters deep. Both the
appearance of the scars and the corresponding statements of people,
which were separated in time and place from the former, corroborate
this information.

/247 cont./

278 When the cooking of the poison is finished, the pot is cleaned
415 with sand and water and used again for the preparation of food. The
252 arrow point is thoroughly cleaned, heated red-hot, and poisoned anew.

[411] The region in question for hunting has been divided by the El
224 dorobo into definite districts, each of which may be hunted in only
[634] the community of its inhabitants. A district, in turn, consists of a
[631] number of precincts, whose grassy plains are burned off in a sequence
following from their location, the weather conditions, etc. The wild animals then gather to graze on the grass soon freshly sprouting after the burning. This management explains why the hunter is only rarely /248/ forced to return home without booty and why he is able to feed his family continuously and regularly from the yields of his hunting.

The game in general in East Africa is game frequenting the same spot; but the meaning of this statement must be modified in accordance with the relatively enormously large areas here. Just as in Germany a hunter expects a herd of deer at a particular time on a particular knoll, the ol doroboni can quite certainly count on finding the game expected by him at the appropriate time in a region whose diameter amounts to approximately 3-5 kilometers. Considerable disturbances
[136] are caused, of course, by the appearance of large predatory animals, especially lions almost always hunting in herds and the hyena dogs always hunting together in larger numbers.

In practicing hunting the men split up in such a way that the younger ones do the stalking on the open steppe, whereas the older ones lie in wait at the watering places of the game. Stalking requires incomparably greater endurance and skill than at home.. The ol doroboni must more accurately watch the wind, since his own strong odor makes it extremely easy for the animal to pick up the scent. He must take the greatest pains to conceal himself from the sight of the animal, since he is unfamiliar with any kind of adaptation to the region and the surroundings, so that his black body stands out clearly, even at great distances, on the usually light yellow steppe. The difficulty of the rush is further increased by the primitive nature of his weapons, which permit him to make an accurate shot only at 20 to 30 meters. In what concerns the patience, perseverence, and dexterity that the Wandorobo show in this, a European hunter can

/248 cont./
224 scarcely match himself with them. Frequently, not regularly, the
224 hunter uses a dog in stalking. Set on the trail, it leads its master
231 until the latter sees the game. Then the hunter takes off his leather
apron and, while he now creeps up on the game, the dog remains
lying beside the apron. As soon as the game has been hit by the
poison arrow, the dog is again set on the trail and follows the wounded
animal until it goes down. Then it returns and proves itself as death-warner.
The hunter now leaves the dog as guard over the slain piece
of game, and he himself goes to the camp in order to fetch people
to carry home the meat. The Wandorobo either raise the dogs themselves
or buy them. One finds two or three of them in every camp.
They are regularly taken along on larger expeditions, in order, through
their vigilance, to protect from predatory animals the ones camping
in the wilderness. The dogs, still young, are led off to where one
catches kids. The children then train themselves in shooting the bow
224 and the dogs on the blood trail. At his station near the watering place
the hunter makes a small cover for himself out of two branches, which
stand a meter apart and are connected with twigs and grass. Crouching
behind this, he waits for the game coming to drink, which often
approaches individually at very brief intervals, often also in whole
herds. According to /249/ statements of the Wandorobo, black-heeled
antelope, waterbuck, and wild pigs often come early in the
morning; giraffes and elephants come at night. The latter, however,
also during the day and, like the rest of the wild animals, toward
evening. The antelopes below the size of a small roe supposedly
almost never go to the watering places. The hunter first lets the
game drink a few moments before he shoots. As soon as the animal
has been hit with the arrow, it flees. The other animals, so the
ol doroboni relates, think that the wounded one has been stung by
an insect and remain quiet. The hunter shoots a second one and
a third. Only then do the animals realize where the danger comes
from, and all take flight, whereupon he shoots once or twice more.
Then he returns to the camp and sends boys back after the wounded
animals.

/249 cont./

Merker phot.

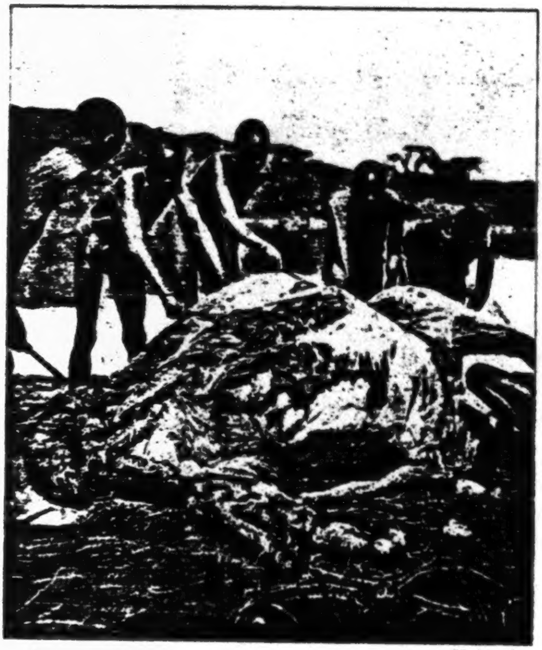
Ill. 61. Wanderobo cutting up a hippopotamus.

From time to time battue hunts are also organized. For this, people like to choose a region where two small streams prevent the game from breaking out laterally to the battue direction. Already at sunrise the game has been surrounded at the rear, and, to be sure, by boys and young men, who now, by shouting and waving scraps of cloth or leather, which are tied to the bow sticks, drive it toward the row of archers, who have buried themselves up to the hips.

A sportsmanlike practice of hunting is completely foreign to the people. Unscrupulously they shoot the calf and the gravid mother animal. The sole purpose of their hunting is to obtain meat. They do not use nooses, pits, spring guns, and traps, for in this way slain game would only /250/ fall prey to predatory animals. The extermination of the vermin is also little to their liking. They loathe
[262] its meat -- only the Wandorobo living on the Donjo Kissale are said to eat lions occasionally -- and its extermination seems unnecessary to them in view of the huge multitudes of the constantly changing game. Only the predatory animals dangerous to human beings, primarily the lion, leopard, and hyena, are shot if one happens to encounter them. If a lion makes the surroundings of the camp

/250 cont./

224 unsafe for several days, the men lie outside the latter in wait at night,



Merker phot.

Ill. 62. Wanderobo cutting up a hippopotamus.

in order to kill it with spears. They do not consider it possible to kill it by laying out meat bait in which arrow poison has been put. Several persons maintained that they had tried it in vain and believe that the lion smells the poison.

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As far as the quality of the game is concerned, they are otherwise very easily satisfied. They no more scorn the coarse-fibered meat of the heavy pachyderms than the high flavor of an elephant carcass several days old, which even /251/ their giant stomach could not master at the first attempt. Like the predatory animals,

/251 cont./
224 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of
262 fallen or stricken animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros,
and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As huntable, i.e., here
[223] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus,
[439] pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny
dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich,
which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the
Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments.
They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not
relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the
seventeenth day, the ol onjugi, no one goes hunting because, according
to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day,
whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Anaplectes
[825] melanotis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it
[777] along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it
again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 Like the warriors of the Masai, the dobonog of the Wandorobo also
264 hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former,
171 however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the
[178] warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a
matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer
any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food
in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retaining
[262] the en doros, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful
[224] eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at
the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The
[263] many spices and stimulants that we became acquainted with among
[276] the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent.
They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but
561 only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists
224 of four men and is called e sirdet, in which one recognizes the present
Masai word es sirit. The booty is divided among the participants in
[574] equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e sirdet spends the night in
a strange camp, the host is given a foreleg and a hind leg of the
hunting booty.

/251 cont./

IX.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- The individual articles of clothing and adornment, compared with those of the Masai. -- Head and body hair. -- Nails. -- Painting. -- Tattooing.

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177 Cloth materials, such as are the tender of the caravan people in the barter trade, have been adopted only to an extremely slight extent among the Asá. The principal reason for this is that they only rarely come into direct contact with the caravans; rather, under pressure from the Masai, /252/ they are forced to deliver to them their yield in elephant tusks, hippopotamus teeth, and horns of Rhinoceros bicornis for a small compensation. There is no question of a legal barter trade; the Masai buy kwa nguvu = with force, as the coastal peoples so aptly designate this type of trade.

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[511] One therefore sees the Asá almost solely in their original leather clothing (hide worked into leather, magadeg, magadaig), which, in cut and manner of wear, is identical with that of the Masai, but looks poorer and often ragged. This poverty is particularly noticeable for the boys' and mens' capes, called e megiti and en jóriba by the Masai, which the Wandorobo name the same, and which here are also worn by older men because in hunting the ol gela is too inconvient because
[561]
[237]
[439] of its length. The dobonog otherwise do not generally wear the e megiti, rather more often an en joriba made of calf hides, which they buy from the Masai; older men often have it made out of the hide of the female black-heeled antelope. The costume of the women is here called Ēök (pl. Ēkí), as is the upper part of it (ol egischobo of the Masai) by itself, while the lower one is named after the Masai designation ol ogessana gessána (pl. gessanán). The ol gela l el moruak is here called ēok o daēmá and is considerably shorter than the former, only a little longer than the en joriba. Sandals (ischíba) serve them as footwear, which, however, in general are not used. In adornment
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561
832 the poverty of the Asá is shown particularly among the dobonog, though one must also consider that their desire for favor in the eyes of the fair sex is, as a result of circumstances, very considerably less than

/252 cont./

301 [561] [832] that which fills the el móran. Whereas the latter vie with one another for the favor of so many girls, the former, in their small camps, scarcely have to fear any competition. Lavish and conspicuous ornamentation, however, would also be burdensome and hindering for the hunter in
[171] hunting. Hence for the most part one finds among them, as well as among the married men, only in the ear lobes the tube-shaped ol gissoi of the Masai, which designate the same, and around the neck a smaller number of simpler rings. On the other hand, the Wandorobo women, concerning the quantity and types of ornaments, are quite on a par with those of the Masai. To be sure, one never finds among the former such, decked-out fashionable beauties as among the latter; rather, the individual woman has only a few articles of adornment Besides the ones mentioned, the author also found the following kinds of ornaments, which, for the sake of brevity, are to be listed only with
301 192 the names of the Masai and Wandorŏbo. (From the first designation then is to be seen, according to Section II, what it concerns):[1] ol orowīl, here lilúod; ol eleschua, here called the same; eń gimeta, here likewise; e rab, here eńguan; ol kibaba, here likewise; en jili, here called the same; ol beniēt, here likewise; olaiai, here na haiiēt; further, the heavy brass-wire ear pendants of the women (surudia), here tamaschiēt, tamagīg, and the large ornament of iron wire es segeńgeī e murt, here es segeńgeī endet to issat; es segeńgeī ol barańgasch, /253/ here es segeńgeī to lubaog; es segeńgeī en dagule, here es segeńgeī to n dagulet, and the es segeńgeī ol oreschet, here es segeńgeī to eē.

301 Finger rings (here ol gissoi ku seńgetok) are worn only by women, and, to be sure, especially on the middle finger of the right hand. Men do not wear any, because allegedly the bowstring easily catches on it in shooting.

302 Men, women, and children shave their heads as a rule and let the hair grow at most two inches long between two shavings. One seldom meets a dobonog with the braid coiffure (sémug).
[171] Head and body hair are removed to the same extent and in the same

[1] [For a description of these ornaments, see Masai FL12, 18:Merker, category 301--Analyst]

/253 cont./

302 manner as among the Masai, but here the eyebrows are also shaved
[171] by both sexes. The nails are cut with an ordinary
[412] two-edged knife. The two middle lower incisors
[304] are not broken out for everyone. Hair and nail
[754] cuttings are thrown away or hidden at some distance from the kraal, so that they will not fall into the hands of an evil sorcerer, who would be able to make from them sorcery leading to a sickness for their former wearer.

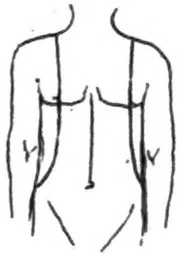

Fig. 87.

302 The young men and girls color their entire
531 bodies with a paint made out of fat and red
[386] earth (ol garia), or the former also only legs and lower arms, and then wipe off the color again in serpentine lines
[171] (lama) that run parallel an inch apart. After killing an elephant the happy hunter paints his chest with three lines, the two outer ones of which go from the collarbone over the nipples to the hips, the middle one from the chest to the navel (Fig. 87), or they paint their whole bodies, with the exception of the abdomen, with white and red stripes (like the Masai warriors). The former painting they
[192] call katadiridi, the latter they designate with the Masai word eh gituṅguat. At feasts the men draw a line with the powder ol mogoṅgora = root, from the upper lip upward over nose and forehead to the hairline. Boys (Fig. 88) and girls (Fig. 89) tattoo the lyre
304 figure /254/ of the Masai, the latter also another similar one on the
171 abdomen. Not infrequently one also finds on the face of the women
[531] the etched-in ol kigerot design, which has been discussed for the Masai.

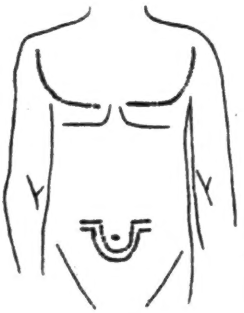

Fig. 88.

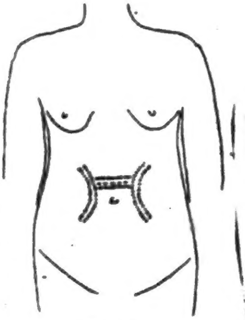

Fig. 89a.

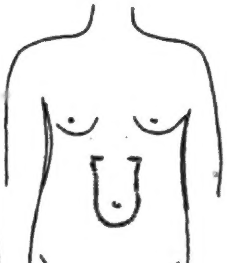

Fig. 89b.

/254 cont./

X.

Illnesses.

757 For illnesses the Wandoróbo use the same medicines as the Masai
171 and also prepare them in corresponding fashion. Those medicaments
that the latter take mixed with milk or blood, the former mix only
276 with water or game bouillon. The Wandorobo are also familiar with
171 the nerve-stimulating agents taken so much by the Masai warriors,
but they do not use them in such extensive measure and never in such
164 quantities that fits of rage appear among them. Their designations
192 for the principal illnesses are the following: Headache = *sogog agēma* =
sick head; toothache = *ligá agema* = sick tooth; cough, *ohotu* or *ahotu*;
chest pain, *liba agema* = sick chest; stomach-ache = *waia agema* =
sick stomach; diarrhea, *waia katidji*, constipation, *waia gischuńgurgue*;
dysentery allegedly is not supposed to occur. Smallpox, *ol maschuggu*
or *ajōg*; chickenpox, *simireg*. Gonorrheas, *damóg*; lues, *en ebitiro*.
Elephantiasis, as well as *E. scroti*, is said not to occur. Fever,
kaĕsegomo; bilious fever, *ol odoa*. Taeniae, *pinibég*; ascarids,
752 *menána*. Injured blood vessels are ligated, bone fractures splinted.
On burns one puts the soft, plushlike covering of the roots of the *ol*
[826] *dungui* bush. Excess fingers and toes are not amputated; they are not
[732] regarded as particularly unsightly.

755 If the well-known medicaments do not help, the patient turns to
the *ol goiatiki*, from whose magic medicine he expects a cure. The
759 surgeon is called *asik-asa* among the Wandoróbo, the midwife *gascha-hatta-hawa-kerint*.

/254 cont./

XI.

Interment of the corpse. -- Hereditary succession.

764
[171] The interment of the corpse differs from the practice customary
[511] among the Masai only insofar as the poverty of the Asá affects it.
They neither hold a funeral feast nor do they anoint the corpse with
[556] fat. Wealthy people, i.e., here such with numerous progeny, are
here buried by some, and, to be sure, in the kraal near the hut, so
that after death they may hear the conversations of their children
and enjoy the fragrance of their meals. All other corpses are simply
dragged out of the kraal and put down approximately 100 paces from
it. If the corpse has not already been devoured by hyenas the first
night, which, moreover, is said not to happen only rarely, since in
reality these carrion-eaters roam about the usually foul-smelling
camps every night, /255/ then one burns as an offering the residue
of the honey beer, consisting of wax particles, beside the corpse.
A burial of corpses outside the camp is not customary anywhere.
[782] The prayer beside the corpse of a family father runs here: Uĕt, nge
gurgurta, nge haga = God, father, give advice, give meat. What
765 was said above about the Masai holds for the mourning.[1]
171

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428 In the right of succession the same principles hold as among the
[171] Masai. The insignificance of the goods left behind, however, often
makes a division among those qualified to inherit impossible, and
one can therefore very often observe in practice that the eldest son
(of the principal wife) receives the entire inheritance consisting of
bows, arrows, and beehives. The latter form the principal part of
[171] the estate and, after the death of a man, are distributed among the
sons in the same way as the cattle among the Masai. Just as the
latter gives each of his wives a number of cattle to care for and enjoy
the use of, the ol doroboni leaves each of his wives a part of his
beehives, which the sons of the wife in question then inherit. Widows
768 as a rule join a man of their age class and live with him. Surviving
[583] daughters pass into the possession of the eldest son insofar as the
bride price is to be paid to him upon their marriage.

[1] [See Masai FL12, 18:Merker, category 765--Analyst]

/255 cont./

XII.

Character of the Asá, compared with that of the Masai.

D 181 [186] In character the Asá in general greatly resemble the Masai, except that the tribal arrogance seems to be considerably lessened as a result of their poverty, though it still also always appears in their contempt of the el meg,[1] whom they call mondo. D [177] It is not possible to give a general opinion about their attitude toward Europeans, since they have actually come into contact with them personally only in exceptional cases and otherwise are acquainted with them only from the accounts of the Masai. On the whole, the Asá living independently stand out favorably from those who have joined the Masai, in that the former seem to be more modest and less crafty, whereas the latter are a match for the Masai in audaciousness. M D 648 The relationship of the two tribes to each other rests on the complete subjugation of the Wandorobo, who see in the Masai their masters and, in major legal disputes, also their judges.

M [326] [564] Exceptions to this are the Masai blacksmiths, who stand as low in the estimation of the Wandorobo as in that of the Masai. The ol kononi is also completely without rights before the ol doroboni. D [829] The Wandorobo appear peaceable toward passing caravans and sedentary Negroes. D 648 181 When they once shot at the former with poisoned arrows, without having been attacked themselves, they seem /256/ to have acted in presumed self-defense; in any case one cannot accuse them of a lust either for war or for murder. D 181 171 [562] With these reservations, what has been said above about the Masai holds concerning their character traits, their solidarity against the members of all foreign tribes, the position of their women, etc. Something new to be mentioned here is the custom that I found several times according to which a woman, just because of her inferior position, may not walk through a group of men.

D 576 In greeting, the Wandorobo use the same words and formulas as the Masai and accompany them with the same gestures.

171 The farewell of the one going runs aija matida. The answer to it, adi, is said to mean "go!" To the objection that this is not very courteous, an aged Asá replied: "We are poor people, when the visitor has gone we no longer need give him any of our food!"

[1] [A Masai word meaning "the unbelievers"--Analyst]

/256 cont./

XIII.

000 Language. -- Numbers. -- Times of the day. -- Designations of the closest days in the past and future.

197 The Asá speak two different idioms, namely, first, depending on their place of residence, one of the dialects spoken by the Masai, and, secondly, a linguistic mixture that has become a separate "language." Its basic element is an older dialect of the Masai people, which in the course of time has acquired two admixtures. The older of the two stems from the Tatoga language (1).

1. Probably also from that of another Semite people already extinct, that is, through mixture with Negroes, disappeared among them.

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192 When the Asá migrated into the East African steppes, they found here the Tatoga as livestock nomads and the Saosha as a poor hunting people who belonged to the Tatoga people. The intercourse that arose between all three may have brought about the adoption of Tatoga words into the Asá language and the transformation of Asá words into a form resembling Tatoga. This process advanced further when the Asá were displaced by the second band of the Masai people, and the Tatoga and Saosha, having become hunters in the meantime, became their teachers, who helped them develop from stock raisers to hunters. This Tatogaization of the Asá words is expressed particularly in the mutilation of the article and appending to the substantive one of the endings common in the Tatoga language.

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192 Now, since the Asá to this day are in close contact with the Wakuafi and Masai, they also adopted words from them, i.e., words of the more recent Masai dialects and also words from Negro languages, which found entry among them through the Wakuafi mixed with Negroes. This is the more recent of the two admixtures.

/356 cont./

802 The Wandorobo only very rarely use number words, since they
(801) actually /331/ have nothing to count; the only thing suitable for this would be their beehives, and they do not count them, because -- as several people explained to me -- the bees would then no longer gather honey or -- as others opined -- would die. When, nevertheless,
[171] [192] they need number words, they in general use, both in intercourse among themselves and with strangers those that we became familiar with above for the Masai, and, to be sure, in the same way and with the same hand or finger movements. As the people stated, all Asá and also the other Wandorobo use these number words, which seems credible to me since I myself did not meet anyone who was not
[439] [192] familiar with them. In addition, in the barter trade with agriculturalists, they have also annexed some of their number words and in part mutilated them into a form more suitable for them. Finally, among
[192] the Asá a few have kept their own, which, together with some borrowed from the Taturu speech, are designated today as their own. They are the following:

1 = kindā.	The index finger of the left hand is extended, the other fingers lie loosely in the hand.
2 = χlam.	Index finger and middle finger of the left hand are extended, the others as before.
3 = sitnē or sitnēā.	Index finger, middle finger, and next finger of the left hand are extended, the other as before.
4 = hē or hēg.	The four fingers of the left hand are extended, the thumb lies loosely in the hand.
5 = mūk.	The left hand is closed into a fist.
6 = la.	The same sign as before, but executed with the right hand.
7 = laiba.	
8 = laikt.	
9 = endereiļi.	
10 = agudgen.	

11 = agudgen kinde.
12 = agudgen χlam.
13 = agudgen a sama' (or agudgen a samag).
20 = dislo.

/357 cont./

802 Their own words seem not to extend any farther. According to the author's observations, the Wandorobo use these number words especially in counting the pieces of game killed on a hunting expedition, the captured elephant tusks and rhinoceros horns.

[192] [171] What was said about the Masai holds for their ability in reckoning. The Wandorobo designate the fingers usually with the names that the Masai have for them. Of their own designations they know only sedgenik for finger and sengeiá for the hand.

Ordinals are formed from the basic numbers through the addition of the word sátiech or kârîtîech. The first, hinde satiech; the second, Tlam satiech; the /358/ third satiech sama'; the fourth, satiech hagi; the fifth, satiech mut, or hinde karatiech, Tlam a karatiech. These [192] [171] designations seem to be used only very rarely. In their place people prefer to use those of the Masai language. The Wandorobo express fractions in a way similar to that of the Masai. For multiplication they use the word sigá. Once is called siga hinde; twice, siga Tlam; three times, siga sama'; four times, siga hagi; five times, siga mut, etc.

805 192 [724] For seasons and months they do not have any designations of their own and even use those of the Masai only very rarely, since they do not know any need for them. Of the days they name only the last one of the month, lebeg tagarawach, on which they do not go hunting. On the other hand, they designate the times of the day with their own words in the following way:

The hour before sunrise, when it is still dark: demog dádi.
As soon as it becomes somewhat light: eremá saha.
Sunrise: adjíd sanaschanch.
Ten o'clock in the morning: schirabög.
Twelve noon: adj'odá.
Two o'clock in the afternoon: sadji foa.
Afternoon, particularly the time up to five o'clock: haia.
The time from five o'clock to sunset: adjíd tadutach.
Twilight: tara.
Night: a ramená.

/258 cont./

805 192 Today is called lgén or lgénla, tomorrow lípe or líbe, yesterday aresch; like the Masai, they have but one word for the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow, namely, múlek; the next day is called to samag, the one then following to hag; for the days after that the Masai words are used.

XIV.

000 Religion. -- Prayer. -- Supplication feasts. -- Amulets. -- Sorcery. -- Evil eye.

771 171 776 [821] The religious views of the Wandoróbo are identical with those that we have become acquainted with among the Masai,[1] except that they do not call God 'Ng ai, but Ud. In songs God is also frequently called the black God, Ud kabiassa; on the other hand designations analogous to the Masai expressions for clouds and the redness of the sky are not found here; the former are called adja kabaka, the latter adja kahoma. Of the constellations they know the ones that the Masai also know, and designate them with the same names. They have no pictorial representation of God; [illegible] same customs as 782 the Masai. Everyone prays, married people and children at home, the dobonog along the way, if they are afflicted by trouble or illness; in everyday life the dobonog do not pray. The woman prays every morning while making the fire; when her husband and the children see this, they often place themselves beside her and also say a prayer. This always contains only a supplication, never any thanks. A supplication /259/ for protection runs Ud sigima gemiachin; for children, Ud nge hawa; for wives, Ud nge mai; for meat, Ud nge aga; for honey, Ud nge aguig; for food, Ud nge e haiug; for health if one is sick, Ud adudere an. 775 [171] They think about the fate of the soul -- in contrast to the Masai -- only very rarely, even the old people. The author met only a few aged Wandoróbo who were able to make statements about this. These coincided with the reports of the Masai.

[1] [For information on the religion of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18: Merker, category 116, pp. 268-279--Analyst]

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782 From time to time the people celebrate a supplication feast for
796 Uęd, which they call korodjęg or korosęg. For a korosęg a hawa, a
842 feast to ask God for children, the married women station themselves
in a circle around a small fire into which, just as for every other
supplication feast, they strew the residue of the honey beer, consisting
chiefly of wax particles, so that its fragrance will rise up to God. While
an aged, respected man goes around the circle and sprinkles those present
with honey beer, they sing: Uęd nge hawa! After this has gone on for a
quarter of an hour, they start to dance, continuing to sing the same words.
[524] The dance is followed by a meal at which meat and honey beer are con-
[273] sumed. At a korosęg e aga they ask God for meat. Beside a small fire
782 they place upright a straight branch with several forks at the top, the
796 twigs of which are cut off short. The empty stick is supposed to show
224 God that they do not have any meat. All the campmates station them-
selves around the fire and sing: Uęd ngeri' magat (magat = game). The
next morning the hunters set out, and as soon as they bring home meat,
a small piece is placed on each twig of the forks of the branch. Again
all surround the newly kindled fire and now sing: Uęd urag haiug ara,
which is to say: God, give us still more food. The men celebrate
another supplication feast before a larger hunting expedition. In the
middle of the camp a small fire is made, around which the men stand
[824] in a circle. Each one has the bow in the left hand, a twig of the olti
tree (Acacia mellifera) in the right one. Then, going around to the left,
they walk around the fire four times, during which they sing: Uęd ngeri'
magat. They maintain that they have never yet prayed in this way in
vain, but that after a korosęg e aga they always returned from hunting
789 with rich booty. The Wandorobo do not have a feast corresponding to
[796] the ol ogor l ol gesetti.[3] Rather, without special ceremonies, they cut
a strip out of the hide of an animal just slain and wear it as an amulet
around the right middle finger. As soon as they meet something along
[782] the way that makes them afraid, be it a predatory animal or an enemy,
they blow on the hide strip, which is the equivalent of a prayer for
protection. Other amulets are seen extremely rarely. The author saw
only one, which they called tuturo and which consisted of a small
piece of root. It was worn on the neck ring and was supposed to pro-
tect one from predatory animals. If individual persons spend the night

[1] [A supplication feast conducted by the Masai to preserve the health of human beings and livestock--Analyst]

/259 cont./

789 outside the camp in the steppe, or must leave a slain piece of game /260/ outside during the night, they walk around the spot, before the approach of darkness, with a burning twig of the mondeja bush. They assert that if one has done this, no predatory animal can approach.

789 531 411 224 On the bow end held diagonally upward in shooting, one frequently finds a design like a sentry box, which, in the belief of the people, God himself taught them long ago, and which is supposed to have the effect that in hunting they will kill only fat game.

754 [171] The nature of the sorcery through which sickness and death can be brought about they explain like the Masai. Evil, superterrestrial spirits have nothing to do with it. It is solely the work of evil human beings, who are despised, feared, and therefore expelled; they are called schogoto, in which one recognizes the Masai word ol osokutoni. Persons with the evil eye, who are called gailagumma, are likewise hated and expelled. If one knows no natural cause for an illness or a sudden death, it is regarded as the work of these sorcerers.

XV.

000 Law. -- General remarks. -- Property. -- Sharing the hunting booty. -- Things found. -- Barter. -- Debts. -- Liability. -- Gift. -- Blood friendship. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury. -- Immoral offenses. -- Theft. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit. -- Legal procedure. -- Swearing. -- Torture. -- Ordeals. -- Bier test. -- Woman before justice. -- Mentally ill.

671 171 The legal views and legal practices of the Asá in general resemble those of the Masai.[1] We find the same leading ideas everywhere. Here, too, might often comes before right, even if not to the same extent as there.

692 [614] [648] There is nothing new to be said about the rights of families and persons. The sole court in litigation is a respected man chosen by both parties, if plaintiff and defendant belong to the same tribe. Litigation or criminal cases in which plaintiff and defendant belong to two different tribes are not settled by the Wandorobo among themselves, but handed over to the Masai of the nearest kraal for settlement. A prosecution of punishable offenses by legal steps is unknown.

[1] [For information on legal views of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18:Merker, category 116, pp.279-291--Analyst]

/260 cont./

423 The individual person does not have an exclusive right to land
or to the use of hunting grounds. Rather, both are common property.
224 Only one half of any slain game down to the size of a medium ante-
421 lope belongs to the hunter and his campmates together, while the
other half of a male animal is given to the members of his lineage,
those of a female one to the relatives of his wife or wives: in both
cases: insofar as those entitled to receive it live in the immediate
vicinity. Of the two tusks (ligatok, ligasch) of the elephant each
[178] receives half. Recently, the large teeth of the hippopotamus have
been shared in the same manner, whereas formerly /261/ they were
left lying, along with the bones. For the horns (hadoṅg, hadama) of
the rhinoceros the hunter receives in exchange poison or arrow points
and then distributes these things among the people who previously were
to share the meat of the animal. The hides of the slain game belong
to the hunter.

All smaller game belongs entirely to the hunter and his campmates.

421 Property belongs to the single individual, not to the family
425 community. A lost article is returned to the owner, without the finder's
claiming a reward. There is no punishment for the appropriation of
found articles.

43 There is no general medium of exchange. Money has not yet
been adopted anywhere. Goods are always exchanged for goods.
For ivory the caravan people pay cattle, goats, sheep, iron wire,
beads, fabrics. In the individual barter transaction the Wandorobo
never want one kind of goods above, but always several, and of the
inanimate ones as many different kinds as possible. The exchange
takes place with immediate delivery and is made valid by spitting
452 on the objects. Only exceptionally is a brief delay granted for a
426 small part of the payment. The creditor seeks to have himself paid
by a dilatory debtor through self-help, and only if he has no success
with that does he make a complaint. It not infrequently happens
[583] that the creditor takes a small daughter of the debtor as security, and
a marriageable one as a wife; in the latter instance, he deducts the
amount of the debt from the bride price. The debtor's heir is liable,
[672] and, to be sure, for the entire debt. With the debtor's inability to
pay, the warrantor is liable, if -- which is seldom the case -- one
is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is
also liable.

/261 cont./
000 is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable. The giver
D is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approxi-
431 mately the same value follows gift-giving. The giver spits upon the
D 572 gift when he hands it over. The Wandorobo never conclude into
blood friendships among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure,
very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed
D for this resembles the one described above among the Masai. If a
[177] stranger has bought ivory from him and paid only part of the price,
[426] the ol doroboni often likes to conclude blood friendship with him
because he thinks that then the debtor must die if he does not repay
the debt as quickly as possible (1).

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[177] 1. This view is in general rare; it was not originally peculiar to the Asá, but adopted.

D As among the Masai, the legal view makes no distinction between
682 murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent
628 homicide. A murderer caught in the very act is subject to blood re-
[171] venge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family
[672] of the one murdered and in some districts also any of his friends and
campmates are justified. If the avengers do not succeed in capturing
the murderer on the day of the murder, /262/ the latter is safe from
blood revenge, for people see in the unsuccessful search for him a
command of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however,
he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small
ivory tusks. Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a
medium-sized ivory tusk. If the perpetrator and the one who was
killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably
D less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On
[648] the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the ones entitled
to blood revenge often hand over the execution of it to the Masai,
who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after
D several months. Up to the completed payment the perpetrator is
M regarded as puni-andet, corresponding to the ol oikobani of the Masai.
682 If an Asá kills a Masai blacksmith, the deed remains unpunished
648 because the blacksmiths are too weak for revenge and the Masai would
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M /262 cont./
D never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand,
682 if an Asá is killed by a blacksmith, the Masai immediately place
648 themselves on the side of the ones injured and avenge murder, man-
M [564] slaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The
[326] Wandoróbo, to be sure, would themselves be in a position to execute
the revenge, but the Masai do not permit this because they see in it
an encroachment on their rights as masters of the land and in partic-
ular also of the el konono.

D Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is
683 regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor
[682] bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number
of beehives. For the destruction of a finger one beehive is paid, for
one hand eight; among some Wandoróbo who live in close contact
with the Masai the atonement for the destruction of a finger or the
whole hand amounts to a fat-tailed sheep. Bodily injury leading
D only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished,
[847] as does indecent assault. Abortion is said to be unknown, and per-
[839] version not to occur. Kidnapping and sale are unknown.

[674] A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is
D atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a beehive hang-
685 ing outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone
who steals honey from a beehive pays five beehives. Arson is said
D not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through
683 sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to
D charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows
689 in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected
with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed
immediately by his campmates.

D Unknown are: aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repay-
681 ing like with like, compensation in the culpable body part, symbolism,
imprisonment, enslavement, public punishments, the right of pardon.

For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one
D turns -- /263/ as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who
787 is also called ol goiatiki[1] among the Wandoróbo. Instead of the
manipulations with the en gidoñ, he throws a pair of sandals on the
ground in front of him eight times, then picks them up and puts

[1] [ol goiatiki is a Masai word also meaning sorcerer--Analyst]

/263 cont./

787 them under his head at night; the next morning he throws the sandals again, this time five times, whereupon he states that the guilty one look thus and so and lives in such and such a camp, etc. If the tusks
789 of a slain elephant are stolen (the hunter does not remove them
685 immediately, but waits until they have been loosened by the decaying
754 of the gums), the one who killed the animal makes magic against the thief by shooting at the head of the elephant several times, using as an arrow the fire-twirling stick. Then he breaks the latter and lays it beside the head. According to the assertions of the Wandoróbo, this magic is so effective that the thief must irretrievably die after a few days if he does not deliver the tusks to the owner in all haste -- which is supposed to happen almost always.

695 [171] [782] Only in criminal cases are there legal proceedings, which take place in the same manner as among the Masai. Every male individual is entitled to take part in them. The ones arriving greet the one presiding, who is already waiting with a few friends in the shade of a tree near his camp, with the customary greeting and handshake, whereupon the latter opens the meeting with a few of the above-mentioned supplication prayers, Ug̃d nge hawa, Ug̃d nge mai, Ug̃d ngeri' aga! and closes it at the end of the deliberation in the same manner.

[171] A swearing of the truth is made with the same gestures and the same words as among the Masai. Besides the latter, the formula, Ug̃d kiwēta = may God kill me, is also customary.

[171] To extort confessions one uses the torture customary among the Masai, wrapping a bow string around the upper arm. The Wandoróbo call it andoga rasug. In their court sessions the Asá are not acquainted with any ordeals (momeg) other than the ones discussed for the Masai. Of these they use the following three: The ordeal of the bow, here gari waschăá, the ordeal of the dry wood, here kaschingo waguruf, and that of the stool made of earth, which they designate the same as the Masai. The culprit must submit to the ordeal upon the demand of the plaintiff and may not put up a substitute. According to the statements of the Wandoróbo, one who is really guilty always confesses before he submits to the ol momai, as it is also called here, besides momeg, because the belief that otherwise he would die the very next day is unshakably established in the minds of the people. For murder,

/263 cont./

695 besides the ordeals, the bier test also prevails as a means of convicting the one accused. In contrast to the Masai, here the innocent one accused receives no compensation.

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695 Women may appear as witnesses before the court, but they are not entitled to make a complaint; rather, their husbands make the complaint for them.

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734 Here, too, the mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in legal matters, /264/ in that they remain unpunished for offenses that are atoned for by fines. They are not chained, but are allowed to go about freely, and, as long as they are harmless, they are given shelter and food. This is denied to the mentally ill who are dangerous, because of which they quickly perish.

XVI.

000 The story of the discovery of arrow poison. -- Other stories and fables.

538 The stories of the Wandorobo describe for the most part their own hunting experiences, especially, of course, those of a peculiar nature and with large, dangerous game. It is probably to be taken for granted that in this "hunter's yarns" also run through them.

The Discovery of Arrow Poison

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411 A poor widow, whom no one wanted to take in and feed, roamed steppe and bush daily, in order to appease her hunger miserably with roots, berries, and tree bark. One day she chewed on a small piece of bark that was distinguished by a very bad taste. Soon afterwards vomiting set in so violently that she was sick for a few days. She thought: "I should probably have died if I had eaten any more of it; since I can not hunt game, perhaps I can kill it with this." When she was well again, she went with her pot to the place in the steppe where in a rocky basin there was water to which the wild animals came to drink. Here, for several days in succession, she boiled the wood of the poison bush and kept pouring the liquid into the little pool. Finally one morning she found ten dead buffalo lying in its

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vicinity. She ran to the camp in order to fetch men so that they would carry the meat home. When they saw the dead buffalo, they could not understand how it had been possible to kill so many at once. Then the woman told them how she had done it, and now they praised her as the best and cleverest of women and everyone wanted to marry her. After the woman had showed them how to prepare the poison, they made it themselves and smeared their hunting arrows with it.

Some Stories and Fables

539 An ol doroboni shot a giraffe, and since it was evening and he was far from camp, he stayed with the animal during the night. He wanted to stay awake because of the predatory animals that were to be expected, but weariness overcame him. In his dream he saw a lion creeping up. He woke up with a cry of fear. Still half asleep, he took his own leg for the lion and hit it with his knife with all his strength. His campmates, who had set out to look for him, found him with a large wound the next day in the steppe and carried him home.

/265/ An ol doroboni found in the steppe an antelope that he took to be dead. He laid bow and quiver beside the animal and started to skin it. After he had already made two cuts on the belly side, the animal leaped up and ran away with the knife in its body.

A father went hunting every day with his boy. For a long time they were lucky and brought booty home every day. But then there came a time when they did not succeed in killing even a single animal. One day, when they had again stalked in vain, they camped far from their hut in the open steppe. In order to warm themselves, they made a fire. Hunger tormented both of them terribly. Then there came to the old man the idea of killing his son and appeasing his hunger with the corpse. He said to the boy: "Go and fetch firewood so that the fire will be bigger." The boy did as he was told.

/265 cont./

When he returned with a load of wood, he called out: "Father, come quickly, some game animals have appeared." The old man came running, saw two large antelopes, and killed them. Then he started to cry and said: "My dear child, sit down and eat." He himself, however, ate nothing. When the boy had eaten his fill, dawn had come, and the father sent him to the camp to call the people and they, too, would come to eat. When they came, the old man asked: "Is this one here, is that one here?" and so on until he had mentioned the names of all his campmates. When he was convinced that all were present and were eating, he said: "Hear me, I am evil, I am not a human being, but a monster. Before I shot these antelopes, I intended to kill and eat my son. I am too evil to live with you any longer and deserve death." With these words he slit open his belly, tore out his intestines, and cut them up.

A man had killed an antelope; another man stole the game from him. The injured one now plotted revenge. One day he took a child of the thief with him into the steppe and told it that it was to creep into the earth hole of a wild pig. After it had done this, he called its father and said to him: "There in those holes is a wild pig, it will come out soon, shoot it." Then he knocked on the ground as a signal that the child was to come out of the hole. When it dashed out, its own father, who took it for a wild pig, shot it with his poisoned arrow.

An ol doroboni shot a buffalo and sold a piece of its skin to a Masai warrior, who wanted to make a shield out of it and remained in debt for the payment. One day the two met in the bush. The warrior had just come from plundering livestock and was leading a large head of cattle. He requested the ol doroboni to watch it a moment while he wanted to go to a nearby brook in order /266/ to drink water. When the warrior had gone off, the ol doroboni struck dry wood together and shouted as though he were being threatened. The ol morani thought that the owner of the head of cattle had come with his friends in order to take it back again and therefore stayed

18: Merker--352 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL6
Asa

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539 away. The ol doroboni intended this to happen. He then killed the animal at once, caught its blood in a leather bag, and carried the meat home. The next day the ol morani though that the ol doroboni had deceived him and went to his camp. He asked the wife: "When did your husband last bring meat home?" She replied: "Last month." To his further question, "Where is your husband?" she said: "He is lying in the hut and is very sick." The warrior did not believe this and wanted to see the man himself. The old ol doroboni quickly put some cattle blood in his mouth and then came creeping out slowly and groaning. Then he started to cough and spat out the blood. The warrior thought that the sick man was about to die and quickly ran away. That is how the ol doroboni managed to have himself repaid generously for his piece of buffalo skin.

Two Wandorobo, an industrious one and a lazy one, went hunting. The former killed an antelope, some of which the two ate immediately. Then the industrious one grew thirsty and told the other one to fetch water. But he refused and said that he would watch over the meat while the other one went to drink. After he had gone, the lazy one set to work to tie up the meat and carried it off. On the way he met the other one. The latter said: "Why did you take my meat away?" The former replied: "This is my meat, yours is still lying at the spot where you left it." Then the industrious one set out in the direction of the spot, but turned around after a few steps and, making a detour, ran quickly to the camp. There he said to the wife of the lazy one: "Go to the hut of my wife, I am expecting your husband in your hut, we have something to talk over." The wife went, and the industrious one waited for the lazy one in the latter's hut. When he arrived, he called out: "Wife, here is meat, take it." The industrious one said: "Hm!" and took the meat. "I'm going now," said the lazy one, "and fetch the skin of the game." With that he departed, and then the other one at once carried the meat to his hut, where it was immediately roasted and already eaten when the other one returned. He had no longer found the skin; a hyena had dragged it off or devoured it.

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539 Two Wandorŏ́bo killed a buffalo and decided to eat it all immediately, in order not to have to give any of it to an old man following them. They ate such quantities that even their ears became quite fat and the ear lobes so swollen that they burst the *ol gissoi* ornaments. Then they saw /267/ the old man coming from afar and wanted to consume the rest of the meat quickly. But then both of their stomachs burst, and, when the old man appeared, he found them already dead.

An *ol doroboni* set out to hunt and shot a large antelope. Immediately thereafter he noticed how, high above him, vultures were circling around the slain animal. He was afraid that other Wandorŏ́bo, alerted by the birds, would come hurrying up to eat with him. So he shot at the birds and, since they were soaring high above, stretched his bow with all his might. The arrow flew so high that he lost sight of it. Then he bent down to drink the fresh blood of the antelope. The next moment the arrow came back and struck him in the neck so that he died. The men approaching found animal and hunter lying dead side by side; they dragged the latter to one side and consumed the game.

An *ol doroboni* shot an antelope cow, and, since he did not want to give anyone any of the meat, he ate it immediately on the spot. Then, in order to quench his thirst, he lay down at the only small pool of water that was to be found far and wide, and drank it to the last drop. When he now wanted to stand up in order to go home, he was unable to move. A lion came and devoured him. That was the punishment for his greed, which granted nothing to the others.

An *ol doroboni* had two sons whom he loved very much and for whom he provided as best he could. Every day he brought home meat from hunting and gave them large pieces of it, so that they would become big and strong. When they had grown up, the two went hunting together and agreed that they intended to eat the slain

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539 game immediately and not take any of it back to camp for their parents. They stalked the whole day without being able to kill one animal, and in the evening they returned home tired and hungry and were given food by their father. The next day they set out again with the same agreement, and, when they saw no game, one of them climbed a tree in order to look around. Then there suddenly came a giraffe that wanted to drink some of the raindrops hanging on the leaves of that tree. The one sitting in the tree quickly clung to its neck and at the same time cut it in two with his knife. The collapsing animal partially buried him under it, so that he lay there unconscious. Then his brother came and sprinkled him with water, but in vain. Then he cut a piece of fat out of the giraffe and held it under his nose. When the sick man smelled the fat, he woke up; his greed for it had awakened him. The other one now gave expression to his joy over the fact that the sick one could not yet eat, and that he /268/ would be able to consume the huge animal alone and undisturbed, by such excessive laughter that he, too, fell unconscious. Then his brother brought him back to consciousness, just as he had for him before, by the smell of a piece of fat. But he, too, remained so weak that he could not think of eating. Soon the men of their camp came, carried home the sick ones, who were unable to eat anything for several more days, and consumed the meat of the giraffe.

An ol doroboni shot a big antelope, sat down to it immediately, and ate as much as he was able to gulp down. He hid the rest of the meat for later. Through so much food he had become thirsty and therefore went to look for water. During this he met another man, who led him to the only pool in the whole vicinity. When the latter now asked the former for a piece of meat as a reward, he gave him only a small, poor piece. Then he again returned to the place where he had hidden the meat, in order to eat some more. But with the first bite he choked; he had to cough so hard that something ripped in his stuffed belly. With difficulty he dragged himself home, where he lay still for a long time. This illness was God's punishment for

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539 his stinginess. He was very stingy even toward his own children. One day he shot a wild pig. Again he sat down immediately and ate more than half the animal at once and hid the other meat in a tree. He lay down under it to sleep, when the branch on which he had hung the meat broke and crushed his spine.

A lion was friendly with a hyena. The lion killed a game animal every day and left only the bones of it for the hyena. So one day the latter said to the lion: "Do not eat the hearts of the game animals, for otherwise you will fall ill, you have already eaten so many of them in your life." From then on the lion no longer ate the heart, but when it had finished its meal, the hyena came and ate the heart or took it to its young. Now, once when the hyena's children were playing with those of the lion, the latter saw that the former had a piece of heart and mentioned it later to their father. The old lion told them to cry and tell the hyena that it had died. The latter soon came along, sobbing, and wailed over and over: "Who will now hunt game and leave me the heart of the game?" The lion heard this. It saw that the hyena had deceived it, it pounced on it and killed it.

An old blind ol doroboni whose wife had died lived alone with a small son. The other people of the camp had traveled on, /269/ and the two had been unable to follow them. They nourished themselves mostly on roots and berries, but the child was still too small to be able to search out enough food for both of them. So the old man often had to go hunting, whereby his son led him and directed the bow for him. After the father had shot, the little one always thought he had not hit anything, because the game would run away. But the old man heard it whenever the arrow struck and then sent the child ahead to look for the slain animal.

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Fourth Part

I.

000 The tradition from primeval times. -- Primeval state. -- Dragon fight. -- Paradise. -- Creation of the world. -- The first human couple. -- The fall of man. -- Punishment of the snake. -- Expulsion of the human beings out of paradise. -- God gives the human beings cattle, donkeys, and goats. -- The human beings obtain sheep. -- Sindillo, Nabe, Sisia. -- Sgrea. -- God teaches the human beings how to draw blood from living animals. -- God punishes the woman Sagati for her disobedience. -- Schagarda. -- The first blacksmith. -- Lemajan. -- Learin. -- Tumbaiñot. -- The first murder. -- The deluge. -- El bari. -- El mujalala. -- El dertim. -- Costume of that time. -- Naraba. -- The fiery serpent. -- The ten commandments. -- El barisuam. -- *Logota*. -- *Mussana*. -- The seven-day week. -- God orders the bloodless battle against the unbelievers. -- El maĩrab. -- The first ol oiboni. -- El ginjoio. -- Geriga. -- The first adultery. -- Mutari. -- The deception about the right of the first-born. -- Geraine-Eramram: Marumi, Labot, Mgria. -- El gowai. -- God orders circumcision. -- God orders the bloody war against the unbelievers. -- The first theft. -- Es siawai. -- Negligent killing of a female animal. -- El gissali. -- Intentional killing of a female animal. -- El kigeriĕ. -- The first murder after the deluge. -- Gulale. -- Recollections concerning alien peoples from primeval times. -- More recent times. /In the original source each of these subheadings is repeated on the left side of the page at the place where the subject is mentioned in the text. These marginal notations have been omitted in the translation./

*539 In the beginning the earth was a barren, arid desert in which dwelt a dragon (1)

1. en diamassi, pl. 'n diamassuni; the d is also pronounced t.

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*539 named Ne̱naunĭr. Then God came down from heaven, fought the dragon, and conquered it. Through the blood, the water, flowing out of the cadaver the wild, rocky desert became fruitful. There where God had killed the monster and where its blood poured out of the remains arose paradise, provided with the most abundant vegetation (2).

> 2. kério. Babylonian kirû (contraction of kiriu) = orchard.

The earth was now free from danger. Then God created -- by means of his creative word -- sun, moon, stars, plants, and animals, and finally he made the first human couple arise. The man, Maitumbe, he sent down from heaven (3),

> 3. eṅ gatambo = the land of clouds.

while the woman, Naiterogób (4),

> 4. = en aitero en gob = the first of the land, the first in the land.

at God's command, emerged from the womb of the earth. The two /271/ met in paradise, whose trees were hung with the most delicious fruits and to which God had led Maitumbe. God said to the human beings: "You shall eat of all these fruits, they shall be your food: only of the fruits of a single tree (1)

> 1. Some call the tree ol oilai.

that stands there," whereby God pointed to that tree with his hand, "you shall not eat. That is my command." The two human beings obeyed God and without care lived an idyllic pastoral life.

In the morning they set out for the pasture with a bull, three cows, and a couple of goats, during the day they nourished themselves on the fruits, and in the evening they bedded down on moss and branches, for they had no more of a hut than they had clothing.

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*539 In paradise God visited the humans almost daily, for which he descended from heaven on a ladder (2),

> 2. *en jauĕlŏni*, each of its two vertical poles = *ol mábĭ*.

which was visible to the human beings only at the moment when he used it and upon his return to heaven, disappeared with him. When God came down, he summoned the human beings, who always hastened toward him joyfully.

One day God again came down to earth. At first he called to the human beings in vain. They had hidden in the bushes, and when God perceived them there, he called to them to come out. To God's question as to why they had hidden themselves, Maitumbe replied: "We are ashamed (-- we regret) because we have done evil and have not obeyed your command. We have eaten some of the fruit from the tree whose fruits you forbade us to eat. Naiterogob gave me some of the fruit and persuaded me to eat it, after she herself had eaten some of it." To God's further question to Naiterogob as to why she had not obeyed and had eaten some of those fruits against his will, she replied: "The three-headed snake (3)

> 3. *ol assurai l el ogunj' uni*. Another designation for snake was formerly *ol jañito l oñ gojit* = the thing of the grass. As the proper name of the paradise snake, *ol arassumet* is mentioned, because it lived in the reeds = *or rossua*; furthermore Nairamba, of unknown meaning.

came to me and said that through the enjoyment of those fruits we would become like you and almighty like you. That is why I ate those fruits and also gave some of them to Maitumbe to eat." God was angry at this and said to the human beings: "Because you did not obey my command you shall now leave paradise," and, turning to the snake, he continued: "and you, as punishment, shall live forever

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#539 in holes in the ground." After these words God turned away and quickly went back to heaven. Maitumbe wanted to hasten after him and begged him for forgiveness, but he soon met Kilegen, the morning star, who was sent by God to drive the human beings out of paradise and then to remain to stand before it as a guard (4).

4. es siai.

/272/ Outside, the human beings now had to seek their food with toil, for from now on God no longer provided for their sustenance and also did not concern himself about their affairs to the extent that he had before.

When God saw that the human beings were suffering from hunger--since there where they had gone after the expulsion out of paradise was steppe in which there were no fruit trees -- he decided to give them livestock. Therefore on a rope (1)

1. en gin' ŋig ai; en gine = rope, strap, cord.

reaching from heaven to earth he let down domesticated cattle, donkeys, and goats, so that human beings would drink their milk. They were not permitted to kill the animals.

Some time later a dog (2)

2. The dog was called lĕba or ol lĕba or os siratan at that time, not ol dia as it is now.

threw the tail of a fat-tailed sheep down from heaven. A vulture (3)

3. ol gilli, pl. el gillii; in the old language, ol ŭabiachet.

caught the piece of tail and carried it into the branches of a tall tree, from where it was further brought down to the human beings

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539 by a raven (4).

> 4. ol gorog, pl. ol gorogi: in the old language or segeli.

When they saw it, they were greatly astonished. To be sure, they realized that it was part of an animal; but it must have come from an animal that they had not yet seen, did not yet possess. That piece could not have come from a head of cattle (5)

> 5. In the old language allegedly called: head of cattle, lmasni, pl. lmasni; donkey, ol endia, pl. 'l endia; goat, e megeriai, pl. megeriani; sheep, [illegible]

or from a donkey (5) /see footnote 5 above/ or a goat (5) /see footnote 5 above/. The human beings now prayed to God every day that he might give them that strange animal. At first God did not wish to fulfill their request, because he thought that the human beings, through the excellence of the sheep fat, the sight of which had aroused their desire for the sheep, would let themselves be tempted to kill the sheep. The people, however, did not cease praying, so that God finally complied. But to the dog he said: "Until now you have had care and food with me; you abused my kindness. Now you shall not stay with me any longer, but go down to earth. No dwelling and care shall be yours, and you shall find only disgusting food there."

At the time when God gave human beings the cattle, Naiterogob gave birth to the first child, the son Sindillo, who later helped his father in tending the livestock. One day, when he saw a swarm of bees on a hollow tree, upon closer investigation he found the honey (6);

> 6. Honey was formerly called e' rimi.

he brought it to the kraal of his father. Since that time honey has been an article of food for the Masai. Later, when Sindillo grew up, he built his own kraal and brought to it the cattle inherited, after the

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# 539 death of Maitumbe, from the latter. As an old man, he invented the board game (7).

7. The board game was formerly called ol geché.

/373/ When Naiterogob gave birth to the second son, she called him Nabe (1).

1. Eño en diamani = the fetus moves. The noticeable movement of the fetus, in the belief of the Masai, gives the certain expectation that the child awaited will be strong and healthy.

because prior to his birth he had moved quite vigorously in her womb. As a boy, Nabe tended the goats and sheep of his father, and when the latter died, they fell to him as inheritance. Like his older brother, he, too, was a smallbreeder.

The third child to whom Naiterogob gave birth, again a son, was given the name Sidia, because his mother, while she was carrying the child under her heart, for a long time had the feeling that it had wandered from its natural place farther toward the rear, into her back (2).

2. en siandige is the name for this mistaken notion, which is said to be not infrequent among the pregnant Masai women.

Sidia differed in disposition from his brothers and refused to tend the livestock in conformity with his father's wish. He therefore soon ran away from the parental kraal, and, to be sure, to a sedentary tribe of people practicing agriculture, the El gumba, where he married a girl of this people.

Sindillo married Naisambu; she was born on a river, along the banks of which grew quantities of ol oisambusch bushes (3).

3. Crotalaria laburnifolia.

after which she was named. Naisambu gave birth to a son and called

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#539 him [illegible], because the ox that the father slaughtered upon the birth of the child was black and white striped (4).

4. The coloring is called en dóra.

[illegible] invented the club carved out of wood (5).

5. At that time the club was called o' ringá,
not ol gíndí, as it is now.

Just when [illegible] was born, God saw that the milk alone would no longer extend far enough to satisfy the human beings. He therefore showed them how they could draw blood from the living livestock and gave them the bow and arrow needed for this. But he once more expressly forbade human beings to kill an animal. At that time there lived a man named Ndegenja. He was very poor and for a long time had appeased his hunger with bark that he peeled from trees and bushes, to which circumstance he owed his name (6).

6. ngenja = to peel off tree bark.

His way of life taught him the curative effect of various tree barks, through the knowledge of which he became the first physician. His wife was called Sagati. She was given this name because she had come into the world, soon after the arrival of her parents at a new pasturing place, in a small hut hastily built as shelter for the first night (7).

7. Such a hut is called en dagat.

One day Sagati said to her husband: "My child is sick; bring me blood as food for it." Ndegenja went forth and drew blood from a head of cattle. The next day the woman said: /331/ "My child is not yet well; bring me fat." Ndegenja then made butter by shaking the milk, and brought it to his wife. On the third day Sagati said to her husband: "My child is still always sick; give me marrow from

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* 539 the bones of a head of cattle." The husband answered her: "God has forbidden that an animal be killed; I shall go to him and ask his permission." So he went to God and put before him his request, but the latter replied: "No, you may not kill any animal." With this decision the husband returned. But when he reached his kraal, he saw that the wife had already had an ox slaughtered. So he again went to God and reported to him what had happened. God was very angry and ordered him to punish the woman with a sound thrashing. When the husband did this, the stick broke; he therefore hastened to God again in order to ask him for further advice. God then ordered that all the people who lived in that kraal were to leave it. They all obeyed and moved out, only the disobedient woman stayed behind in the kraal, against God's command. Then God threw fire into the kraal, and the woman and her child burned to death. God now spoke to the human beings: "The women are evil and do bad things. First it was a woman who, against my command, ate some of the forbidden fruits; now it is again a woman who twice did not obey my orders. As punishment for this, the women shall do all the work alone; the husband shall beat the wife who does not obey him or who does not do her work."

Thereafter God gave human beings permission to kill male animals insofar as they needed their meat for food. The animal was to be suffocated so that no blood would come out before the onset of death.

After Serea was born, Sindillo learned that Siaia, living among the El gandus, had begotten two children. He therefore sent his wife there in order to fetch the children. Siaia, however, would not give them up, but sent his brother as a gift a head of cattle, a sheep, and a goat.

Serea married Naišiši; she had been given this name when, immediately after her marriage, a move to a new pasturing place was made. Here everything for sheltering human beings and animals was still lacking. Huts and kraals first had to be built; there was therefore much work (= ol osiaia) to be done.

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539 Naiteiu gave birth to the boy Schagarda. When Schagarda was born, a brother of Sema, named Sitiŝa, brought an ox as a gift for the woman in childbed. When Sema saw this, he said "He is bringing an ox, although it is my affair to give the ox: Ijo negér en gerá ai = he wants to get my child." Accordingly the boy was first called Ol ogarda and later Schagarda. Schagarda was a brutal man who beat the cattle in the pasture very hard. One day, when he had mistreated a bull with a heavy stick, his father became angry about it and beat /275/ him on the hip with a club, whereupon he became lame in the hip (1).

1. ol Tolo, the hip bones ol amerí, the hip; lame in the hip = ágodĵo' ol ([illegible]) or ágodĵo' ol amerí; the hyena whose gait resembles that of a person lame in the hip is called ol or ol godĵiko.

Schagarda married Aminâ as his first wife and afterwards Naiwandi, who in her youth had borne the name Nabomí. When, as a baby, her hair was cut for the first time, such a lean sheep had been slaughtered that its fat was not sufficient to anoint mother and child. The father therefore said "Ábona!" that is, bring another one, after which the child was named Nabomí. The third woman whom Schagarda married was called Sennija: she had been given this name because she neither wore ornaments nor adorned herself (senu = without adornment). Aminet gave birth to the boy Lemojan, named after alendâd = to pardon, to forgive. A few days before his birth his mother had taken some of the meat that, according to the food rules, belongs to the married men. When this was noticed, she was brought before the injured ones and they forgave her, in view of her condition. Naiwandi gave birth to the boy Tiambari. Sennija gave birth to two children, the boy Mbai and the girl Naiĝiwa, who at birth was seemingly dead, or asphyctic = ĵiĝiwa.

When Schagarda was very old, a descendant of Sidia came to the Masai in order to live with them.[2] He was a blacksmith and married a Masai girl. His son Tanefti became the first blacksmith among the Masai.

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#539 Lemajan married Kibubet. Four days after her birth the paternal kraal had burned down, which is why she was named after the leaping flames (en gibubore). She gave birth first to the boy Learin, a name that means "much rain," and then in later years to the son Tumbene, since she said at the birth of the latter "tendob bitram" = finally I have received.

Leacin married Nasianda, who bore him Tumbainot. He was named this after the root hotiket, which his mother ate with special liking during the last months before his birth.

Tumbainot was a devout man whom God loved. He married Naipande, who bore him three sons. The eldest was given the name Oschomé, meaning the son and heir, because shortly before his birth an epidemic had carried off, besides many other people, also the male relatives of Tumbainot. The second son was called Bartimaro; later on he became a judge, the one presiding in the council of elders. The third son was given the name Barmao, after a song of supplication popular at that time, in which the words "barmao (2).

2. ai mao, the twins; ba-mao, or, for euphony, barmao, is the one who gives twins; therefore in the above song, in the meaning: "You, who gives us twins," whereby the word "twins" represents an intensification, based on joy and gratitude, of the idea of "children." Cf. also the term of address ba-mao in Part 2, III.

oh, 'Ng ai eraasia" kept recurring.

/276/ Tumbainot had adopted Ledgéni, from the El deiga people, as a brother. He had asked him for admission into his kraal, and soon an intimate friendship had closely united the two. When Ledgéni died, Tumbainot married his childless widow Nahaba-logunja, who owed her name to her high, narrow head (1). [826]

1. This head shape corresponds to the Masai ideal of beauty. Nahaba-logunja's father was called Ol jaao, her mother Digoi.

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#539 She, too, bore him three sons. A short time before her eldest son came into the world, she had a fight with her husband, as a consequence of which she refused him milk to drink after the evening milking. Tumbainot was so angry at this that he sent her out of the kraal. Outside she made as a dwelling place for herself a small thorn-kraal for protection against predatory animals. When she then gave birth there, she called the child, a boy, Lesita, for *es sita* means dwelling place. When her second child came into the world, it was laid beside its mother on a small leather blanket, which otherwise, on longer wanderings, is drawn over the head of the child carried on the back, in order to protect it from harmful effects of the sun's rays. This cover is called ol *gesan*, and the mother named the child L ol gesan after it. To her third son she gave the name L os sero, because she was surprised by the labor pains outside the kraal and no longer had the strength to go into her hut, but had to go through her delivery in the steppe (= *os sero*).

In Tumbainot's time the earth was already richly populated; the human beings, however, were not good, but sinful, and did not obey the commandments of God. Only the worst crime, murder, had not yet occurred, until one day NambIja slew Suage, the son of a devout man.

NambIja was named after *'n ambia* = the hedgehog, for a hedgehog had come into the hut of his mother three days before her confinement, and despite being driven out several times, it always came back. Not until the day of the birth did it stay away. When Suage was born, his mother suffered very much from labor pains lasting five days. During this time her sister constantly sprinkled the hut of the parturient with honey beer, during which she called to God for help. The child received its name from the sprinkling (= *es suaga*).

Because of the murder committed by NambIja, God decided to destroy the human beings. Only the devout Tumbainot found mercy before God. God commanded him to build a hut of wood, an ark (2).

2. *eng adji on gig*, the hut of wood in present-day language; *ol dombo l on gig* in the old language.

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#539 and to go into it with his two wives, his six sons and their wives, and also to take into it a few animals of every kind. After human beings and animals were sheltered in the ark and Tumbaińot had also stowed in it a great assortment of provisions, God let it rain long and hard, so that a /277/ great inundation arose, and all the human beings and animals that were outside the ark drowned. The latter itself floated on the waters of the deluge (1).

1. In the old language allegedly *áribo.*

Longingly Tumbaińot awaited the end of the rain (2).

2. Now *ertaacha Eńg ai* = it pours from God;
formerly *es sujaauja*.

for the food supplies in the ark were beginning to become scarce. Finally the rain stopped. Tumbaińot now wanted to find out about the level of the water. He therefore let a dove (3)

3. *en durgulu*.

fly out of the ark. When it returned, very tired, in the evening, Tumbaińot knew that the water was still very high and therefore the dove had not been able to rest. A few days later he let a carrion vulture (4)

4. Now *ol motonj erok*; formerly *os salaibuggo*.

fly out. Before that he had tied an arrow onto one of the tail feathers in such a way that the arrow, as soon as the bird, when eating, sat down and dragged it along behind, would become caught and be lost along with the feather concerned. When the vulture returned to the ark in the evening, it lacked arrow and tail feather. From that Tumbaińot learned that the bird had settled on carrion outside, therefore the flood must be receding. When the water had subsided further, the ark landed in the steppe, where human beings and animals

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*539 climbed out of it. Upon leaving the ark, Tumbaiñot became aware of four rainbows (5)

5. Now ol agerai; formerly os somó.

in the sky, one at each cardinal point. He took this to be a sign that the wrath of God was over.

The three sons whom Tumbaiñot had conceived with his principal wife, Naipande, founded the three tribes, while the sons born to Nahaba-logunja became the tribal ancestors of the three lineage groups.

The time reckoning after the deluge is based on the age-class association (6).

6. Cf. 2nd Part,IX; the age-class association
= ol adji.

According to tradition, the first ol adji was that of the El bāri. The sons of Tumbaiñot belongd to them.

Oschomo, who founded the tribe of the El meñgana, married Naisóla, whom he had courted for a long time along with two other men (= esola). She bore him the son Le̱n.

Bartimaro became the tribal founder of the 'L aisér. He married Namindi, whose name was decided upon through the circumstance that at the time of her birth the kraal of her father lay close to a forest (= en dím). She gave birth to four sons: Bamai, Lesebbe, idanji, and Doroja.

Barmao became the tribal founder of the El muleljan. His wife was called Naduñeñ gob, that is, the one who crosses the country, for she was born at the end of an /278/ exceptionally long migration to a new pasturing place. She gave birth to two children, a daughter uimet and a son Gegarde.

Lesita founded the lineage group of the El mamasita. His wife's name was Magĕlo, for the ox that was slaughtered at her name-giving was black and white spotted (= magĕlo). She gave birth to three children, two boys, Orlañata and Marawasch, and a daughter aitoi.

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*539 'L ol gesan founded the El magesan. He married two women. The first was called Malē, named after an area of the same name, in which she was born. She gave birth to a son, Maĩtu. His second wife was called Suriat. During her girlhood once a council of the warriors about a campaign had ended with an en dorosi (1),

1. Cf. 2nd Part, XI.

and, since the girl was very popular, several warriors had each cut a strip from her leather apron in order to wear it as en doros. During such times the warriors constantly keep the term es suriat on their lips, which expresses the hope of making up for a loss suffered, of balancing a defeat in the field. Accordingly the girl was given the name Suriat. She bore L ol gesan a daughter, Najoma.

Losero became the tribal founder of the 'N darasero. His wife was called Kargá. She had been named this because she was born in a kraal that was laid out in a place strewn with stones (= er ragór). She gave birth to three children, the sons Tumbęt and Kischabui, and the daughter Tumbale.

At this time God was called ol omonni = the one whom one entreats (2).

2. From the verb tomonno, to entreat.

The El bari were followed by the El mujalala, and they by the El dertim. At this time the married men were not yet wearing the ol daiga coiffures, but they had their hair twisted into long, thin strands that hung, loose and tangled, around the head. For clothing they used a small, oval leather apron (3)

3. This article of clothing was called er raijan (pl. er raijani).

that had a hole in the middle, through which the wearer stuck his head. In front the article of clothing covered the chest to the navel, and, behind, the back equally as low. By God's command they could not set out for war. They were supposed to use the weapons -- club, bow and arrow -- and the knife only for defense against wild animals.

/278 cont./

*539 At this time there lived a man named Narabá. He was named this because, as a small boy, on account of weakness in his legs, he could not walk, but only crawl (= erabalarí). His father was called Kigolońgol; he had been given this name because his mother, immediately after his birth, had adorned him with the beadlike fruits of the ń golońgol tree. His wife, the mother of Naraba, was called Gombeti. When she was born, her mother lived in very poor circumstances, for she still owned only two milch /279/ goats. Since she needed their milk to feed the newborn child, she made their udders repulsive to the kids by smearing them with goat dung (= etabeto). Accordingly she named the child Gombeti. Naraba, who belonged to the El muleljan and to the lineage of the El mugurere, married Nolńobor of the El mamasita. She had come into the world in an unfinished hut roofed over only with skins (= ol ńobor) and had been named after that. Naraba was a wealthy man who owned great herds of livestock, which he was obliged to examine closely every evening when they came from the pasture, in order to guard against theft. In doing so, he invented counting and the number words. Nolńobor bore him two children, the boy Leńgonin and the girl Pendu; both died young.

Around this time it came to pass that a fiery serpent (1)

1. ol assurai l ŏl dīli; ol dīli, the spark.

appeared among the Masai and tried to make the human beings turn away from God by pretending to be God itself and to exceed in power the one whom the Masai had hitherto revered as God. But the people did not let themselves be misled, probably also because of the fact that soon thereafter God sent an angel (2)

2. ol duńgani l Eńg ai.

to earth.

/279 cont./

*539 One day the Masai heard the roar of a storm and shouts on the mountain of God, ol donjo geri (3).

3. Literally the spotted mountain; according to legend, it had white spots; in the old language it was not called ol donjo geri, but ol dalata geri.

and when they came hastening up, they heard the following words resound from a cloud at the peak of the mountain: "God sent me to tell the Masai ten things (4).

4. n dogitǐn tomón; the stress is on tomon = 10.

Tomorrow I shall come again, and therefore early tomorrow the elders (5)

5. el moruak kitwa.

are to come here. The next day the elders gathered early at the foot of the mountain and then climbed up together. After they had already gone a considerable distance, a loud voice commanded them to halt (6).

6. enda schĕto!

When they looked up to the top of the mountain, they saw a being in the shape of a human being, but it had two large wings on its back, like a bird, and only one leg. In order to be able to move forward with the one leg, the angel had a stick in its hand, which, in walking, it used like a jumping pole. The old men said: "olotu en diriman" = it comes with a crutch, and therefore called it Ol dirĭma.

When the elders had thrown themselves on the ground, the angel said: "God sent me in order to tell you ten things.

/279 cont./

1.

#539 "There is only one God. He sent me here. You have hitherto called him /280/ E' majan (1)

1. E' majan = the forgiving one, the pardoning one; E' magelani = the omnipotent one.

or E' magelani; from now on you shall call him 'Ng ai. You shall not make any image of 'Ng ai. If you follow his commands, it will go well with you; if you do not obey, however, he will punish you with famine and epidemics.

(2.) (2)

2. The sequence of the commandments two to ten is very uncertain, whereas the first commandment would usually be mentioned first.

"If you get into a fight with the el meg, you shall beat only with sticks or shoot with wooden arrows without iron points; you shall not use knives in this, for God has forbidden you to kill a human being and will punish you severely if you do not obey.

(3.)

"Everyone should be content with what he has and should not take the property of another Masai.

(4.)

"You should live together on good terms and not quarrel with one another. Only old men may drink honey beer, for the younger ones become intoxicated and excited by it and then start quarrels and fights.

(5.)

"No warrior or youth, no unmarried man shall touch the wife of a married man.

4

/280 cont./

(6.)

*539 "If a Masai has lost his property, the other Masai shall support him; one who has lost all his goods shall be given something from everyone, so that he shall soon recover his well-being. The impoverished one shall implant a stake from the e' naunir tree. Then the elders of the tribe to which the impoverished one belongs and of the one of his wife shall choose from among the old men one universally beloved and kind. The latter shall tie to that stake a black heifer of handsome build and without fault and marks (3).

> 3. Without ownership marks burned or cut in the ears.

Then each member of the two tribes shall bring a head of cattle for the impoverished one, alternating between a female and a male (4).

> 4. This procedure is called en jerta sēro = the striped stick; the poor one announced the circumstance of his impoverishment by walking through the area with a sick whose bark was peeled off in transverse rings.

The old men who furnished the black heifer will be rewarded by God with good fortune in his family and his well-being.

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(7.)

"Only one shall rule over you; all shall obey him. Disputes shall be settled in a council assembly of old men.

(8.)

"A man shall have only one wife at a time; not until she has died or been dismissed shall he marry a second one.

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#539 "On the day on which the umbilical cord of a newborn child has been cut with an *os sańgasch* splinter (1)

> 1. Both reed mace and a small species of bamboo. An older word for *os sańgasch* is *ol anámischo*.

you shall slaughter a white or brown buck-sheep (2)

> 2. The killing of a black ram would result in barreness for the woman.

and sing prayers of thanks. When the woman in childbed shaves her head and that of her newborn child for the first time after her delivery, you shall slaughter a buck sheep (2) /see footnote 2 above/ of brown color with white flanks and sing songs of thanks. As soon as the child can walk, the midwife shall be given a lamb as a gift.

(9.)

"You shall kill no female animals, also no bulls, bucks, or male asses. You may kill only castrated male animals as food for yourselves.

(10.)

"Every year on the eighth day of the ninth month, the Kudjarok, you shall celebrate in honor of God the *ol ogor l ol gereti* (3)

> 3. Cf. 2nd Part, XXI.

with a fire offering of the fragrant *os segi* wood (4),

> 4. *Cordia quarensis* Gürke.

in return for which God will keep from you plagues such as famine and sickness.

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*539 "Every year, on the seventh day of the seventh month of the le logunja airodjerod, you shall bring a black heifer to the foot of God's mountain, the ol donjo gēri, and place beside it four pots of fragrant honey beer (5).

5. The offering is called ol ámăl.

If God accepts the heifer, it is a sign that he is well disposed toward you; if he does not accept it, he is angry with you."

After the angel had spoken these words, a cloud sank down and removed it from the sight of the elders. The latter now left the mountain and returned to their kraals, where they reported what they had seen and heard.

The El dertim were followed by the El barisuam. At the beginning of this time there lived an ol aigwenani named Legŏta. He was named this because at the time of his birth large rain-pools (el gŏta) stood around his father's kraal. Legota introduced the separation of the kraals into those for the married and those for the warriors.

/282/ At this time there lived a man named Odirai from the lineage of the El maguberia. His mother had not, as was otherwise customary, married soon after her circumcision, but had remained for some time in the paternal kraal. During this time she became pregnant, and when she then married and moved into the kraal of her husband, the people said eti dirua eṅ gerai eṅ gohogge = she is carrying a child in her womb. Afterwards the latter was then named Odirai. Odirai married a girl named Tombaigo from the lineage of the Es sumaga. She had been given her name after a like-named area. Tombaigo gave life to a son and called him Kimáre. His growth stopped already in boyhood; he later became somewhat stronger, but no taller. Therefore he was called Musána (1)

1. The u in Musana is a very short sound that lies between u and o.

a dwarf (2).

2. An abnormally short, but otherwise normally built person.

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*539 Despite his ridiculed shortness, he became Legota's successor as ol aigwenani, as a result of which he gained great influence. He used this to arrange for regular instructions every seventh day.

In this way Musana introduced the uninterrupted seven-day week (3);

> 3. Now eñ giruascha or en giruah[illegible] old language eñ girañgas.

the counting started originally on a new moon. The day of instruction could fall on any day of the month, except ol onjugi as an unlucky day. If it fell on that day, it was not celebrated until the following day. On the day before the seventh one, the people gathered under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal of the ol aigwenani. For food, they slaughtered nine head of cattle, which were furnished by the participants, and in addition brought honey beer, but the latter only for the entertainment of the old men and the ol aigwenani. After the common meal, the people returned to their kraals and then gathered on the following day for the instruction. This amounted to the following three points:

1. The unmarried young men shall sleep in their own kraal and shall not come to the married women in the one of the married. (With a view to this Legota had already introduced the separation of the kraals, but the desired result had failed to appear.) Without permission of the ol oiboni the warriors may not set out to war.
2. No breeding animal, but only castrated male animals may be killed as food for the people.
3. No one shall take what belongs to another. The indigent shall be supported. God gives a good man friends who will gladly help him.

The importance that Musana and his contemporaries attributed to these teachings may be seen from the fact that the day on which such /283/ took place, that is, every seventh one, was called esubat 'n oloh = the good day, the lucky day.

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*539 Musana's wife was called Darañgé, so named after a like-named area; her father was called Tŏdi. The boy Logŏna and the girl Tarañi are named as children of Musana and Darañgé.

At a later time God summoned to him on the mountain two influential old men, one from the lineage of the 'N darasero, named Mŏtĕnĕ, the other from the lineage of the El muñgo, named Kĭdĭ. When they had almost reached the top, they saw a large fire on the peak of the mountain and heard the voice of God resound from it. God said: "Because the el megg (1)

[178] 1. In the old language the unbelievers were not called el megg, but el donja (sing. ol donjai).

are bad people, I shall no longer protect them. The Masai may fight them from now on; but no blood may flow during this and therefore the Masai are to set out for battle armed only with sticks. You may not kill any ol meggi, but you are to take away the cattle of all of them."

The el Barisuam were followed by the El mairab. Whereas previously the Masai had been governed by an ol aigwenani, from now on an ol oiboni was to rule over them. Thus one day God summoned a man named Kidoñoi, that is, the tailed one, for, according to the legend, he had a tail about a hand-span long. Kidoñoi belonged to the tribe of the 'L aiser and founded the lineage of the Eñ gidoñ. After Kidoñoi arrived on the mountain, God appointed him ol oiboni and gave him the eñ gidoñ horn and the medicines for the making of the amulets (2).

2. e'maacho ol oiboni: the old word for e'maacho is en daledoi (pl. en daledo).

Then God continued: "From now on the Masai may marry more than one woman."

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#539 At this time Naraba had already attained an extraordinarily advanced age, but he was still very vigorous. Only he could not walk right, which he had not learned to do properly during his whole life because of a congenital weakness in his legs. For this reason he always used a donkey for riding when he set out with his large herds for a new grazing place. Because of his shrewdness he had been named by Kidoñoi as his counselor, and, because he could count, the latter had also assigned to him the office of collector of the taxes to be given to the ol oiboni by the individual areas.

When Kidoñoi announced to the people God's permission that the Masai could marry more than one woman, old Naraba was the first to make use of it. He married the girl Dujeni from the 'L aiser tribe, the daughter of Merijo (3)

3. Merijo was very adept at birth assistance for livestock; merijo means to practice this activity.

and of Ngiro. She gave him two children, the boy Mutari and the girl Namonjak. Mutari was born toward evening (= emuto efini), after which his name was chosen. When Dujeni was carrying Namonjak under her heart, /284/ a great shortage of fodder prevailed as a result of a long drought, and the cows gave but little milk. Not until a few weeks before Dujeni's confinement did ample rain fall, and soon there was milk in abundance. Then when the girl came into the world, she was named Namonjak, that is, the fortunate one.

Kidoñoi had married Nairenda, who was named after a like-named river. She belonged to the El mosaigue lineage and gave birth to two children (1).

1. The order of Kidoñoi's descendants, as well as their names and those of their wives and children, is uncertain.

the boy Gerigo and the girl Semai.

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#539 The El mairab were followed by the El ginjoio.

When Geriga grew up, he married Silalo of the El magesan lineage. She gave birth to a son called Bargumbe, or also Barnjumbe (2).

2. Barnjumbe was also designated as the son of Bargumbe by a few.

The woman had been given the name Silalo because immediately after her birth her mother had placed around her hips an ornamental band, which was stitched with the pea-sized red fruits called *es sila*. Later Geriga also married Negadgaš, from the lineage of the El mamasita. She was barren. Then Kidodoi died, and Geriga became his successor as *ol oiboni*. In this period it came to pass that for the first time a warrior transgressed with the wife of an *ol moruo*. God punished this adultery by having a smallpox epidemic (3)

3. *ol minjaloi*.

arise among the Masai.

When Mutari grew up, he married Nasingoi, who was named after the bush *e' nasingo*, whose roots her mother had eaten with special liking during her pregnancy. Nasingoi's father belonged to the lineage of the El bartimaro and was called Loigĝiĝ. He had been named this after a necklace sewed together out of leather strips and beads (= *ol gĝiĝ*), which he first made and for a long time was customary for first-born children. His wife was called Siwa and belonged to the lineage of the El magesan. When Nasingoi became pregnant, she carried triplets, and, when she gave birth, at first only two children, two boys, came into the world. The first-born was already very hairy at birth and had a beard (*ol munjoi*), which was why he was given the name 'L ol munjoi. The mother called the other one 'L en jorgug, because immediately after birth she wrapped him in a dehaired, soft piece of leather (*en jorgug*). The third child, likewise, a son, was not born until three months later.

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#589 He was given the name Ndarasi = the tarrier (4).

4. atadarasi, he has tarried.

Whereas the excessive growth of hair of 'L ol munjai increased with age, 'L en jergeg had only a small beard, and Ndarasi remained completely beardless. The two older brothers were very attached to each other and always went outside the paternal kraal together. One day, when their old father was very sick, the two older brothers went to a supplication feast (5)

5. ol opor l ol geseri.

that /285/ was being celebrated in the vicinity, in order to ask God for their father's recovery. Ndarasi did not go along, but stayed at home in the kraal. While 'L ol munjai and 'L en jergeg were absent, the father became much sicker, and since he felt that he would soon die, he called for 'L ol munjai, as the eldest, in order to bless him, that is, to hand over the inheritance to him, to impart advice on its management, on the settlement for the brothers, the care for the mother, etc.

When Ndarasi heard the calls of his father, he quickly cut up a goatskin and tied its parts around his arms, shoulders, and cheeks. Then he entered the dark hut in which the dying father lay and said: "Father, you called me, here I am." Masari replied: "I called 'L ol munjai, whereas you, as I hear from your voice, are Ndarasi." But Ndarasi replied: "No, father, I am 'L ol munjai." Then the father called him to him and felt him. Now he gave him detailed advice about the inheritance, appointed him principal heir, gave him the management of the entire estate, and bade him to be good.

Soon afterwards the two older brothers came home, and 'L ol munjai immediately went into the hut to the bed of his father, who, upon his entry, addressed him with the words: "'L ol munjai, I am about to die." Then the latter begged: "Father, bless me before you die." The old man replied: "I have just blessed you." And when the son replied that he had just now returned with 'L ol jergeg from the

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#539 supplication feast, the father continued: "If you were not here and [illegible] was not either, I must have blessed [illegible]." With these words [illegible] died.

In accordance with the words of his father, [illegible] took possession of the inheritance, kraal, livestock, and everything that otherwise would have accrued to the eldest brother. [illegible] then moved far away, but after some time he returned with a number of warriors, in order to fight [illegible]. When the latter heard about this, he went to meet his brother amicably and said to him: "My brother, I am not to blame that father blessed me in place of you; perhaps father was no longer clear-headed when he kept calling for you; I went in to him because he called my name. Let us now conclude friendship, for which I am bringing you two head of cattle, two sheep, and two goats." [illegible] consented and concluded friendship with [illegible].

[illegible]'s sister, [illegible], married [illegible], from the lineage of the El [illegible]. When she gave birth to a son, she called him [illegible], because during the last weeks of pregnancy she had had to suffer from his violent child-movements (= [illegible]).

There lived at that time a man named [illegible], from the lineage of the El [illegible]. He came from a family in which stuttering was hereditary. /339/ For this reason the tribal founder, then he and other members of the family who suffered from this defect, had been given the nickname [illegible], i.e., the stutterer. [illegible] married [illegible], from the lineage of the El [illegible]. She bore him three children, the boys [illegible] and [illegible], and the daughter [illegible]. Of these only the first, the eldest, stuttered.

The El [illegible] were followed by the El [illegible]. [illegible] became the most important personality of this epoch. He had married [illegible], the daughter of [illegible] of the lineage of the [illegible] and of his wife [illegible]. [illegible] bore him two sons, [illegible] and [illegible]. His brother [illegible], who did not stutter, married [illegible] of the El [illegible] lineage. She also gave birth to two sons, [illegible] and [illegible]. [illegible]'s sister, [illegible], remained unmarried, for she died very young from a fractured lower leg that became gangrenous.

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#539 [illegible] was a devout man, a man of God (1).

1. [illegible].

through whom God sent human beings his commands. Moreover, [illegible] was an astronomer, who prophesied from the position of the stars and noted the coming weather. One day God called him to [illegible] and appeared to him there in a large cloud. After [illegible] had thrown himself to the ground before God, the latter said:

"The [illegible] shall henceforth circumcise the children. This knife is for the circumcision of boys," and he handed him a small, pointed, double-edged knife (2).

2. [illegible], cf. Ind Part, VII; formerly [illegible] instead of [illegible].

"This one is for the circumcision of the girls," and he handed him an [illegible] (3).

3. Cf. Ind Part, VII; an older designation for it is [illegible].

"With this," God continued, "the umbilical cord of newborn children shall from now on also be cut." Finally God also gave him a hand-wide leather belt (4)

4. [illegible], cf. Ind Part, XIII.

and said: "The woman in childbed shall wear such a belt around her loins, so that she will quickly recover."

Some time later God again called [illegible] to him on the mountain and again appeared to him in a cloud. God spoke to [illegible]: "The [illegible] are so evil that they no longer deserve any consideration. The [illegible] shall therefore from now on set out with weapons to make war on them. The [illegible] shall wage war on all

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537 ol men and conquer them."

At this time it happened that, for the first time since the deluge, a theft occurred. A younger ol moruo of the El mamasita lineage, Lindi by name, one day stole three goats that belonged to an older ol moruo from the El kasinde lineage, Naeikiliki by name. Thereupon God sent sickness among the Masai as punishment. In order to avoid contamination the people scattered and fled from the infected steppe to hills and mountains. No more than the persons belonging to one family were together anywhere. /107/ From each such camp the light of the hearth fire glowed every evening like a spark (ol dili), which is why the sickness was called spark sickness (ol ge' ol dili or, for short, 'l ol dili).

After Ololge's death, Sargamba became ol oiboni. He begat Lenigirikeli. The latter broadened the religious cult by introducing the supplication feast "orgoa 'ng ol ol adjo" (1).

1. Cf. 2nd Part, XII.

which the women celebrate in order to ask God for the blessing of children. The preparation of the magic medicine with which the women are sprinkled during this feast was taught by Lenigirikeli /109/ to a man named Ndeleki, who became the first ol geiatiki.

The El geweri were followed by the El dareri. Ndeleki, who belonged to the El gidin lineage, married Tunda from the El magesen lineage. She gave birth to the boy Ngabe and the girl Naibirinai. When the latter was born, the barren sister of Tunda urged the latter to let her have the child. Since the parents of the child were definitely against this, it led to a quarrel and strife (= ebirafie), on account of which the girl was given the name Naibirinai. When Ngabe grew up, he succeeded his father as ol geiatiki.

At this time there lived a man named Diriinam, from the El mamagu lineage. One night he saw a large animal outside the kraal, and since he took it for a lion, he killed it by means of a knife throw. But then it turned out that it was not a lion, but a suckling donkey. Since God had forbidden the killing of female animals, the deed demanded Diriinam's punishment; but since he had not transgressed God's commandment intentionally, God sent only a

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⁎ 539 mild plague upon the Masai. He sent large numbers of scarabaeoid dung beetles (?).

2. ol molla, ol mollā.

which ate off the roots of the grasses, through which a scarcity of fodder and consequently a lack of milk arose.

The Es siawai were followed by the El gimali. During this epoch a man slaughtered a cow and thus consciously transgressed the command of God. As punishment God sent grasshoppers (?).

3. Now ol nāti, ol nātu; formerly ol munjololo, ol munjololoni.

which ate the grass down to the roots, so that a severe famine arose.

At the time of the El kigeriē, who followed the El gimali, the first murder after the deluge occured. A man from the El barimaro lineage, named Lembegua, from em bēre = the spear, killed with a spear thrust a man named Dōboti from the El ogomoni lineage. God was very angry about this and sent the urgug epidemic, from which human beings and livestock died in great numbers. The survivors fed themselves only poorly on game and wild plants for many years.

The most important man of this epoch was the ol oiboni of the El kigeriē, /288/ named Gelēlē, from the El lamoredigo lineage. His wife was called Getobua, because she was merciful (= etobua), for she had gathered together and adopted all the children orphaned by the urgug epidemic whom she could get hold of. Gelele established anew the arrangement for instruction on every seventh day, the esubat 'n olod, originating with Masana and affected badly by the last epidemics. The ol aigwenani alone was no longer sufficient for doing the teaching, hence a few old men were called on for this. They were named el abarī (sing. ol abarī); at first they were recruited from the El marumai lineage.

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# 539 The plagues had created a hitherto unknown contrast of rich and poor. In order to alleviate this, to bring the impoverished back to well-being, Ovlain arranged that the people of a larger circle gather together at the new moon of the seventh month, the ol ogunj' aimedjaraed. In this way he succeeded in having the tribal and lineage members meet at least once a year, become better acquainted and more closely joined. Apart from the fact that with the strengthening of the feeling of solidarity the sympathy for the fate of the impoverished tribal members grew, the new arrangement was primarily supposed to facilitate the kind of support prescribed in the sixth of the commandments imparted by Ol diöma. This feast on the seventh new moon of each year is called kitok e olak emuhara. Messengers of the ol aigwenani announced the approach of the day in the individual districts, within which the people were then called together by the sound of the antelope horns serving as trumpets, as is still customary now for every gathering.

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[539]

Gerabos gave birth to the boy Lengenok (engenok = muscle), who later, as a youth, was distinguished by great physical strength: if a lion approached the herd, he leaped upon it and strangled it with his hands. As a brave warrior, still young in years, he fell because of an arrow shot in battle against the el meg. Shortly before, he had married Lahaine, who had been named after a like-named mountain. After Lengenok's death she married an adopted son of Gerabos, named Ngamuela, one of those orphaned children, and she bore him first a daughter, Nairemaa. She was named this because at her birth the umbilical cord was wound around her neck (= en seina arlbagissa e muri). Nairemaa later became the first midwife. Afterwards Gerabos gave birth to the boy Gariodgi. He invented the draw well (1).

1. ol gemiemet, ol gemienti.

000 There remain to be mentioned a few reminiscences from the primeval age of the Masai, which cannot be classified in any definite place in the foregoing chronological account of their tradition.

/330 cont./

006 In the primeval age the whole people was called [illegible], whereas the /331/ peoples standing ethnographically close to it were designated as El meg. Gradually, affected by the impoverishment of many people arising as a consequence of livestock epidemics, it split up into two parts: the rich and the poor. The latter did not have enough cattle in order to have an ox at hand each time they wanted to slaughter one, in accordance with the custom. Thus there arose among them the practice, still customary today among poorer Masai, of trading a young female head of cattle for a fat ox. Thus, if one of the poorer ones wanted to slaughter an ox, he took, if he lacked a suitable one -- which was often the case -- a female calf and set out with it for the kraals of the wealthy ones, in order to trade it for the desired animal. This exchange is called [illegible], and from this the poorer ones were given the name 'l ameruk (sing. ol ameraki or ŋameri and ŋodiri, sing. ol ŋameri). Further livestock epidemics separated the 'l ameruk more and more from the richer ones, for, while the latter, thanks to their large herds, were still able to live solely from the products of these, the former had to try to cover part of their subsistence through field products that they bought from the sedentary peoples, the El [illegible] to be discussed presently. This state of distress made it impossible for the 'l ameruk to travel on with their fellow tribesmen and kept them in the vicinity of the agriculturalists. Thus it came about that they remained in the original homeland, while the wealthier ones, for whom the name El masai arose at this time, moved to Africa during the rule of the ol oiboni [illegible].

The impoverished ones bore the name 'l ameruk for only a short time; then it was applied to the smiths who daily exchange the products of their craft for livestock, while the former were merely called ŋameri.

Among these there was a very influential, though poor man named Ol eberet, whose forefathers were so impoverished that they subsisted solely on the yields of the hunt. He had been given his name from the bush ol ebereni (Phyllanthus spec.), from the branches of which the hut in which he was born was plaited, since no other bushes grew in the vicinity of the kraal. Ol eberet became the founder of the lineage of the the El eberet, a part of which remained behind with the ŋameri in the original homeland, while the other part traveled on with the Masai-

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Ol eberet married the woman Naisandi, who bore him the son Geréna, who joined the Masai.

Tradition relates the following about the peoples with whom the Masai came in contact in the original homeland and on whom the ever more impoverished [illegible], along with the El eberet, found support

The El dinet lived in a flat land called Aoi, which was traversed by long canals that served to irrigate the plantings. The land was named this because two hills found in it, visible from afar, resembled in their form the position, designated as aoi, of the horns of some cattle.

The El dinet lived in solidly built tembe, which, /290/ set beside one another in a circle, formed small, compact villages. Well-to-do people lived chiefly from the products of their herds, poor people cultivated the soil on a large scale and planted especially beans and sorghum. Their goats and sheep were spotlessly white and as large as calves. In order to kill a head of cattle, one man held in front of its forehead a wooden wedge lashed to a stick, which another man then drove into the animal's brain by a blow with a large, clublike cudgel. Then the skin was stripped off and the neck arteries opened so that all the blood flowed out, for the people were not permitted to consume blood or bloody meat. They cooked the meat in clay pots. The legs of the cattle were prepared without being cut up. Since the pots were not so big that one could stick in the whole ox leg, one hung it on a rope from the roof of the hut in such a way that the part hanging down was in the pot and could be cooked. As soon as it was done, the leg was hung turned around and the other half cooked.

The men and boys shaved their heads; the women shaved only the edge of the head hair and let the hair grow long around the crown on a round spot approximately as large as a hand with outstretched fingers, so that it hung down to the middle of the back; they adorned it by braiding in cowrie shells. Circumcision was unknown to the El dinet. The bridegroom paid no bride price at or before the marriage; only after the wife had given life to a child did the husband bring her father 20 head of cattle and eight goats or sheep. When the wife gave birth, the husband slaughtered a sheep and consumed its meat with his friends. Not until the next day did he slaughter a second one for the woman in childbed and her female neighbors. They explained

/390 cont./

066 this custom this way, that the husband first conceived the child and after that the wife gave birth to it.

The young men did not set out for war; they only fought with the bees, of which there were enormous quantities in their land. In all the trees and in very many places in the hard red earth one saw holes in which bees lived. Each hole had its owner, who designated his property with a mark scratched beside it.

The people were summoned to the judicial proceedings by the sound of a very large drum, which was spanned with a whole oxhide. Anyone who sought justice brought along as a fee larger or smaller beads, which he placed on the drum.

Their God, whom they called Njau (1),

1. Probably more accurately written 'n jau, since the prefixed n is to be pronounced as an article. It should be noted that jau, the Chaldean form for jahve /Yahweh/, is the oldest Semitic form for the Israelitish designation for God, according to the present state of our knowledge.

resembled in his nature the God of the Masai, 'Ng ai.

/391/ They designated their chief as ol [illegible] in accordance with his position. His name was Tolgasemi.

The El [illegible], already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, shared their flat land bounded by hills, Bura, with another tribe, the 'Lattuka. Through the land flowed a big river, which bore the name [illegible] and from which led very long channels for irrigating the land. A large mountain on the border of the land bore the name of donjo l ol [illegible], i.e., tunnel mountain, because a tunnel formed by [illegible] ran through it, or ol donjo l ol [illegible], i.e., the mountain of the dogs, because one day a respected old man named [illegible] had found a number of dogs up at the top of the mountain.

The El [illegible] lived in [illegible] huts. The wealthier ones lived only from the products of their herds, the poorer people also from the products of agriculture. They planted especially sorghum and gourds, as well as a plant whose root formed a larger than hand-size turnip or tuber, called ol [illegible], which sent out two thin sprouts about half a meter long. Furthermore they planted a sugar-cane-like plant, which

/291 cont./

001 was called *éngarí*. Their cattle belonged to the zebu breed. They possessed sheep and goats in large numbers. These were killed by suffocation, whereas slaughter cattle were struck with a large club. The reason for this was that no blood was to flow out of the animal before the onset of death. They called God Sua (1);

> 1. Probably the sun god, who, like the sun itself, the Semito-Nigritians of Kilimandscharo called Rua, those of Umbugwe Jua, and the Nigrito-Semites of Iraku Loa.

the Masai do not know anything about his nature.

Everywhere in the country one saw human figures carved out of wood, which allegedly possessed the power to protect human beings and keep away wild animals. The Masai do not know whether these figures represented gods.

The El gandus designate the standing of chief with *ol airó*, his name was Duabes.

The boys were not circumcised, but girls were, and, to be sure, at the age of puberty, shortly before their marriage. The man did not pay a bride price before or at his marriage. The bride received a dowry from her father, consisting of livestock skins for clothing, beads and wire rings as ornaments, and a hide as a bed. Upon her first confinement the husband paid her father 25 head of cattle, 20 goats or sheep, 20 strands of the oval *heró* beads, and 22 pots of honey. The husband did not keep a barren wife, but sent her back to her father, with whom she remained. For the birth of a boy, a five-day feast was celebrated; for that of a girl, a one-day feast. When the boy was 15 months old, his mother carried him a few hours' march away from the hut into the /292/ bush and there shaved his head for the first time. A woman accompanying her then likewise shaved the head hair of the young mother. The first head-shaving of a girl took place two months after her birth, and, to be sure, not outside, but in the hut of her mother.

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The way of life of the 'Larinai was the same as that of the El gandus. They made stone walls around their huts, as many El gandus did also. Others filled the space between the stone walls with earth and thus made a platform upon which they then built the huts. Their chief was named Dionó, his office was designated with the word _maube_.

The clothing of the 'Larinai, like that of the El gandus, consisted of neat skins made soft.

They made themselves images of God out of clay, which had the shape of a giraffe, but whose head bore no horns (1).

> 1. According to Prof. A. Wiedemann, the head that the Egyptians put on the god Set is that of the okapi.

North of the _ol donjo geri_, in the land Meia with the _ol donjo l ol ha_ (arrow mountain), two tribes, whose names are El magaria and El denga, lived close together. They planted all the field products known to the present-day Masai. Very many of their cattle had white backs and black flanks. All cattle were hornless, since the calves horn appendages were cauterized.

The clipping of the boys consisted of circumcision, while the girls, as among the Masai, were clipped, and, to be sure, both at the age of puberty. At marriage the husband paid the wife's father a bride price consisting of sheep, goats, honey, and bracelets of iron. At the first confinement of the wife, her husband paid his father-in-law a few more cattle. The husband kept a barren wife. Girls and warriors wore their hair like the women of the El dinet; at their marriage and from them on they constantly shaved their heads. Leather aprons served as clothing. As adornment the warriors wore a handspan-wide strip of hide, which hung down from the neck toward the back.

The El gargurek lived -- not far from the El dinet -- in a perfectly flat country, which was watered by two rivers, Mälleja and Reri. They possessed small livestock and cattle, the latter of which were smaller than those of the Masai. They obtained their livelihood, however, chiefly from the products of their fields, in which, besides

/292 cont./

large red beans and maize, they also grew a plant called em baie. From its roots sprouted a wreath of foot-long leaves, in the center of which an equally long stem bore a blossom from which the fruit developed. The latter was about hand-sized and concealed in its interior a quantity of soft, edible seeds of the size of /293/ maize kernels. Everywhere in the country were set up beehives which were twice as thick and half as long as those that the Wandorobo have.

In the center of the country the people had piled up an artificial hill of earth and stones. From its tip the grazing herds were observed by a few watchmen, who whiled away the time of their watch with an en dedoi game chiseled in stone (1).

1. Text figure No. 8, p. 47.

Since the land was very poor in trees, the people liked to stay in the shade of the hill and also celebrated their sacrificial feasts there. At these a sheep was suffocated and its fat burned as an offering to God, whom they called Schambi. The skin of the sheep was afterwards cut into thin strips, of which each participant received one to wear as a neck band.

If a girl had accepted the proposal of a man, the ones now betrothed exchanged iron finger-rings. Then the friends of the bridegroom fetched eight bamboo trunks and set them around the hut of the bride's father, as a sign that the girl who lived in that hut was a bride. With the betrothal the girl, who until then was unclothed, like the men, received her first article of clothing. It consisted of a leather strip approximately a foot wide and two meters long, which on one side -- to be worn on the outside -- was stitched with cylindrical iron beads. The charming wearer stuck her head through a round hole in the middle and then let one end of the garment hang down in front, the other in back.

When the woman gave birth for the first time, her husband paid the bride price, and, to be sure, his father-in-law received four head of cattle and two goats, the mother-in-law two head of cattle and four goats. After the birth of a boy the woman in childbed remained in the hut one month, after that of a girl 15 days. On the

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000 last day of this childbed the head hair of mother and child was shaved.

Circumcision was not customary.

The people were summoned to the judicial proceedings by the sound of a large drum.

One put a wire noose around the neck of the deceased and hung him by that in the grave. At the moment of the breaking of the cervical vertebra, after which the dead was placed in the grave and it was closed up, a three-day lamentation for the dead began.

The chief of the El gargurên was called Endiledi; he was designated as ol gôdja in accordance with his office.

The El galahgala lived in a mountainous land called Meledi, through which a rapid river flowed. Politically the land was divided into two districts: one was under the Sultan Lindi, the other under the Sultana /394/ Mallo. Each village consisted of a compact ring of huts, inside of which was a circular barricade of thorn branches in which the livestock was stabled at night. Since the people did not have enough grass in their rocky mountain country for their livestock, only a few head, to be sure, in the dry season the latter was taken to the foot of the mountains, where during the night it found protection from predatory animals in hastily erected thorn-kraals. The milking of the cows was men's work. In the fields maize, sugar cane, beans, sorghum, and batatas were chiefly planted.

The circumcision of the boys and the excisio clitoridis of the girls were undertaken at the age of puberty. The man asked the father of the girl for her and, as a sign of his intention, brought him 15 gourd bottles of honey beer, by the acceptance of which the old man gave his consent. Before the wedding the bride's father received as bride price two cows and two goats, as well as four bags of maize or beans, just as the mother of the bride also received this. After the birth of a boy the woman remained in the hut for nine days; only during this time was the little one given mother's milk, later he was given cow's milk and sheep fat as a substitute for it. After the birth of a girl the woman remained in the hut for a month; the girl was suckled until she could walk. At the end of the confinement, the head hair of the woman in childbed and the child was shaved.

/394 cont./

008 Besides agriculture and animal husbandry the El galalgala also engaged in hunting, and, to be sure, for the purpose of obtaining meat and hides, from the latter of which they made their clothing, in form and cut like that of the Masai. Their trade was limited to barter with the hunting people of the El dekgti living at the foot of their mountains in the Samburuat area, who sold the former locally made pots and obtained agricultural products for them. The El galalgala called God 'Ng ai.

The same conception of God was held by the El dekgti just mentioned, who neither laid out fields nor raised livestock, but lived solely from the products of hunting, which they practiced with poisoned arrows. Their clothing resembled that of the Masai in shape and kind and was made out of game hides.

The circumcision of the boys and the excisio clitoridis of the girls were performed at the age of puberty. As bride price the bridegroom, before the wedding, paid the bride's father ten beehives and ten pots of honey. When the woman had given life to a boy, she stayed in the hut for 15 days; after the birth of a girl, 10 days. On the day on which she left the hut, the head hair of mother and child was shaved. The children were weaned as soon as they were able to walk.

The El maina in the land of Endobonet were monogamous. They were livestock-raising agriculturalists and planted, besides a large type of millet called ol gare, also beans, very large bananas, and foot-long yam tubers, which were called ol olimotheri. They called their God Rembero.

/395/ The circumcision of the boys and the excisio clitoridis of the girls were undertaken at the age of puberty. The huts of the unmarried lay apart from those of the married. Every young man, together with the girl who later became his wife, lived in the former. Before the wedding the bridegroom paid the father of the bride nine head of cattle and nine goats or sheep, of which the latter gave four head of cattle to his wife and the small livestock to his other children. When the woman had given birth to a boy, she remained in the hut ten days and on the tenth day, with the child in her arms, went to her father, who presented her with a head of cattle. After the birth

/395 cont./

000 of a girl, the woman observed a fifteen-day childbed. On the day on which she left the hut, herhead-hair and that of the baby were shaved.

The people made ther clothing out of livestock skins, and, to be sure, in the same mannerand form as the Masai. Only the lower apron of the women's clothing we somewhat shorter than the ol openana of the Masai women and reached only to the knee. The women wore iron ornamental rings above thecalves and around their wrists. A round wooden plug adorned the pierced ar-lobes.

The El gidiah in the lad Loisa were also livestock-raising agriculturalists. They possessed ver many goats, fewer cattle and sheep. They planted especially a largetype of maize, as well as batatas, beans, and sorghum. They lived in tll, rectangular huts, whose walls and flat roof were covered with grass. The huts were built close together and surrounded a circular or rectangular pasa or court, in the center of which a palisade fence marked off the stallfor the livestock.

The circumcision of he boys and the excisio clitoridis of the girls were undertaken in childhood, as soon as the child was able to walk. Before the wedding the bridegroom paid the father of the bride a pot of sheep fat, several pots of oney beer, a sheep, a goat, and a cow; to the mother another cow. When the woman was confined, her husband slaughtered an ox and entertained his friends and neighbors with its meat. After the delivery the woman was not permitted to leave the hut for six months, no matter whethe the newborn child was a boy or a girl. At the end of this time her head-air and that of the baby were shaved.

In war the people wee armed with bow, arrow, knife, and club. They did not take captive men away with them but rather, after cutting off their hands and feet, lft them lying.

The El [illegible] were agriculturalists practicing animal husbandry. Their cattle were very large andgenerally reddish brown in color; their goats were also large, whereas the shep were very small. In their fields they planted especially sugar cane, maize, and batatas.

The circumcision of he boys took place at the age of puberty, while the girls were clipped ([illegible]) in childhood. As bride price the bridegroom had to pay the father of the bride four cows, an ox, /396/ three goats, and 10 pots of honey before the wedding. After the birth of a boy the woman remained in her hut five days; after that of a girl, ten days. The head hair

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000 of mother and child was shaved as soon as the latter was able to walk.

The El merro made figures out of earth in the form of human beings and goats and designated them as gods.

Their chief was called Mombariefit; their land, Laria.

The El tumbaine lived in the highland Olinotti. They had come there poor and had plundered and driven out the previous inhabitants, the El moitanik. Since they had come into property here, they named the land Olinotti, from kinotto = we have received. In the fields they planted beans, batatas, and maize. Their cattle were small and had extraordinarily long horns; their goats and sheep were very large; the latter had a thick stump tail. The people also engaged in hunting to a limited extent; they kept the meat of the slain game, whereas they bartered the skins for vegetable food from the El ginjollo.

The El tumbaine were not acquainted with circumcision. The married and unmarried lived in separate kraals. Their clothing resembled that of the Masai and was also made out of livestock skins. The articles of clothing of the women showed rich cowrie trimming. Girls and women wore round disks of ivory in their pierced and enlarged ear-lobes. After delivery the woman had to remain in the hut ten days.

They made themselves statues of their god, Mbamama, out of clay. Most of these represented female figures that wore a cloth on their heads (1);

1. It should be recalled that the head of the Assyrian Astarte statues is also adorned with a cloth.

male figures were also seen there, but my Masai informants do not know whether they, too, were representations of God.

The El ginjollo lived in the land Ariai, which was very wooded and the name of which has therefore been formed from the word aai' = dense in reference to the forest (aai' el dim = dense forest). Most of the trees in it bore sweet, tasty fruits; in particular bananas, beans, maize, and sugar cane grew in the fields. The people had only very little livestock, and the well-to-do called their own scarcely more than ten head of cattle and a few more goats and sheep.

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066 Boys and girls were clipped (circumcision or excisio clitoridis) in childhood. After the delivery the woman remained in her hut eight days. On the day on which she left it, her head and that of the newborn child were shaved. If the latter was a girl, the shaving was done in the hut; for a boy, on the other hand, it was done outside the compound.

They called God Mugaivé.

The El mamanjo lived not far from the El meru. They were /397/ mainly livestock breeders and possessed very many cattle, goats, and sheep. They cultivated the soil only to a very limited extent and planted el olbarbei, which served especially as food for the older men, whereas for the women and children beans and a type of potato were grown. The unmarried men lived almost solely on milk and meat.

The circumcision of the boys, as well as the excisio clitoridis of the girls, was undertaken after the onset of puberty. In connection with the betrothal the girls' heads were anointed with fat. As bride price the bridegroom paid the father of the bride 24 head of cattle, 14 of which had to be young cows that had not yet calved, furthermore 8 goats or sheep and 20 pots of honey, while he gave the bride eight bells, two of which she wore on each arm and leg on her wedding day. After the birth of a boy the young mother remained in the hut eight days, after that of a girl only four. On the day of the first walk outside, the mother's and the child's head hair was shaved. If the newborn child was a boy, the shaving took place outside the kraal; if, on the other hand, it was a girl, it was done in the hut.

The Ugo in the land Ol donjo le mutidé were another people from whom the poor Asseri and El sheuer bought vegetable food. They were agriculturalists and planted beans, bananas, millet, maize, and sugar cane. Since they possessed no livestock, they sought to cover their meat requirements through hunting.

They called God Yiaidim. One saw among them small clay figures that represented bulls or male calves. My Masai informants do not believe that these were supposed to be representations of God, but regard them as children's toys.

/397 cont./

000 The circumcision of the boys was undertaken at the age of puberty; the exc. clit. of the girls, on the other hand, in early childhood. For the wooing, the young man gave the girl a few iron-wire chains; if the girl accepted the proposal, she hung the chains around her neck or bandoleer-like around neck and left shoulder; otherwise she wound them vertically around her head. After obtaining the consent of the girl, the man asked her father by bringing him a sheep, through the acceptance of which the old man gave his consent. Until the wedding the bridegroom then delivered all the slain female game to the family of the bride, while the male game belonged to him and his family. On the day of the wedding, finally, he paid the father of the bride 10 pots of honey beer. On the fourth day after the birth of a boy, on the third after that of a girl, the husband set out to hunt; as soon as he had slain a head of game, he notified his wife, who then came immediately with the newborn child. After the head hair of both had been shaved on the spot where the game fell, they returned home, and the woman, who had not left the hut since her delivery, now resumed her daily work. If, on the other hand, the stalking of the husband had been in vain, he repeated it on the following days, until the /[illegible]/ desired success was obtained. The childbed of the woman then lasted until that day.

The herding nomads El gamasmia lived in the land Ereruk. They possessed large cattle with arm-long horns, large goats, smaller sheep, donkeys, and camels. The latter furnished a great deal of milk, which was prized more than cow's milk by the people.

Their chief was called Naigamia. They called God Em bi and made statues of him, which represented a giraffe whose head bore no horns.

The circumcision of the boys and girls took place as soon as the child began to speak. In connection with the betrothal the man brought the mother of the bride two sheep and a pot of honey beer. Before the wedding the bridegroom paid the father of the bride 3 cows, 3 oxen, and 14 pots of honey beer. After the birth of a boy the woman was not permitted to leave the hut for twelve days; after that of a girl, for eight days.

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000 The land Eseraki was very flat and during the rainy season was almost completely under water, for which reason warlike raids on the El gamasnia could be undertaken only during the dry season. For external security they used tamed vultures (1),

(b5) 1. For such use there were the gray-brown vulture, named by the Masai ol motonj logion, by the El gamasnia -- according to statements of the Masai -- ol ateyai, and the black vulture, which the Masai called ol motonj orok, and the El gamasnia, kilodgen. -- Perhaps in this use of the vulture or eagle for outpost duty lies the original reason for the use of this bird as heraldic animal. The Hethitischen /Hittite/ reliefs on the rock wall at Boghaskői /Boghazkeui/, which may stem from the 13th century B.C., already show the double eagle escutcheon. The Seldschukken /Seljuk/ sultans adopted the escutcheon around 1217, and the German kaisers put it in their escutcheon in the year 1345.

which, with the approach of the enemy, quickly flew to the kraals and, through their simultaneous arrival in masses, announced there the impending danger. A rather large river, named Tinkisigi, and a smaller one, Narok ooril, named after the black stones of its bed, flowed through the country.

The El gamasnia, whose chief was called Lenki, were a nomadic people living only on the products of livestock breeding. Their cattle were black and white spotted; their goats were white and had horns half a meter long; the sheep were brown.

No circumcision was practiced among them. Before the wedding the bridegroom paid the father of the bride two cows and three steers as well as eight goats or sheep and fifteen pots of honey, while the mother of the bride received eight sheepskins for clothing and two

/269 cont./

060 wire for the making of ornaments. After the birth of a boy the woman was not permitted to leave the hut for a month, whereas the childbed after the birth of a /270/ girl lasted only five days. On the day of the first walk outside, the head hair of the mother and the child was shaved.

Every warrior, i.e., every man not yet married, was obliged to take part in a war expedition. If someone was prevented from doing so because of illness, his family had to furnish a substitute; as such there came into consideration both the brother still in boyhood and the father, indeed even an unmarried sister. Before setting out for war, all the participants gathered with the chief, who, after an ox had been killed by a stab in the neck and then cut up, prophesied the outcome of the battle from its entrails. If his verdict was favorable, the expedition was undertaken; otherwise it was postponed for the time being.

They made statues of God, whom they called [illegible], in the form of a male figure that had only one leg.

In the land [illegible], there where the [illegible] river formed a large number of small islands, the [illegible] lived on agriculture and fishing. In the fields they planted maize and a plant called [illegible], from the head-sized roots of which, after they had been cut into slices and dried, flour was made. They caught fish with weir baskets and wire hooks tied to strings. They put bridges across the numerous branches of the river. (Boats were unknown to them.) Markets, at which fish were traded for vegetables, were held every few days.

They called God [illegible]; they held gatherings at the first of a new moon, at which they asked God for food and good health.

The clipping of the boys (circumcision) and of the girls ([illegible]) took place at the age of puberty. As bride price the husband paid the father of the bride eight pots of honey and worked for two months in one of his fields. After the birth of a boy the woman was not permitted to leave the hut for 10 days; after that of a girl she observed a five-day childbed. On the day of the first walk outside, the head hair of the mother and the child was shaved.

The [illegible] were a very poor people, for, besides a very few head of livestock, they possessed only beehives.

/199 cont./

000 Among them the boys were clipped (circumc.) at the age of 10-13, the girls at the age of about six (scar. clit.). As bride price the husband paid the father of the bride 40 beehives and 15 pots of honey. After the birth of a child the woman did not leave the hut for five days. On the day of the first walk outside, her head and that of the new born child were shaved.

Several times during the month whole bands of older women and men, laden with honey and clay pots which they made themselves, set out for tribes engaged in agriculture, in order to get vegetable foods in exchange for them.

/201/ Nothing is known to my informants about the significance of the animal figures made out of clay that were seen in their kraals and huts.

They called God [illegible].

173 In contrast to the extensive and firmly established traditions from the remotest past stand the paucity and uncertainty of the information from more recent times. Coherent historical memory does not extend beyond a generation; what lies before that is uncertain. The somewhat certain information tells of war expeditions, livestock epidemics, drought, and similar unimportant events. Therefore only the series of the age-class associations, which, incidentally, also has gaps and is uncertain, and that of the chiefs are still to be completed:

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561
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El [illegible]	ol oibonit [illegible].
El [illegible]	ol oibonit [illegible].
El [illegible]	ol oibonit [illegible].
El [illegible].	
El [illegible]	ol oibonit Mbatyan.
El [illegible].	
*El [illegible]	ol oibonit Lenana (1).

1. Sometimes only belongs to the age class of the El [illegible], which at the present time is attached to the next older one, the El [illegible], not yet to an ol adji.

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II.

A comparative consideration of the traditions of the Masai and Israelites, with regard to the aspects of the primeval-age myths found in Babylonian: creation of the world, the creation of the first human beings, paradise and the fall, the deluge, the Kenites of the Bible, the blacksmiths of the Masai, the deception about the right of the first-born, Moses-Marumi-Musana, etc., circumcision, the naming of God, the fiery serpent, the ten commandments. -- Some further points of contact.

4 172
4 [773]
4 [771]
[171]

The strictly monotheistic religion of the Masai and the similarity, often going as far as correspondence, of their primeval-age myths with those of the people of Israel, known to us from the Bible, deserved a more detailed and comparative study. The fact that here a comparison can extend only to a few main points and even these can be dealt with only briefly and sketchily is to be explained by the fact that these lines are originating in African solitude.

Recent research, especially the excavations in the ancient Near Eastern center of civilization, on the soil of the Babylonian Empire, has traced back to Babylonian origin a whole series of Old Testament ideas from the primeval age. The reasons for this were by and large the following:

It was found that ideas similar to those, for example, contained in the Biblical /sic/ myths about the creation of the world, paradise, the deluge, etc., were already established in writing or pictorially in the civilized state of Babel /Babylonia/ at a time when the ancient Israelites still inhabited the Arabian-Syrian steppes as culture-poor nomads. There was further found in these ideas in part a specifically Babylonian character such that it seemed as though they could have arisen in their Biblical form only in a land such as Babylonia, but not in the arid steppes, or even only in the atmosphere of Babylonian material life and not in the conceptual sphere of the herdsmen of ancient Israel. Finally, one also had to reckon with the fact that Kanaan /Canaan/, the land in which the Israelites became sedentary after their long nomadism, was saturated with Babylonianisms during

/301 cont./

121 its conquest by Israel, and that the Jews found there a soil already long worked by the ancient Babylonian culture, which made it easier for them to adopt new culture elements and alien ideas.

Let us now briefly consider the question of when Israel is supposed to have come to these Babylonian ideas. In addition to what was regarded as specifically Babylonian in these common myths, there was also found much that was genuinely Israelitish, among which is to be counted, above all, the monotheism prevailing everywhere in the Old Testament. These ideas must therefore have undergone a long development in Israel before they could have assumed the forms in which the Bible has handed them down to us. This led to the assumption that the influence emanating from Babylon began to have an effect on the Israelites around the middle of the second millennium before Christ through the intervention of the original inhabitants of Kanaan /Canaan/. The discovery of the Tell el-Amarna tablets, which, among other things, taught that even at that time there was an active correspondence in Babylonian script and language between Babel on the one hand and Egypt and Palestine on the other, strengthened that assumption.

This brief sketch may suffice to show how and when Babylonian influence could have influenced the mental life of Israel.

Let us now turn to the Masai!!

773 Here we found the surprising fact that a large number of ideas,
771 especially in the myths of the primeval age, remind one in part
121 very strongly of the respective accounts as the Bible teaches them to us and the Babylonian excavations show them, in part correspond only with Old Testament ones. Four possibilities come into consideration to explain this amazing phenomenon:

1. the Masai, too, have been influenced by Babylon;
2. these ideas have been brought to the Masai through Islam or the influence of Israelitish or Christian missionaries;
3. what we find in common among Masai, Israelites, and Babylonians is of common origin;
4. these ideas originated among the Masai people.

121
774 /302/ In order to investigate the first possibility, there is first to be answered the question as to when the Masai left their original

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homeland in the Arabian Peninsula. Arguing against the assumption that they passed through the land of Egypt in Egyptian historical times -- approximately 4000 b. c. -- is the complete absence of Egyptian documents about such an event (1).

> 1. It is very improbable that in the as yet little known periods from the 7th to the 11th and 13th to the 17th dynasties larger migrations of peoples passed through Egypt. For there would then be at least traces of such profoundly decisive events. On the other hand, however, it is not impossible that in the almost totally unknown period before the 4th dynasty large migrations of peoples took place within the field of vision of the Egyptians. If this is the case, however, it can not have been a matter of the Masai people, but of peoples such as the Somali, Galla, etc., who immigrated to Africa after it.

Or could one assume, say, that the Masai were at that time such an insignificantly small nation that their passage through Egypt remained unnoticed, so to speak, and appeared not worth recording by their contemporaries? In that case would it not have been probable that the small band remained in Egypt and perished there? And how, on the basis of such an assumption, is it to be explained further that the Masai were able to develop into such a mighty people in the African steppes, since history teaches us that the equator sets a limit to those steppe peoples who immigrated from the Near East? Just as the two Tatoga peoples and the first two immigrant bands of the Masai have already perished, so today we see the Masai themselves hastening, step by step, toward the same fate. A further argument against the above assumption lies in the habits and customs, in the entire ethnography of the Masai. A small, weak people could neither have maintained itself in its Near Eastern originality, nor would it have been able to force so much of it on other peoples with whom it later came in contact. I believe these considerations may suffice to make probable the assumption that the Masai were already a strong

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and mighty people at the time of their immigration to Africa.

How then would the passage of the Masai through an Egypt dominated by a political commonwealth have appeared? Could they have wandered through slowly and peacefully, or would they have had to force their way through by war? The first possibility is improbable because of the circumstance that the Masai at that time would seem to have already become a strong people. With the fact, however, that they also remained such a people and, further, that their ethnography nowhere shows traces of any influence by the existing or existing civilized state of Egypt, it entirely leaves the realm of probability. Thus we arrive at the assumption that the Masai must have had to force their passage through Egypt by war, and this would surely have been an event about which -- if it occurred in historical times -- many inscriptions would give us information.

[303] Now there remains still another -- less improbable -- possibility, namely, the one that the Masai immigrated to Africa in Egyptian historical times and, without crossing Egypt, moved south along the Red Sea, like many Bedouins still today. If one considers that the Egyptian government is still unable to exercise any effective control over the indeed only small Bedouin bands migrating back and forth between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea, it is, indeed, in and by itself not impossible that at the time of ancient Egypt larger masses of peoples might have passed along those routes through the desert from watering place to watering place. Such a route would have given the Masai the possibility of an immigration without warlike encounters with the Egyptians, provided that the latter did not see in those hordes threats to their own security and therefore did not proceed to attack them. Be that as it may, the Egyptians could not have remained ignorant of the passage of such large multitudes of people, rather, it would have had to arouse their attention if only on account of the possible danger from it for their trade relations to the south, and therefore we may assume that if the migration had taken place at a time from which we have documents from them they would probably have told about it.

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*121 174 The last possibility, an immigration across the Red Sea, is out of the question for the Masai. Livestock-raising nomads cannot travel in this way with their herds.

I therefore come to the conclusion that the Masai had already moved into Africa long before the period from which we possess Egyptian documents. With this answered: the first question is already for the influence of Babel, whose civilization did not arise until the fourth millennium, could by no means have been so far-reaching then, and, moreover, the shamanism of the Sumerians still prevailed there at that time. But even if one could postulate a later immigration of the Masai into Africa, there is still lacking any reason for the assumption that the Masai had ever been sedentary. This, however, would be the basic condition for the possibility of Babylonian influence. Babel, with its so much higher civilization and its mighty army, would have been able to draw into its orbit a sedentary people of agriculturalists; but it could not have exerted an influence on a nomadic steppe people, either through mental superiority or through force, without previously robbing it of its independence. Loss of independence for such a people, however, means nothing other than decay of the people's stability -- extinction. Also, however, if an influencing by Babylon were conceivable in temporal or local terms, the possibility of such would be most clearly and positively excluded by the content and spirit of the Masai tradition itself.

*121 797 177 174 [D15] In order to eliminate the second case, there is first to be substantiated the fact that, as far as we know up to the present time, never and nowhere have Islam, Judaism, /[illegible]/ or the Christian missions been able to exert an influence on the Masai people restlessly wandering across the steppes. I must also exclude the possibility that my informants (people 50 years of age and more) could have been influenced on these points in the aforesaid ways, according to my investigations conducted exhaustively along these lines. Moreover, the people assert most emphatically that they learned these accounts from their fathers, who allegedly in turn heard them from their fathers.

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#121 ??? 1?? 1?4 Now the fact that missionaries of whatever faith, as far as we know, have never exerted any influence on the Kiwai people does not, to be sure, exclude the possibility of an influence in the aforesaid direction on single individuals who, by some chance, for example, in war as war captives, were separated from their people. That these then returned to their people and were able to report what they had heard there would likewise be conceivable. Be that as it may, however, could some missionary activity among the Kiwai that has remained unknown to us or the circumstance that persons individually taught by missionaries were anxious to disseminate what they had heard among their fellow tribesmen really have put the Kiwai in possession of these accounts such as I found among them? #121 #773 ??? 1?? 1?4 Would it perhaps be possible that Israelitish, Mohammedan, or Christian dogmatics, none of whom have any tradition older than that of the Hexateuch for these myths, could have disseminated them in the form in which I found them among the Kiwai, in a form that is much older and more original than that of the Bible and that has much to report that was already forgotten at the time of the drawing up of the Biblical texts in question, or what, through the further development of religion, to which the sedentarism of the Israelites gave a mighty impetus, had long been displaced and supplanted by new ones corresponding to the newly achieved cultural level? The differences that separate the myths of the Kiwai from the Biblical ones will be pointed out in the comparison to follow and will show us that the Kiwai could not have arrived at these accounts through the intervention of the missionaries, who -- I repeat -- could only have drawn upon the Hexateuch.

Now one could perhaps interpose: is it not possible that missionaries imparted to the Kiwai these primeval-age reports in their Biblical form, and that the Kiwai then altered them in accordance with their understanding and their way of thinking? This is to be answered: how can one then explain the fact that the Kiwai arrived at precisely the form that, though no longer contained in the Bible in clear words, is nevertheless still to be recognized from it? I am thinking, for example, of Jahve's /Yahweh's/ struggle with the dragon preceding the creation, further of the assumption of only

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/Text cont./

• 121 one forbidden tree in paradise, then of the first murder as the cause
• 773 for the deluge, of the clearly recognizable separation, at various
• 121 points in the Masai tradition, of source material woven together in
777 the Hexateuch, and finally of many other /sic/ passages that will
123 be pointed out in what follows. Are these all supposed to be coin-
774 cidences? If it were only a question of a single point one could perhaps provisionally, for want of a better explanation, accept the assumption of a coincidence. But then one can not go on doing that forever when the correspondences pile up to such an extent. This also applies in linguistic respects, for the similarity of sounds in the personal names of both series of myths and for the meaning of names for which the Bible gives no explanation and which the Masai tradition interprets in a sense contained in the corresponding Biblical account, such as, for example, the names [illegible] and [illegible].

Further, however, it is also to be considered that the primeval-age tradition that I found among the Masai and for which the Bible contains parallel passages concludes with the epoch of the law-giving. This fact gives further important proof of the impossibility that it could have been foreign dogmatists who brought the Masai these myths. Though in and of itself it is conceivable that Israelitish religious messengers might have made a particular impression on these accounts from antiquity, it is nevertheless most improbable that they would have limited their teaching solely to these and would not also have spoken of Jahve's actions in later times. Christian or Mohammedan missionaries, however, would not make the material in question the most important and only subject of their teaching activity at all, but would fashion it for a dissemination the essential teachings of Christ or Mohammed.

• 121 There remains only the third possibility, namely, that the
• 773 progenitors of the Masai, the Israelites, and the Babylonians (1)
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1. The question as to which population stratum is involved here is to be left open.

[315 cont.]

are based on a common primeval idea, or the fourth, that these myths of the Beduin originated in primeval times. We shall find the answers to these questions in the following.

If we consider that, after the Beduin left their original homeland in Arabia, the civilized state of Egypt, with its mental life alien to the savage nomads, developed at their backs and through that cut them off from further influences from the Near East, we may probably assume that they, for whom, by persisting in their original mode of life and independence, any motive for cultural development in a new direction and for adopting alien ideas and customs was lacking, were able to preserve for us the ethnography of that common original homeland most purely and originally.

The mental life of the Israelites and the Babylonians was already being led out of its old path into a new one by their becoming sedentary. The nomad thinks and feels differently from the agriculturalist, and the latter in turn is remote from the mental life of the town dweller. To a people becoming sedentary, not only the ones displaced by them, but also their already sedentary neighbors introduce [316] new physical and -- among primitive peoples not infrequently just through this -- new psychic elements as well; through the friction and fusion of these arises the progress out of which then develops what one usually designates as civilization. Of the three peoples concerning us here the Beduin are on the lowest level of this evolution, the Babylonians on the highest, and between the two poles hover the people of Israel, clinging to the old by adhering to monotheism and drawn forward toward Babel despite the polytheism prevailing there and their resistance to it, by the pressure arising or fostered owing to a stay of 400 years in Egypt and the sedentarization resulting from it. Many passages in the Old Testament give evidence of the struggle and reconciliation of the two directions; yet in ideal matters the original interpretation almost always retains command, whereas in practical ones, in question of daily life, gradually the view modified by the advancing civilization, therefore principally by Babylonian influence, struggles upward and presses into the foreground (1).

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1. This is reflected most clearly, of course, in the law.

(456 cont.)

In the following comparison of the individual myths, besides the Biblical and the [illegible] interpretation, their counterparts found in Babel, or what the Babel Bible research takes for them, as far as it is known to me, will also be considered.

The Creation of the World

According to the myth of the [illegible], the earth in the very beginning was a desolate, empty, dark water in which there lived a dragon. The latter, which, according to the [illegible] of the [illegible], is a monster that devours human beings and animals, stood opposed to the animation of the earth with human beings and animals, for which reason God killed it before beginning his act of creation. The blood, the water, flowing out of the cadaver of the monster fertilized the hitherto dry, barren land. The first and also the most luxuriant vegetation developed there where the dragon died. Then God, by his creative word, created sun, moon, stars, planets, and animals and finally he made the first human couple arise. He sent the man, [illegible], down from heaven; the woman, [illegible], at his behest, rose up out of the womb of the earth.

Though it may be assumed that the Biblical account of creation is well known, the most important points should nevertheless be stressed for the comparison. The Bible gives three versions of the creation or very beginning. We find the first one in Gen. 1, in which the first verse contains two views of the original state "and the earth was waste and emptiness," and then "and darkness was over the flood and the spirit of God hovering over the waters." Therefore first the waste, empty earth and then the dark primeval flood. The latter conception is retained in the subsequent remainder of the first chapter. (457) Then God, through his almighty word, divided the light from the darkness; he then divided the primeval flood into the waters above and under the firmament and had the latter gather together, through which land and sea arose.

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In Gen. 2, V. 4 to 6, the first version again appears, according to which in the beginning the earth was a desolate waste in which no shrub and no herb of the field grew. Then God sent the fructifying rain and watered the whole surface of the earth. Here therefore the primeval flood is entirely absent.

A third interpretation is scattered throughout various parts of the Old Testament, especially in Psalms 74 and 89, in the 51st chapter of Isaiah, and in the 26th and 40th of the Book of Job. It was first discovered by Hommel and then reconstructed by Gunkel into a description of creation. According to it, God Jahve /Yahweh/ goes to battle against the dragon Rahab or Leviathan and shatters its heads. Then he dries up the sea, the waters of the great Tehom, and with that begins his act of creation.

In the Babylonian myth of creation (1) we find in the beginning the original flood, which sometimes is personified as a male being, sometimes as a female one. In the latter case she is called Tiamat. Then the gods arise first, among whom Marduk is supreme. Tiamat is displeased with the gods, creates dragons to fight the world of the gods, and becomes belligerent. God Marduk sets out to battle her, kills her, and, out of her corpse split in two, makes the water above and under the firmament. Then Marduk creates sun, moon, and stars, the dry land, the plants and animals, and, finally, the human beings.

Among all these peoples we find initially, before the beginning of the actual creation, God's battle with the dragon. With regard to the original state, we found two versions: the desolate, barren waste among the Mansi and in Gen. 2 and 3; the original flood in Gen. 1, the other Biblical passages, and in Babylon.

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1. According to Prof. Dr. Heinrich Zimmern, "Biblische und babylonische Urgeschichte. Der alte Orient II." /Biblical and Babylonian Earliest History. The Ancient Orient II./

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[illegible]
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Jensen, in his cosmology of the Babylonians, points out that the legend of the original flood is especially appropriate for Babylon. Its development into the Babylonian form (3)

3. The origin of the primeval-flood legend, however, undoubtedly goes much farther back, for I found a hint of it, for example, among the [illegible], a people embracing the sun cult and a mixture of a Semitic people extinct as a political community and Negroes.

presupposes an alluvial land, such as Babylonia, and a special spring sun-god -- Marduk -- who each year, as in the beginning, conquers the waters of the winter rain. We now scarcely need any proof for the assumption that the primeval-flood legend did not originate in Israel, for how would a nomadic people inhabiting dry steppes arrive at this view? Rather, would not the daily vision of sandy and stony expanses devoid of any plant growth and animal life [508] urge upon the inhabitant of the steppes the idea that all the land may have been like that before the appearance of the fructifying water? The dry, stony waste, in which neither human beings nor animals and plants were able to live, that, for him, is the original state of the earth. Thus it is among the Masai, and thus it was among the Israelites (Gen. 1 and 2).

The fact that God's struggle with the dragon always occurs in the Bible in connection with the flood legend can be no proof that the struggle with the dragon stems from Babel, but rather indicates above all only that it may have been brought into that connection through the Babylonian view. That the conception of monsters fits into the sphere of ideas of culture-poor peoples we see again among the Masai with their numerous dragon tales (1).

1. In the Babylonian the primeval dragon is called Tiamat, in Hebrew Tehom, and in the Masai language [illegible] or [illegible].

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[illegible]

/Footnote 1 continued/ Thus, everywhere, we have the same word, which in all three languages is also feminine in gender. Now the Masai word is not a proper name, but a class designation; in their dragon myths they do not speak of a specific one, but rather of some monster. Moreover, they designate a birth deformity and, since one cannot know before the birth whether a normal or a deformed child will come into the world, also the fetus with the same word. Might not the words Tiamat and Tehom perhaps also have originally designated the dragon or monster class and only secondarily have become proper names for the primeval dragon or the personified primeval sea?

In a further comparison of the three presentations we find externally, in the main, an almost complete agreement (5),

5. One will not be able to attach any special significance to the time period of the work of creation, since it is a later addition.

with only the difference that the assumption of the primeval sea implies necessarily a later creation of the land. Internally, however, the Biblical and the Masai presentations are close to each other through their strictly monotheistic interpretation and therefore in sharp contrast to the polytheistic account of the Babylonians.

In summary, I come to the conclusion that the original myth in Israel concerning creation resembled that of the Masai in all essential points, if not actually word for word. From Babel only the idea of the primeval sea could have been brought into the Bible, though it is not necessary to assume this, since the Israelites could just as well have borrowed it earlier from another Semitic people who cultivated the sea cult.

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The Creation of the First Human Beings

The Masai relate that the first man, Maitumbe, was sent down from heaven by God, and on the earth met the woman Naiterogob, who, at God's behest, had just arisen out of the womb of the earth.

I may take for granted knowledge of the presentation in the Jahvist /Yahwist/ document (1)

> 1. Bible research distinguishes four written documents on which the Pentateuch is based, namely: Jahvist /Yahwist/, Elohist, Deuteronomist, and the Priestly Document. The Jahvist one was written in the ninth century before Christ, the Elohist soon afterwards, Deuteronomy originated around 621, and the Priestly Document during or immediately after the Exile.

in Gen. 2, 7.

/309/ The legend of the Babylonians reports how Marduk ordered that the head of one of the gods was to be cut off, so that he could form human beings out of the earth mixed with the gods' blood.

The view of the Masai contrasts here with that of Israel and Babel. On the basis of the many correspondences that we find between the myths of the Masai and those of the Bible, we may probably assume a later influence of Israel. The idea of the god forming human figures out of clay does not seem to have arisen out of the sphere of ideas of a savage nomadic people, for which reason the possibility that the Masai originally would have had a myth similar to the Biblical and Babylonian view can probably not come into the question. Such people live on the products of the herds, that is, on milk and meat. The former is either consumed fresh or is left to become sour in wooden bowls or other vessels quickly made everywhere, such as leather bags or gourd bottles, which at the same time also serve as milking vessels. The meat is roasted at the open fire. An urgent need for the manufacture of pots out of clay, such as the agriculturalist uses just to make the vegetable foods edible, for example, the hard kernels of beans, maize, and the various types

[illegible]

of camels, does not exist for the nomads. Moreover, the heavy and easily breakable clay pots are burdensome ballast for him on the migrations from pasturing place to pasturing place. But even the circumstance that on his war expeditions against tribes practicing agriculture he became acquainted with the pots and perhaps even their method of manufacture might not suggest to him the idea that the first human beings could once have been formed in a similar manner by the hand of the creator. I think such a conception can only arise among a savage people if the latter sees in connection with another one -- perhaps more advanced -- the images of gods made out of clay in the shape of human beings. Now the [illegible] and Israelites had probably already seen this very early, for the existence of the explicit godly command to both peoples to make no image of God proves that the inclination for it must have existed once -- whether among them or among neighbors is immaterial here -- and, to be sure, already at a time before the [illegible] left the common, original Arabian homeland. The [illegible] even tell of a sedentary people from primeval times, the [illegible], who lived in the land [illegible] and whose chief was called [illegible], that it made figures out of earth in the form of human beings and goats, called them its gods, and worshipped them. Thus the Biblical myth may have originated very much earlier than the time when Babel was capable of influencing Israel. Moreover, arguing against a borrowing from Babel is the profound contrast in the interpretation and then also the circumstance that the Bible contains nothing of older conceptions -- for example, analogous to the accounts of the creation of the world -- as might be expected if the adoption of that image had first come about through Babel.

[illegible] Hence it seems more probable to me that the Biblical and the Babylonian presentation developed independently from a common point of departure.

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Paradise and the Fall of Man

According to the account of the Bible, paradise, a patch of earth with marvelously luxuriant vegetation, arose there where, out of the carcass of the slain dragon, its blood poured over the earth and made fertile the hitherto barren waste. In the middle of the trees covered with the most delicious fruits there stood one whose fruits God had forbidden human beings to eat. Then one day the serpent, as tempter, approached the woman and persuaded her to eat some of the forbidden fruit, the consumption of which would make human beings the equals of God. The woman ate and gave the man some to eat as well. After both had eaten, they were ashamed of their disobedience and hid before God, when the latter again -- as he often did -- came to them in paradise. When, upon being questioned, they had confessed their guilt, he ordered them out of paradise and posted before it the flaming sword as guard.

Whether we should see in the well-known picture on a seal cylinder in the British Museum a representation relating to the fall from the Babylonian era must as yet remain undecided. In the center stands a palmlike tree with two fruits hanging on it, in which Professor Hommel (1)

1. Prof. Dr. Fr. Hommel, "Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das alte Testament /The Ancient Oriental Monuments and the Old Testament/."

recognized the sacred cedar of Eridu with its fruits possessing vital energy and generative power. To the right and left of it a figure clothed in long garments sits on a kind of throne. The right one wears two horns as a head ornament, and through that is designated as a god or at least a semidivine being; the person on the left is usually interpreted as a woman. Behind her a snake stands upright. Each of the two figures is extending one hand toward one of the fruits. Perhaps Jensen's interpretation (2).

2. Prof. P. Jensen, "Christliche Welt /Christian World/," Nr. /column/ 488: "If one would see in

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> /Sentence 3 continued/ the two figures two gods who live beside the tree of life, and in the snake its custodian, everything would be solved without a remainder.

according to which the two gods are eating the fruits of the tree of life, whose custodian is the snake, is the correct one, although, on the other hand, the possibility that the horn head-ornament of the man is supposed to indicate his divine origin, the absence of this ornament on the woman her earthly origin, in accordance with the biblical myth about the origin of the first human beings, is not to be rejected.

There has been preserved from the Babylonian literature an account that has been linked with the Biblical fall of man. I am referring to the *Adapa* myth, in which it is told how *Adapa*, the son of the sea god Ea, summoned before the throne by the god of heaven, Anu, refuses the food of life and the /holy/ water of life that Anu offered him, because he believes Ea's warning that it is food of death and water of death. Even if one could assume that *Adapa* was the first human being, nevertheless the entire picture differs so radically from the essence of the Biblical account that it simply cannot be taken into consideration for this.

The Biblical presentation in Genesis 2 and 3, which may be assumed to be generally well known, shows unmistakable traces of a later revision, and, to be sure, at a time when the Israelites had already abandoned the state of savage, culture-poor nomadism and had become sedentary in Kanaan /*Canaan*/. We see this, for example, in the geographical designation and the naming of the rivers (2, 11-14) and in the specific mention of the occurrence of good gold in the land of Chavila /*Havilah*/ (2, 12). But even aside from these more unimportant remarks, the description in its main points shows a later interpretation. To this I add the distinction a tree of life and a tree of knowledge of good and evil (2, 9), which is found later only once more in the polytheistic sounding final verse of the third chapter, according to which Jahve /*Yahweh*/ says "Behold, the man is become as one of *us*," etc., whereas God's

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• 121 narrative (3, 17), the dialogue between Hava /Eve/ and the ser-
• 773 pent (3, 1-6), and the words of God when he asserts and punishes
• 171 forming the essence of the entire presentation, mention only one tree,
• 534 the tree of knowledge. Another interpretation, which must be alien to a primitive people, is found both in that the human beings, after transgressing God's command, are ashamed of their nakedness (3, 7) and in the reference to the sorrow in the task assigned to the woman by nature (3, 16); and a conception that can not have arisen from the sphere of thought of a nomadic people living on the products of its livestock herds is shown in the cursing of the ground, the condemning of mankind to arduous agriculture and to nourishment from the herb of the field (3, 17-18).

If one eliminates these points, the original form of the Biblical presentation is about as follows:

In the middle of paradise stood a tree whose fruits God had forbidden human beings to eat. Then the serpent approached the woman, told her that the eating of these fruits would make human beings the equals of God, and persuaded her to transgress God's prohibition. After the woman had eaten some of the fruit, she gave the man some to eat also. When the human beings then heard God's voice in the garden, they became conscious of having done wrong toward a benevolent, solicitous God, they were ashamed of their disobedience and hid, perhaps out of fear of the punishment that was to be expected. God called them forth from their hiding place and asked them the reason for their unusual behavior. They confessed their guilt and, for their disobedience, were banished by God out of paradise, out of the presence of God, /614/ and out of the realm of his daily, personal care. When they had left it, God placed Kerubim before it as guard.

If we now consider further that the blood flowing out of the corpse of the slain dragon is the prototype of the stream that comes out of Eden to water the garden (2, 10), then a comparison of the presentation just obtained shows a perfect correspondence with the one that the tradition of the [illegible] reports.

Since this reconstructed presentation knows of only one tree whose fruits God forbade human beings to eat, the question arises as to which of the two trees this one was.

/[illegible] cont./

Among the Semang and the ancient Israelites the entire law, the natural and moral order, consists of precepts and interdicts of God. He commands the human beings to do good, he forbids them to do evil. He is the teacher of human beings in the distinction between good and evil, so that this ability to differentiate is one of his foremost characteristics even in the religious view of a primitive people.

The idea of the tree of life presupposes the desire for another characteristic inherent in God, for eternal life not limited by death. How, however, is such a desire present in the feeling and yearning of a savage, culture-poor man? The extraordinary contempt for human life, the absence of mourning going beyond the customary interment ceremony, the idea that death brings sleep to the aged, rest from earthly life, answer the question negatively. The desire for long life is the result of a higher culture, and, indeed it is the civilized man who wishes for an eternal life on earth, but not the member of a primitive people.

I suspect, therefore, that the Israelitish original conception of paradise knew of only one tree, without any more detailed designation, "the tree concerning which I commanded thee not to eat any of it," as Jahve /Yahweh/ designates it in Genesis 3, 11.

The adoption of the tree of life, which may have come from Babylonian myth, then gave the originally one tree the addition "of the knowledge of good and evil."

In the Biblical presentation and in that of the Semang we find the picture of the tempting of the woman by the snake, which through that is represented as the symbol of evil, of sin. For the Semang this interpretation is still to be found in some of their customs. We see that the members of the lineage of the [illegible], peaceful, and therefore particularly beloved of God, do not fear snakes, and, further, they believe that the bones of their interred dead turn into snakes. Proceeding on the assumption that the story of the fall is the primary one, the first mentioned belief in the native faith of the primitive peoples shows that those living according to God's commands and illumined by his grace /[illegible]/ stand out from the power that evil has over man, whereas the second view demonstrates that what is sinful in man remains on earth and goes on living after his death.

[Old copy.]

It also appears not impossible, however, that the image of the fall of man first developed from these views. As yet another point we find among the [illegible] the belief in a mysterious power of destruction inherent in the snake. I mean the custom according to which the warrior in battle hurls toward the enemy a [illegible] ball that is filled with a mixture whose quantitatively largest and most effective ingredient is all or part of the contents of a snake's egg.

The Deluge

According to the myth of the [illegible], God decided on the terrible punishment of the deluge when the wickedness of the human beings reached its height through the perpetration of the first murder. At that time there lived on earth a good, devout man named [illegible]. God wanted to save him, along with his family, in order to preserve the good branch of the human race on earth. He therefore commanded him to build a wooden ark and to enter it with his people and a few animals of all species. As soon as everyone and everything was stowed away in the ark, the downpour began. After a time, when the waters had destroyed all living creatures outside the ark, God let the earth gradually become dry. Since considerable food had become scarce in the ark, [illegible] wanted to find out about the level of the flood and sent forth first a dove, which showed him by its [illegible] in the evening upon its return to the ark that it had found no resting place; therefore the water must still be high. After a few days he then sent a [illegible] vulture, on which he had tied an arrow to a tail feather. When the bird returned in the evening, it lacked the arrow and the tail feather. Both could have been lost only because the arrow, after the vulture had alighted, was caught with its barb. When the waters had subsided, the ark landed in the steppe, where human beings and animals disembarked. When [illegible] stepped out, he saw four rainbows, one at each cardinal point, as a sign that God's wrath had subsided. Of [illegible]'s six sons, the three from his principal wife founded the three tribes, the three from the other wife, the three [illegible] groups.

[illegible] Wecker--430 [illegible] ([illegible]-ca.[illegible]) [illegible] FL23 [illegible] FL23

/Old case./

[illegible] I assume that the Biblical presentation in Gen. 6 to 9 is well known.

[illegible] The Babylonian, cuneiform report of the deluge, which comes from the clay tablet library of the Assyrian king Assurbanipal /Ashurbanipal/ -- the Sardanapal of the Bible -- in Nineveh (1)

> 1. This report comes from the period around 650 B.C.; but fragments of a -- as it seems -- parallel inscription, which may date from the third millennium, have been found.

and was found during the English excavations in 1872, runs as follows: (2)

> 2. Literally from Prof. Dr. H. Zimmern, "Bibl. u. babylonische Urgeschichte [illegible] /Biblical and Babylonian Earliest History: the Earliest Origins [illegible]/."

/Text/ The gods, among them especially Bel, decide to inflict a judgment on human beings because of their sins, which was to consist of the destruction of human beings through a great flood. But one among the gods, Ea, chooses one among the human beings, Utnapishtim, the "very wise one," from the city of Shurippak, in order to save him. Through a dream he makes the decision of the gods known to him, orders him to build a ship for his escape and to take along in it living creatures of all kinds:

You man from Shurippak, build a ship,
leave your property, think of your life!
Leave your goods behind, and save your life!
Take aboard the ship vital seeds of all kinds!
The ship that you shall now build,
Well calculated may its dimensions be.

Utnapishtim obeys this command of Ea, builds the ship according to the prescribed dimensions, [illegible] it with [illegible] [illegible], coats it with asphalt and takes aboard it his family and relatives, as well as domestic and wild animals of all kinds. Shortly before the start of the

/[illegible] cont./
flood, the start of which is made known to him by a special divine signal, he himself boards the ship and closes the hatch, while the helmsman takes over the steering of the ship. Then the deluge comes, which is described as a breaking loose of all the elementary forces, above all as a tremendous tidal wave accompanied by pitch-darkness. As a result of the steadily rising water, the entire land turns into sea, in which people float about as corpses. The flood rages for six days and nights. On the seventh day calm is restored and the flood ceases. Atrahasis opens the vent hole and sees the destruction produced:

He kneels down, sits there weeping,
The tears flow down his cheeks.

Then land appears; the ship moves toward it and is caught on a mountain Nisir. For six days the mountain Nisir holds the ship fast. When the seventh day came, as Atrahasis goes on to relate:

Then I let a dove out and let it loose.
  The dove flew back and forth,
  But since there was no resting place, it came back again.
Then I let a swallow out and let it loose.
  The swallow flew back and forth,
  But since there was no resting place, it came back again.
Then I let a raven out and let it loose.
  The raven flew, saw the water receding,
  Fed and cawed, but did not come back.

Then Atrahasis lets out everything that is on the ship and offers a sacrifice, whose sweet fragrance the gods are pleased /[illegible]/ to inhale. Bel, the chief organizer of the deluge, is at first angry when he sees Atrahasis and his people saved. But upon remonstrances from Ea, who advises him not to punish the sins of human beings again by means of a deluge and a general destruction connected with it, but instead of this to bring famine, pestilence, and wild animals upon the wicked ones as a means of chastisement, Bel finally becomes reconciled to Atrahasis' escape; indeed, he even bestows divine nature on the latter and his wife and carries them into the distance, to the mouth of the rivers, to a life of the immortals.

[illegible]

/Next page./

[illegible] With a comparison of the three descriptions we find, first of all, a difference in the motive that was the cause of the judgment. Among the Islamic it is the first murder committed by human beings, whereas the Bible and the Babylonian account name generally the wickedness and sinfulness of human beings as the reason. For the Bible, in my opinion, this is only apparently the case. Here the presentation rests on two sources, the Jahvist /Yahwist/ and the Priestly Document. Gen. 6 begins with the Jahve /Yahwistic/ source, which in the early verses says that the sons of God intermarried with the daughters of men and then gives the reason for the judgment in Verses 5 to 7: "And Jahve saw that the wickedness of man was great on the earth and every imagination of the thoughts of his heart only evil the whole day," and further the decision of God: "And Jahve said I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth." In the further course of the account the two sources frequently alternate. The conclusion stems from the Priestly Document, and there God (Gen. 9, 6) expressly and explicitly forbids man to commit murder and sets the death penalty for it: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Now this exhortation and threat, however, properly fits at this place in the Biblical account only if murder constituted the cause of the deluge. I therefore conclude that the Priestly Document gave a murder, and, to be sure, the first one committed by a human being, as the reason for the judgment at the beginning of its description of the deluge, not present in the Bible. This would also explain the severity of the punishment, which, in connection with the murdering of Habel /Abel/, is so light and not in keeping with the threat of God in Gen. 9, 6. If, however, the Priestly Document links the first murder with the deluge, it cannot also attribute it to Kain /Cain/, and, in fact, this passage belongs to the Jahvist /Yahwist/ one. Now the fact that the latter named the general corruption as the reason for the deluge, in place of the first murder, is explained by, besides the circumstance that he had already attributed that crime to Kain, also the most profound moral depravity of the people of Israel at the time during which he is writing.

Common to all three representations is the divine command to the hero /[illegible]/ to build the ark for his and his family's escape and for the repopulation of the earth with human beings and animals. The Biblical and the Islamic presentations are, as everywhere, in especially close harmony in their monotheistic interpretation and in

[illegible]

this stand in sharp contrast to the contents of the Babylonian tradition. Furthermore they have in common the sending out of the birds and the kind of birds: first those that find their food on the ground, and afterwards the carrion-eaters. The fact that the Bible and Babel have the raven as such and the Masai have the carrion-vulture for this is explainable by the local conditions there: tilled cultivated land, here steppe. The choice of the swallow of the Babylonian presentation also has its reason in this. Through the fact that the dove brings back an olive branch it is probably certain that its being sent out a second time in the account originated only after the Israelites had become sedentary, for it is only on cultivated land that one finds olive trees, and there where the Hebrews had settled among the Hethitians [Hittites] the latter regarded the dove as the animal sacred to their supreme deity. Moreover, arrangement (cubicles), dimensions, and manner of construction (asphalt) of the ark, as the Biblical and Babylonian presentations give them, are later additions, probably brought into the Bible from Babel. The difference in the locality where the ark landed, the mountain among the Israelites and in Babel, the flat steppe among the Masai, is conditioned by the difference in their places of residence. The Israelitish view, however, is probably here too, and therefore perhaps in the myth that makes Noah the founder of viticulture, influenced by Babylon.

When the hero of the deluge steps out of the ark, according to the report of the Masai and Israelites, he sees the rainbow, which, in both cases, is regarded as a sign from God that his wrath is spent. What the Bible says with pious words and the savage Masai expresses more naïvely in that he assumes four rainbows instead of one, and thereby already definitely characterizes the phenomenon as something supernatural, as a sign from God. The thank-offering is lacking among the Masai, whereas we find it in the Biblical and Babylonian myth, and it may therefore have come to the Israelites from Babel, just as, indeed, the development of their cult forms was strongly influenced from there. A further correspondence between the Biblical and the Masai myth consists in the descent of three tribes from the sons of the hero of the deluge.

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The Kenites of the Bible -- the Smiths of the Masai

The Bible mentions as the first blacksmith Tubal-Kain /Tubal-Cain/, the son of Lamech by his second wife, Zilla /Zillah/ (Gen. 4, 22). The name is made up of two words, the latter of which shall be discussed first. Kain /Cain/ is mentioned in two places in the Jahvist /Yahwist/ source: first Gen. 4, 1 as the eldest son of Adam and as the first tiller of the ground, and then in the same chapter, verse 17, in the list of Kainites. In Gen. 5 the Priestly Document gives the table of the forefathers and in it calls Kain Kenan /Cainan/ (verse 9), i.e., blacksmith. Now Kenan is the same word as ol kunono (pl. il kunono) of the Masai or [illegible] /sic/ (pl. [illegible]) of the Tatoga, among both of whom it also means blacksmith. The other part of the name, Tubal, we find among the Somal in tumål, among the Abyssinians in [illegible], among the Galla in tumtu, everywhere with the meaning "blacksmith."

According to Gen. 4, Kain was a tiller of the ground and was separated from his people, like the first blacksmith among the Masai, who was also a tiller of the soil. The Masai despises the tiller of the soil so deeply that it is entirely in keeping with his way of thinking when God takes no notice of Kain and his thank-offering of the fruits of the earth, even though Kain may otherwise have been a good man and not -- as the Jahve Document reports in Gen. 4 -- the first murderer.

The Jahvist /Yahwist/ calls the descendants of Kain /Cain/ Kenites (4th Moses /Numbers/ 24, 21, 22). We see from these passages in the Bible how low the Kenites stood in Israel's estimation. In Gen. 4, 11 the Jahvist relates that the curse of God is upon them when he describes how God curses Kain. In Gen. 15, 19 (Jahvist) the Kenites are mentioned as the first of the tribes that are to be destroyed by Israel, and in 4th Moses /Numbers/ 24, 22 /sic: see 24, 21/ (Jahvist) Bileam /Balaam/ sings "but nevertheless Kain must be destroyed." Thus, everywhere hatred and scorn against the Kenites, the very same feelings that the Masai entertain against the blacksmiths, whether or not the latter practice their

/323 cont./
craft or are merely descendants of blacksmiths. The blacksmiths, because, through the making of knives and weapons, they lead to the transgression of the -- also existing in Israel -- divine command that prohibits bloodshed (1),

1. and also because they make plowshares. Ed. Hemmel.

were regarded by the original Semites as not beloved, but rather condemned by God, and therefore as contemptible, disaster-causing, and unclean (2).

2. I see proof for the great age of this view in the use of the reed splinter mentioned in the eighth commandment of the Masai; cf. farther below /see p.326/.

Accordingly I suspect that the Biblical Kenites can not be regarded as a separate tribe, but that rather they are the descendants of the blacksmiths from the period when the Israelites were still uncivilized nomads, and that at that time the blacksmiths in Israel had the same low social position as today among the Masai and the aforementioned as well as other Semite peoples.

But now why does the Bible call the Kenites a separate tribe, why does it not call them a people of blacksmiths, and why does it nowhere say that the blacksmiths of Israel once occupied a low social position? Information on these questions is given in part by the Bible itself, in part by the observations that one can still make today among the Masai.

Let us first consider the first question. Like the Masai, the nomadic Israelites also had definite pasturing grounds within the boundaries of which they migrated about. If the grass had been grazed off in one spot, /324/ the huts covered with cattle skins were dismantled and one moved to a place not far away. In contrast to this, the blacksmiths continue to live in one place for a longer time, often even permanently, as long as warlike events do not force them to flee. Their property in livestock is usually small, for, as soon as it becomes larger, the

/318 cont./

*121 nonsmiths, by right and custom, take from the smiths the principal
*171 part of it by force. The grazing in the vicinity of their kraals is not
326 disputed with them, the shunned ones, by anyone and therefore
564 suffices throughout the year for their few head of livestock. But then the smiths are also tied to certain places, namely, to such where ferruginous sand and wood, the latter for the making of charcoal, are found. Since these requirements are present only in relatively few places, colonies of blacksmiths arise. Their usually small property in livestock soon makes them dependent on agriculturalists, among whom they must buy vegetables (1).

1. and whom they in return supply with plowshares. Ed. Hommel.

If, however, such are not in reachable proximity or if their own fellow tribesmen prevent the selling of smithy products to sedentary tribes, the blacksmiths perforce begin to plant the soil themselves to a limited extent and in this way also become agriculturalists. This semisedentation detaches them from their own people even more than they were already separated by the aforementioned contempt. If then war or famine, for example, through drought or livestock epidemics, comes in addition, the blacksmith colony may be completely cut off from its own people. Thus it may have happened, when the Israelites were driven into Egypt as the result of famine, that the semisedentary smiths remained behind. Now the latter, through a closer connection with the agriculturalists, perhaps in southern Kanaan /Canaan/, or through the fact that a foreign tribe forced them, through friendship or war, to settle among them, and as a consequence of the mixing through intermarriage made possible by that, may have developed into a separate people or have been given, in the eyes and minds of the Israelites coming into contact with them again after about 500 years, the physiognomy characteristic of such a people, which caused them to call them Kenites. This surmise, however, is justified only if one may assume that the Israelites were already acquainted with the "Kenite people" upon their return from Egypt, and -- which leads to the same result

/312 cont./

4 121 iron -- the former smiths had been taken in by peoples who gave
6 171 them, the blacksmiths, their daughters as wives. I am inclined to
326 doubt the latter on the basis of my observations of the African peoples
564 stemming from Arabia. But the fact that the former assumption too is scarcely tenable seems to follow from the strong anger of the Jahvist /Yahwist/ against the Kenites, for they are the one whom he, above all heathens, especially condemns with eloquent words. One would thus come to the assumption that the "Kenite people" may not have originated until later, and, to be sure, not long before the drawing up of the Jahve Document, and that furthermore the former /313/ blacksmiths of the Israelites may have kept themselves quite free of mixture with foreign blood. Then one might suspect, in order to explain why the Bible describes the Kenites as another people, that the Israelites were already heavily mixed at the time of the origin of the Jahve Document. This conjecture would be in agreement with the Biblical accounts and would be further supported by the fact that the author speaks so forcibly against mixture with the daughters of the heathen and even cites this circumstance as the reason for the deluge. But we probably do not need this conjecture either, for the Bible means by an alien people, not another political community or a society of human beings formed differently somatically, but primarily people whose cult was incompatible with that of the Israelites.

The second question, as to why the Bible does not designate the Kenites as a blacksmith people is explained in part by what has just been said, through their sedentation they had precisely in general exchanged the craft for agriculture, and in part it comes from the following.

Now why does the Bible nowhere directly state that the blacksmiths were regarded as a low caste? Though, according to the above, it is not probable (1)

1. This question becomes even more improbable because of the great infrequency of the insignificant finds of iron throughout in ancient Egypt, even if its dating for the Old and Middle Kingdom is correct.

[753 cont.]

121 171 186 564 that part of the blacksmiths moved to Egypt with Israel, the possibility that this nevertheless might have been the case should not be excluded either. How then would these blacksmiths have fared there? If we assume, with the Bible, that at that time the Israelites were a pious people and were reduced to servitude by the Egyptians, either of these circumstances could then have sufficed, in the course of their long captivity, to remove in practice the ancient prejudice against the blacksmiths and to unite firmly the fellow believers as well as the fellow tribesmen. There still remains another possibility, however. If we assume that the latter did not happen and that at that time, just as, correspondingly, is the case even today among the Semitic peoples of the interior of Africa, marriage between relatives of smiths and nonsmiths was not permitted, it would have become imperative for the smiths, employed in various localities on account of their skill in making weapons and separated from one another for the hastening of permanent sedentation in the land, to merge with the Egyptians through mixture with them. If there arose through that a shortage of smiths for the Israelites, this could have been remedied by having people from families who did not originally belong to the blacksmith caste learn the craft in Egypt and practice it there as well as later on. By analogy with the Masai, such people would not sink in the public esteem by practicing the blacksmith's calling. But even if I assume that a part of the smiths [754] moved out from Egypt with Israel, their social position must have become better, conditioned by the shaping of the religious cult, in the service of which the smith placed his craft for the making of vessels and other implements. He whose duty was the outfitting of the temple could no longer have remained a despised, shunned, unclean man.

If, therefore, the Old Testament nowhere directly states that [753] the blacksmiths made up a lower, a despised caste, in my opinion in its oldest part it nevertheless still contains reminders of the fact that the blacksmith was also regarded as unclean by the Israelites in antiquity.

/[illegible]/

If the blacksmith is unclean, then so are the objects that he touches, especially the ones that come from his hands as products of his skill. Now, since the blacksmith's products are indispensable in daily life, people help themselves by means of a purification ceremony. The [illegible] as well as the [illegible] dips a new object fetched from the blacksmith's workshop into the water of a stream and at the same time washes his hands. The Masai smear with fat the things coming from the hand of the smith -- spear (blade and shaft), sword, knife, [illegible], ax, [illegible], [illegible], arrow points, branding iron, [illegible], large and small leg-bells, as well as various ornamental objects -- and likewise their hands, which touch these things -- in order to remove from them the uncleanness adhering to them from the blacksmith. I do not know whether the ancient Israelites had a similar custom, but I deem it likely.

What seems adequate for secular life need not suffice for the religious cult; on the contrary, it may be assumed from the fact that people are more sensitive there. Thus, in place of the iron knife, the Masai used a reed splinter for cutting the umbilical cord of the newborn child, in accordance with their eighth commandment. Now a number of Biblical passages that tell of the oldest period of Israel, the time of the nomadism, also speak of the use of the stone knife and others of the prohibition of the iron knife for cult purposes. Thus we read in the 4th chapter of the 2nd Book of Moses /Exodus/ in the 25th verse: "Then Zippora /Zipporah/ took a sharp stone and cut off the foreskin of her son." And in the 5th chapter of the Book of Josua /Joshua/, Jahve /Yahweh/ commands the latter "Make thee stone knives and circumcise again the sons of Israel for the second time. Then Josua /Joshua/ made him stone knives and circumcised the sons of Israel at the hill Araloth." We find the interdict for the use of the iron tool in the 20th chapter of the 2nd Book of Moses "And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stones for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it (1)."

1. This order has been interpreted that the natural, original character of the altar would

[illegible]

> /Sentence 1 continued/ made it particularly worthy of God. This assumption is untenable, however, in view of the specific order concerning the arrangement of the tabernacle and the temple, the artistic furnishings, the sumptuous priest's clothing with the breast shield studded with precious gems, etc.

Here it is /[illegible]/ therefore directly stated that the stones will become desecrated through being hewn with iron tools. Circumcision and altar, however, are the oldest and at the same time the most important arrangements of the Israelitish cult. Just as the stones of the altar were not to be made unclean by contact with the chisel rendered unclean by the blacksmith, so also the use of the iron knife for circumcision, through which, indeed, the Israelite was precisely to be purified religiously, had to be forbidden (1).

> 1. Even in ancient Egypt the blacksmith's product appears -- traditionally, consciously or unconsciously -- to have been regarded as unclean: one opened the abdominal cavity of the deceased with a stone knife for the purpose of embalmment.

It is to be particularly noted here that, of the three Biblical passages drawn on, the first two belong to the Jahvist /Yahwist/, the last to an elaboration from Jahvist and Elohist. But the Jahvist -- as I have already mentioned above -- is the one source that shows Kain /Cain/ and the Kenites as well as the connection between the two and is also considered the oldest of the ones worked together into the Pentateuch. I believe one may conclude from this that the sources upon which the Jahve Document is based would have known about the uncleanness of the smiths, which would furnish proof for the existence of this view in ancient Israel.

/583 cont./

That it was subsequently lost is sufficiently explained by the fact that the Israelites settled down among non-Semitic peoples by whom the blacksmiths were not regarded as unclean and among Semitic ones who, through the influence of the others, probably likewise were no longer familiar with it, as well as further through the influencing that their psyche underwent through the temporary and subsequently permanent mixing with these peoples. With the loss of this view, there was also lost the fear of the use of the iron knife for circumcision, but, on the other hand, the altar was erected out of unhewn stones even in the Makkabäer /Maccabees/ period (1st Makk. /Macc./ 4, 47), but only because this was expressly commanded in Mosaic law (2nd Moses /Exodus/ 20, 25), whereas nothing is contained in it about the use of the stone knife for circumcision.

Now if the Kenites are the descendants of the blacksmiths of the Israelites from the pre-Egyptian period, i.e., from the nomadic period of Israel, their dispersal at Sinai, in Kanaan /Canaan/, among the Amalekites and Midianites is explained by the fact that they, as among primitive peoples still today, so at that time also among civilized peoples, as makers of weapons, always are and were the most valuable prisoners of war. The Bible also gives the information that this prevailed in the wars against Israel. According to 2nd Kings 24, 14, all the smiths of Jerusalem were captured by Nebuchadnezzar, and, according to 1st Sam. 13, 19, all the smiths of Israel were led off by the Philistines.

Since the other Pentateuch sources are no more familiar with Kain /Cain/, or a personality corresponding to him, as the first murderer than the myth of the flood is, /sic/ and since furthermore it does not in the least fit in with the sphere of thought of a primitive people to picture the eldest son of the first human couple as the murderer of his brother and hence as an obstacle to the rapid increase of human beings on earth, I suspect that the Jahvist legend of Kain's murder of his brother did not originate until a later time. In the advanced Israel, with its more highly regarded smith, there could no longer be any place for the traditional contempt of the Kenites. One needed another reason in order to represent as contemptuous

/Text cont./
and excluded the fellow tribesmen married in heathendom, who, through their tribal affiliation, were especially likely to introduce heathen influence and heathen views into Israel through intermarriage. In addition it seems natural if among a people that, even in the state of culture-poor nomadism, had a deeper religious feeling there was formed a legend that was suitable for interpreting the function as descendants of a tribal ancestor cursed by God for the gravest crime. Such a legend could arise all the more easily since -- as I have already said above -- the smiths were regarded by the original Semites as leaders toward the transgression of the divine command against bloodshed, as not beloved by God, and therefore as contemptible and unclean. In the early Israelitic view the smiths were condemned as leaders to murder; in the Bible Kain /Cain/ is condemned as a murderer himself.

The Deception about the Right of the First-born

In the days of the El dorobo, the myth of the Masai reports, there lived a man named Naraba. He had a son who was given the name Ishmael because he was born toward sunset. When Ishmael grew up, he married the woman Naddigai, who was named after the bush ol osongi, because her mother, when she bore the child under her heart, wanted to eat nothing but the roots of that bush. When Naddigai became pregnant, she carried triplets, and when she gave birth, only two children came into the world at first, two sons. The one born first was already very hairy on his body and also already had a beard, which was why he was given the name 'L ol muonjei (= the bearded one). The other son was called 'L on jorgug, because, soon after birth, his mother wrapped him in soft, unsmoothed calf-leather (on jorgug). Not until three months later was the third child born, also a boy. He was given the name Nduruani = the tarrier. Whereas the excessive growth of hair of 'L ol muonjei increased considerably with age, 'L on jorgug had only a very sparse beard, and Nduruani remained completely beardless. One day, when the old father was very ill, the two older brothers went to a supplication feast that was being celebrated in the vicinity, in order to ask God

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] the dying father's [illegible]. [illegible] did not go along, but stayed at home in the kraal. Meanwhile the father became much weaker, and since he felt that he would soon die, he called for [illegible] as the [illegible] oldest, in order to bless him. When [illegible] heard his father's words, he quickly cut up a goatskin and tied its parts on his chest, shoulders, and over his cheeks. Thus he assumed the dark hue and deceived his father, as Jakob /Jacob/ had deceived Esaû /Esau/. Then, when the oldest brother came home and asked the dying father for his blessing, the latter explained, but after the former had learned about [illegible]'s successful fraud from his father's lips. In accordance with the old man's last words, [illegible] took possession of the inheritance. [illegible], enraged, departed, but returned after a while with a number of warriors, in order to fight the deceiver. The latter, however, went to him amicably and offered him gifts and friendship, which [illegible] accepted, whereupon the quarrel was settled.

At first glance this legend appears to be identical with the one that is handed down to us in Gen. 25, 27 and 33, but the two versions show a very important, though for our feelings not so striking, difference that, from the Masai point of view, immediately explains why Jakob's deed is not as sharply condemned in the Bible as one would expect. In the account of the Masai, the three brothers were cattle-breeding nomads, while Gen. 25, 27 describes Esau as a hunter, whereas Jakob is a cattle-breeder. I have mentioned elsewhere in this study that the Masai look down with scornful contempt on the ol dorobo. The same feeling, one may assume, has existed among the Israelites with regard to the hunters. For it is at least very frequent among the Semitic peoples (1).

1. I found it among the Abyssinians, Somali, Galla, Tuareg, and the Jews.

Considered from this point of view, the tendency of the Biblical account is therefore, first of all, the cheating of the hunter by the cattle-breeder. I found a counterpart to this in the following story of the Masai:

"In the primeval age, when human beings still nourished themselves on wild plants, God summoned two brothers. He showed them

/[illegible] /
the hunter's staff and the bow and instructed them about the use of these things. Then he commanded them to cover their eyes with their hands. When they had done this, God held aloft the hunter's staff and asked which of them wanted to have the thing held aloft. One of them peeked through his fingers, recognized the hunter's staff, and quickly answered in the affirmative. He became a [illegible], while the other one, who had held his hands tight over his eyes and had seen nothing, became a poor hunter (2)."

2. At a later period, when the original reason for the [illegible] of the [illegible] had fallen into oblivion among the [illegible], this story was amplified so that the [illegible] too were included. God then held three things in his hands: the hunter's staff, the bow, and the [illegible]. Upon the question of God, the one who later became the [illegible] chose the hunter's staff; the second, who here too peeked through his fingers, but was older than the first, chose the bow, so that for the last one, who had seen nothing, only the [illegible] remained. Both this story and the one above exist side by side among the [illegible] today.

/[illegible]/ I hardly believe that I shall go wrong if I assume that, in place of the one story contained in the Bible, the Israelitish fund of myths originally knew two, which, in their basic features, corresponded to those of the [illegible], and one of which merely represents a reproduction of a historical episode, while the other bore the character of a religious myth. That this character was preserved in the later joining together of the two accounts is shown by the Biblical interpretation, and, to be sure, most clearly by that of the Jahvist /Yahwist/ (1).

1. Gen. 25, 27 to 34 belongs to the Jahvist.

/The same./

This explains why the source of the Jahve Document did not put in the foreground the description of how one brother, through deception, deprived the other one of the right of the first-born, but rather expressed, with self-admiration characteristic of the Israelites — as well as of the Mandaeans — the mental inferiority and generally lower quality of the [illegible], depicted [illegible] in relation to themselves, the well-to-do [illegible], in a form that presented their own [illegible] not as a result achieved through their superior mental quality with God's understanding. The source of the Elohim Document (E),

> 5. The presentation in Gen. 27, 1 to 40 is a fusion of the material contained in the Jahve and the Elohim documents.

on the other hand, seems not to have been familiar with the mythical meaning of the material and to have interpreted it merely as a description of an historical event. We find moreover also here a disapproval of Jakob's /Jacob's/ way of acting in the verses 33 to 35 of the 27th chapter.

Furthermore, the similarity of the names [illegible] and Abraham is to be pointed out, the latter of which may have arisen from a similar sounding original name, as well as the corresponding characterization of the two among the two peoples: they are akin in terms of livestock, intelligence, and piety. The latter is shown in the Mandaean myth by the advisory position that [illegible] occupies in connection with the [illegible] appointed by God. Furthermore both are distinguished by a very great age, as well as by the fact that they still marry at this age and that an heir is born to these old men. A shift exists, however, insofar as in the Bible the mother of the heir is not Keturah, who married at an advanced age, but Sara /Sarah/, who was married already in her youth, but was barren until her 90th year.

In both traditions the circumstance that the heir was born to a father already of advanced age is not only mentioned, but expressly emphasized and motivated by a divine utterance. In Gen. 17, 16ff. God promises Abraham the birth of Isaak /Isaac/, and in the Mandaean

[illegible]

contrary the conception of Ishmael is made possible for Abraham through God's permission for the Israel to marry more than one woman. The Yasar myth, however, further characterizes the birth as a "late born," in that it reports that Ishmael was born in the evening, and this circumstance was decisive for the choice of his name.

[illegible] For the choice of Ishmael's name, the congenital weakness in his legs was decisive. It was very difficult for him to walk, which is why he always used a donkey on journeys. The fact that Abraham was also in the habit of using such follows from the 3rd verse of the 22nd chapter of Genesis, where it is said of Abraham's journey into the land of Moriya /Moriah/ for the offering of Isaac /Isaac/: "And Abraham rose up early in the morning and saddled his ass and took two servants (boys) with him, and Isaac, his son, and cleave wood for the burnt offering, and rose up and went to the place of which (that) God had told him." It is probably out of the question that Abraham would have taken the donkey for the latter to carry firewood, for the light burden, which the boy Isaac afterwards (Verse 6) carried alone, could easily have been carried by the two servants. Thus it may be assumed that Abraham used the donkey for riding on the journey. Now, since it says in the text that he saddled his donkey, and the possibility that Abraham possessed only one donkey is excluded by the passages Genesis 12, 16 (1)

> 1. Genesis 12, 16: "And he (Pharao /Pharaoh/) entreated Abram well for her sake (Sarai's, on account of her beauty), and he had small livestock and cattle and donkeys and menservants and maidservants and female donkeys and camels."

and 24, 34 (2).

> 2. Genesis 24, 34: "And he saith I am Abraham's servant and Jahve has blessed my master greatly

/[illegible]/

[illegible] /between 3 continued/ and he has become great, and he has given him small livestock and cattle and silver and gold and menservants and maidservants and camels and donkeys."

according to which he owned many donkeys, therefore the use of the possessive pronoun here means he saddled the donkey that he was in the habit of using. It should also be noted that the passage quoted is the only one from the ancient period that mentions the donkey in the above manner. I believe that I may conclude from this that it is based not on a common occurrence that happened to come to the author's mind, but on a positive tradition.

According to Genesis 12, 10, "There was famine in the land and Abraham went down into Egypt to sojourn there as a foreigner, for the famine was grievous in the land." The Islamic tradition also tells of a famine during [illegible] lifetime. When his wife [illegible] gave birth to her second child, the daughter, the famine had just ended because of an abundant rainfall, which is why the child was given the name [illegible] - the fortunate one.

The similarity in the circumstances accompanying the delivery of [illegible] /[illegible]/ and [illegible] and in the utterances of the newborn children is so striking that further discussion seems unnecessary. Only it should still be mentioned that even the Talmud knows several cases in which, in connection with twin births, the birth of the second child did not occur until a considerable time after that of the first, and that in one case the interval between the two births amounted to three months. Since this is physiologically impossible, the informants probably based their statements on mythical traditions.

[illegible]

Moses–Marumi, Musana, etc.

[illegible]

What the Israelitish tradition has concentrated in the person of Moses the tradition of the Masai has traced back to several personalities, among whom Marumi and Musana are to be mentioned in particular.

Moses' father, according to 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 6, 20, is Amram. Marumi's father, [illegible], bears the nickname [illegible], i.e., the stammerer, which applies not only to him personally, but, since stammering is hereditary in the family, had become a sort of family name. Of [illegible]'s children only Marumi stutters, whereas [illegible] and [illegible] do not. According to the Biblical account, Moses stutters, as he acknowledges in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 4, 10, when he says to God "I have not been an eloquent man, neither since yesterday or the day before yesterday nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servant but I am slow of speech, and slow of tongue." That Aaron does not stutter is shown by the words of God in the 14th verse of the same chapter "Is not Aaron the Levite thy brother? I know that he can speak well." Mirjam /Miriam/ does not stutter either; at least the Pentateuch contains nothing that might lead to this conclusion.

Marumi is a wise and pious man, like the Biblical Moses, and, like the latter, God makes known to the former his commandments for human beings, after he had appeared to them on a mountain to which he had called them. The conveying of the ritual command for circumcision, with which Marumi was entrusted, could no longer fall to Moses, since the Biblical myth already assigns it to Abraham. Nevertheless the 4th chapter of the 2nd book of the Pentateuch associates Moses with circumcision in a very striking manner. Namely, it is reported there that Moses had neglected the circumcision of his son. Then when Jahve /Yahweh/ met Moses, he fell upon him and sought to kill him. Then Zippora took a sharp stone and cut off the foreskin of her son and through that turned Jahve's wrath away from Moses. Here, therefore, Moses receives with special emphasis a repetition of the command for circumcision by Jahve himself. Thus the connection between the Biblical tradition and that of the Masai is clearly recognizable. The connection between the two becomes even clearer through the fact that it is precisely this passage, and not the other one in which the circumcision command to Abraham is reported (1st Moses /Genesis/ 17), that for the first time designates the instrument to be used for the operation in question, as is also done by the commandment given

/[illegible]/
to Abraham by 'Ng ai. Thus the story of [illegible] seems to be a re-working, in the course of time, of the tradition of the Israelis. This impression is confirmed by the fact that the legend in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 4, 24-26 belongs to the oldest documents, the Jahvist /Yahwist/, originating around 900 B. C., whereas the 17th chapter of Genesis comes from the Priestly Codex drawn up during or soon after the Babylonian Exile.

Furthermore, both Moses and [illegible] are commanded by God to fight the heathen, the infidels. [illegible], to be sure, only gets the command /[illegible]/ for the [illegible] war after the one for cattle, ordinarily fighting had already been given to the old men [illegible] and [illegible]. In the Bible Moses alone is given these commands. Got in a milder form in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 3, 8, where the land of the Canaanites /Canaanites/, Hittites /Hittites/, Amorites, Perizzites /Perizzites/, the Hivites /Hivites/, and Jebusites is assigned to him for his peoples; then in stronger form in 4th Moses /Numbers/ 25, 17, according to which God says to Moses "Show enmity toward the Midianites and smite them," and in 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 3, 2, where God commands Moses to fight against Og, the king of Basan /Bashan/.

There is to be pointed out further, the similarity of sound (1)

1. The similarity between [illegible] and Aaron is only in the sequence of the vowels. Ed. [illegible].

in the names [illegible] and Aaron, as well as [illegible] and Mirjam /Miriam/. With regard to the sequence of the ages [illegible]'s children -- [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] -- and the children of Amram -- Mirjam /Miriam/, Aaron, Moses -- I am inclined toward the view that the first sequence is the original one, for I not infrequently heard among Eastern African Semites and Semito-Nigritians the view that the oldest child has the greatest prospect of resembling the father, of inheriting his merits and weaknesses, and was also expressly pointed out by the people in the present case of [illegible]--[illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

I believe I recognize the name Moses in that of the [illegible] Moses (2).

2. The o in Moses is a very short sound that lies between o and a.

In the Tradition, as we have seen, Moses is known for his introduction of the continuous seven-day week with the moral teaching on the last day, the [illegible] [illegible] (3)

3. [illegible], [illegible] (masc.), [illegible], [illegible] (fem.) = good [illegible], the day. The [illegible] form [illegible], [illegible], or [illegible] occurs chiefly in connection with the adjective [illegible] = big, and then intensifies its concept into a particularly accentuated superlative.

(= good day, lucky day), just as, according to 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 16 and 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 5 (4).

4. 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 16, 25-26. And Moses said, Eat that (namely the manna) today; for today is a day of rest unto Jahve; today ye shall not find it in the field. Six days ye shall gather it, but on the seventh day is a day of rest on which there shall be none. 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 5, 12-14: Observe the sabbath day to sanctify it, as Jahve thy God commanded thee. Six days thou shalt labor and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the day of rest unto Jahve, thy God; thou shalt not do any work, thou nor thy son nor thy daughter, etc.

[illegible]

[illegible] is the founder of the seven-day week with the sabbath. That the Israelitish week is completely identical with that of the [illegible] and that the [illegible] [illegible] is the prototype of the sabbath needs no further elucidation.

Moses, however, according to 3rd Moses /Leviticus/ 23, 24 and 4th Moses /Numbers/ 29, 1ff. (72):

> 3. 3rd Moses /Leviticus/ 23, 24: In the seventh month, on the first of the month, shall ye have a holiday, a memorial of blowing of trumpets, a holy convocation. 4th Moses /Numbers/ 29, 1: And in the seventh month, on the first of the month, ye shall have a holy convocation; ye shall do no work occupations; it is to be a day of blowing trumpets unto you.

is also the founder of the new-moon sabbath, the new-moon day, to be celebrated as sabbath, of the seventh month, which has its prototype in the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], which [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] Chaldean instruments, and in which the people are summoned by the sound of antelope horns that serve as trumpets -- the blowing of trumpets in the Pentateuch passages cited.

The question as to what may have determined the number 7 is answered by the lunar division of the month, in which we find four days especially distinguished: the fourth as new-moon day, the tenth as the concluding day of the first decade, the seventeenth as an unlucky day in daily life and a lucky day in war, the twenty-fourth as the initial day of the "black darkness" [illegible] [illegible]. A succession of seven more days each, in the thirty-day month, with the first day of the following month. Accordingly there arise the following

[illegible]

Four series of seven days each:

4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30 1	1 2 (1)

1. The Chaldeans divided the first 28 days of every month, which began with the new moon, into four sections of seven days each; the last day of each section was regarded as an unlucky day, on which various performances were forbidden; cf. [illegible] concerning the similarity of the preceding with that of the Masai. The origin of the other, five-day Babylonian week and the ten-day one of the Egyptians, both of which start in each month with the first day of it, the new-moon day, we find again among the Masai in the division of the month by decades, which is distinguished here by the addition of [illegible] to the designation of the 10th, 20th, and 30th day of the month.

According to the tradition of the Masai, the very first week began with a new moon (that is to say, on the fourth day of the reckoning of the month); the first [illegible] [illegible] therefore fell on the 10th, the tomon [illegible]. Now the next one would have fallen on the 17th, the [illegible], on which, however, as tradition expressly states, such a day was not supposed to be celebrated. Perhaps this, together with the circumstance that the end day of the fourth row in any case fell in the following month, was the reason for not stopping with the old, seven-day divisions, the first of which always began with the new moon, but to let the series run on, regardless of the moon. This explanation sounds very modest, but it conforms throughout with the mental quality of the Masai, which would scarcely justify a search for a more profound argument.

/359 cont./

We find a parallel to the unconscious rescue of the three-month-old boy Moses in the ark of bulrushes (2nd Moses /Exodus/ 2) in the story entitled "The Faithfulness of God" (3)

> 3. The Babylonian legend has also used this material. Of King Sargon I it is related that, after the death of his father, he was brought into the world by his mother, who lived in great distress in Azupiranu on the Euphrates she secretly gave birth to me, laid me in an ark of bulrushes, closed my door with earth pitch, placed me in the river, which /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original text/ carried me on its waves down to Akki, the water carrier. He adopted me, in the goodness of his heart, reared me as his child, made me his gardener -- then Istar /Ishtar/, the daughter of the king of heaven, fell in love with me and elevated me to king over the people. (From Friedrich Delitzsch lecture, "Babel und Bibel /Babylonia and Bible/.")

(in Ch. XXIII of the IInd Part of the present study). /360/ Just as the rescued boys in that story became the avengers of the humiliation inflicted on their mother, so does the rescued Moses, through God's mercy, become the conqueror of the Pharao /Pharaoh/ enslaving and oppressing the people of Israel.

It should also be pointed out that, in the tradition of the Masai, God appears only on a mountain, in the Israelitish tradition mostly on a mountain, and, to be sure, either in a fire on Sinai on the day of the law-giving (2nd Moses /Exodus/ 19, 18) and when he commands the aforementioned old men to fight the infidels, or in

/329 cont./

*539 a cloud: in both instances in which he appears to Marumi, and
*773 further in the many others which the Bible reports in 2nd Moses
*171 /Exodus/ 16, 10; 2nd Moses 19, 9; 2nd Moses 34, 5, and 4th Moses
*121 /Numbers/ 11, 25.

Circumcision

*539 According to the myth of the Masai, God commanded them to
*773 circumcise boys and girls and sent them this command through
*171 Marumi.

*121 God said: "The Masai shall circumcise the children." Accord-
304 ing to Genesis 17, circumcision is a sign of the covenant between God and the people of Israel, which means, first of all, that God's command for circumcision is given only for the Israelites, not for other peoples, through which circumcision became a tribal symbol for Israel. It is such, however, even today among the Masai, in contrast to the many other peoples who observe the custom of circumcision, and, to be sure, not only in the opinion of the people, but also in reality, because the Masai are the only people (1) with this peculiar form of boy circumcision.

Now we know, however -- and I shall come back to this -- of a series of older Semite peoples, that is, driven out of Arabia earlier, that they likewise practiced the circumcision of boys. This raises the question: how was it possible that the Israelites, and, to be sure, even in their oldest myths, regarded circumcision quite common in Arabia at that time -- so it seems -- expressly as their tribal symbol? Might it perhaps be possible that they originally had the Masai form of circumcision and later exchanged it for the simple circumcision for political or other reasons, just as at the time of the Makkabäer /Maccabees/ (I. Makk. 1, 16) they tried to feign to their opponents the presence of a foreskin, a procedure that, as far as I know, no other people ever used for practical reasons? At any rate,

1. This form of circumcision is also found in only one lineage of the Semite Tatoga people.

/329 cont./
*539 political and economic interests, for example, at the time the
*773 Israelites became sedentary, incomparably more important than at
*171 the time of the Makkabäer /Maccabees/ /330/ probably argued for
*121 the usefulness of a change in the form of circumcision. The objec-
304 tion that the Jews in the second century B. C., as a civilized people, were considerably more adaptable than they were as a primitive people becoming sedentary can be countered in that circumcision was also of much greater national and religious significance in the later period than at that time.

Now, however, what does the Bible say? First of all, it contains nothing that might make one conclude that the Israelites had not practiced circumcision during their sojourn in Egypt (1).

1. The passage in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 4, 24-26 can not be taken into consideration here, since its content belongs to the myth; compare the previous section, "Moses-Marumi."

On the other hand, in view of the great significance of this operation, we must assume that any omission of it would have been expressly handed down. Now in the fifth chapter of Josua /Joshua/, the part (Verses 2 and 3) consisting of a combination of the Jahve /Yahwist/ and Elohim documents reports from the period immediately after the crossing of the Jordan: "At that time Jahve /Yahweh/ said unto Josua /Joshua/: make thee stone knives and circumcise again the sons of Israel for the second time. And Josua made him stone knives and circumcised the sons of Israel at the hill of Araloth (2).

2. = at the hill of the foreskins.

(Verses 8 and 9): When now the whole people had been completely circumcised, they remained in their places in the camp, until they had recovered. And Jahve said to Josua: This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you." Verses 4-7 are not to be considered in this connection, for they stem from a later editor,

/330 cont./

*539 and the accuracy of their content, according to which the Israelites
*773 omitted circumcision during their passage through the wilderness, is
*171 more than doubtful, because first no older author reports it, and then
*121 also nowhere has a corresponding divine command been handed
304 down -- as one would have to expect.

"And Jahve said to Josua: This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you." What does it mean: the reproach of Egypt? I understand these words this way: Today I have taken from you what in Egypt, i.e., by the Egyptians, was regarded as a reproach to you. Now what could have been so regarded there for the Israelites in connection with the circumcision of male individuals? Certainly not circumcision itself, for in Egypt this was a privilege of the priestly and warrior caste. But since it was neither noncircumcision nor circumcision that brought about a reproach to the Israelites, provoked scorn among the Egyptians, it could very well have been another form of circumcision! But if this was the one still customary among the Masai today, the words of the second verse, "and circumcise again the sons of Israel for the second time" (3), become intelligible without artful interpretation, for by means of a second operation, by /331/ cutting off the part of the prepuce appearing among the Masai like a pendulous uvula, a condition that looks like simple circumcision is achieved.

The Masai and Israelites meet again in the motive for circumcision. Through the fact that God handed over to Marumi, along with the command for circumcision, the instruments necessary for the operation in question as well as decreeing the use of the knife serving for the circumcision of the girls also for the cutting of the umbilical cord of the newborn child, and, in connection with that, handed him the loin belt for the woman in childbed, there is shown

3. A pleonasm otherwise never recurring in the whole Old Testament in this form: literally more accurately, according to the Hebrais text, the passage says: "Return again to circumcise the sons of Israel for the second time."

/331 cont./
*539 as the closest association of ideas: circumcision -- conception --
*773 birth. Therefore circumcision is regarded here as a means, even
*171 though not necessary for conception, nevertheless desirable for it
*121 and promoting it. We find the same thought in the Bible, where
304 God, in Gen. 17, 6, when he announces to the 99-year-old, childless
Abraham the sign of the covenant, i.e., circumcision, says:
"And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations
of thee."

According to the preceding, the circumcision of boys seems to
owe its origin to the view that it increases the procreative ability
of the man. Quod judicium positum est in experientia, virum
membro circumciso coire longius, feminam magis irritari. Viri
membro non circumciso coeuntis seminis ejaculatio acceleratur,
saepe nimis, priusquam feminae voluptas venerea culmen ascenderet.
Membro circumciso seminis ejaculatio retardatur et cum voluptatis
venereae culmine congruit, quod ad conceptionem efficiendam
faustum est. /It is a judgment based on experience that a man with
a circumcised organ has intercourse longer, and excites the woman
more. The ejaculation of semen of a man having intercourse with
an uncircumcised organ is speeded up, sometimes too much, before
the sexual pleasure of the woman reaches a climax. When the organ
has been circumcised, the ejaculation of semen is slowed down and
coincides with the climax of sexual pleasure, which is favorable to
bringing about conception./ This leads to the conjecture that the
lawgiver who introduced the circumcision of boys was acting with
the intention of promoting conception and along with that increasing
the number of births, i.e., multiplying the people. Circumcision
[881] became a preparation for marriage and, accordingly, is still carried
out by the Masai, as among other primitive peoples, only after the
onset of puberty. A later age made it a tribal symbol for the
Israelites and Masai and, as such, moved it among the former to
[186] earliest childhood. Through the belief -- strong in Israel as well
as among the Masai -- in the divine favor before other peoples, the
tribal symbol then became a visible sign of this, from which is derived
the explanation of circumcision as a symbol of religious

/331 cont./

*539 *773 *171 *121 304 [186] purity (1), as the Bible often designates it.

Circumcision certainly does not owe its origin to considerations of cleanliness -- as one so often hears -- since the desire for cleanliness could be satisfied more simply in other ways and without an operation not always entirely safe. Furthermore, we also find this custom preferred precisely among those peoples who certainly do not attach any particular value to cleanliness. Morevoer, however, I also doubt that /332/ the utility of circumcision in the matter of cleanliness is actually so great, for among the only very scantily clad primitive peoples the part in question is so much more exposed to the effect of dust, etc. and injury by thorns, spiny leaves, blossoms, and grasses than it would be otherwise.

The circumcision of girls among primitive peoples may also be [581] interpreted as a preparation for marriage. Among the Masai, besides the point in time at which it is undertaken, the way of life of the girls before and after the operation argues in favor of this. Clitoride excisa libido diminuitur et cohabitandi cupiditas retinetur. /Clitoridean excision lessens desire and, in cohabiting, restrains passion./ This [843] has, in theopinion of the people, great advantages for the growing [853] and suckling child, as is also shown by the continence rules of the Masai during pregnancy and the suckling period.

As we know, the Bible knows of no circumcision of the girls. That such was customary in Egypt, however, even during the oldest Biblical period, is taught by the 15th of the British papyri, in which there is mention of the circumcision of the girl Tatemi, the daughter of Nefori of Memphis. Here, too, the girls were circumcised at the age of puberty (1).

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1. That circumcision among the Israelites -- as is assumed -- attained religious significance only during the Exile is refuted, it seems to me, by the use of the stone knife in earliest times.

1. Ploss, "Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der

/332 cont./

*539 /footnote 1 continued/ Völker /The Child
*773 in the Habits and Customs of Peoples/."

*171 *121 304 The question has been raised as to whether the Israelites might not have perhaps taken over circumcision from the Egyptians, and a conjecture affirming this is supported by the Biblical statement according to which Abraham set out uncircumcised for Egypt, where he must have learned of the circumcision laws existing there for priests and warriors, and further by the passage in Gen. 17, according to which, on the same day, he undertook the circumcision of himself and of Ismael /Ishmael/, the son conceived by him with the Egyptian slave woman Hagar. This surmise would indeed not be entirely unfounded if Abraham were a historical personality and the events associated with his name were historical happenings. But since Abraham belongs to the myth (2), it is nothing but an idle speculation, which is not even supported by the fact that it might have been intentionally constructed by the author of the Biblical myth to be understood in this sense.

*121 The deeper and more extensively ethnology goes into primitive peoples, the more clearly we see, first, that a closer or more distant relationship in race also corresponds to such in the mental life and its manifestations, and, moreover, that these peoples, despite centuries of proximity with others, show no tendency to make the latter's ethnographic traits their own if not violently forced by them to do so. Therefore, where it can not be positively proved that one people has adopted from another a custom deeply entrenched in folk life, or that this custom /333/ is foreign in the milieu surrounding it, one will have to assume for the correspondence in the ethnography the same cause as for the commonality of race, namely, a common

2. That is, *the* *Abraham* who, according to Genesis, is given the command for circumcision; the figure of the Biblical Abraham seems to be based on a mythical *and* a historical person.

/333 cont./

*121 original homeland, which, as is still most clearly recognizable among primitive peoples, has marked not only the somatic charteristics, but also the psyche of the people.

*121 304 174 Now, what is the situation with regard to the racial relationship of the most ancient peoples whom we know practiced circumcision? It has been determined that the tribes related to the Israelites, the Ammonites, Edomites, and Moabites, as well as the Arab tribes of the northern part of the peninsula, also observed the custom of circumcision (1).

> 1. According to Ploss, "Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker /The Child in the Habits and Customs of Peoples/."

We know further that the Egyptians and Babylonians practiced circumcision, and finally we now also know that all these peoples either were pure Semites or the Semitic element was very strongly predominant in them.

Now this by no means is to say, however, that circumcision was originally peculiar to all the Semites (2)

> 2. I found, for example, that a lineage of the Tatoga, frequently mentioned in these pages, does not practice circumcision. Besides, we know that in Egypt the common people were not circumcised.

and only to them; on the contrary, it seems foolish to try to answer the question as to the time and place of the origin of this custom, which also exists among so many non-Semitic peoples. Most probably it may indeed be that circumcision stems from a time whose history we attempt to patch together out of the finds of skeletal remains, etc. If, on the basis of the ancient Israelitish command that circumcision is to be performed with a stone knife, we may conclude that it originated in the Stone Age, one might suspect an even earlier period on the basis of the interdict that rejects the use of the reed splinter for it.

/333 cont./

*539 The situation is different with regard to the question whether
*773 it was perhaps peculiar to the Semites in general to trace circum-
*171 cision back to a divine command. We know from the Bible that
*121 the Israelites trace it back to this. The law according to which the
uncircumcised could not be initiated into the secrets of the temple
304 and of science points to a similar view among the Egyptians. I do
not know how the Babylonians thought concerning this point. The Mohammedan and Christian peoples, for obvious reasons, can not be considered in answering the present question. Thus there remain only the peoples of interior Africa who are as yet uninfluenced by Islam and Christianity. Now among these I found both among the Masai and among the Semitic Tatoga people and the Semito-Nigritians of the Iraku area the belief that circumcision was ordered for human beings by God.

/334/ Finally, it is still to be pointed out that the tradition
*539 of the Masai is also familiar with the use of the reed splinter (*os
773 sañgasch) for the operation on the human body in prehistoric times.
*171 When the angel Ol dirima brought the Masai the ten commandments,
*121 it mentioned in the 8th commandment the use of the *os sañgasch*
304 splinter for the cutting of the umbilical cord. Later God prohibits
413 the Masai the use of it, for it is a prohibition when he commands
that from now on the *ol moronja* is to be used for the same purpose. Thus we find here a further parallel between the Israelitish tradition and the tradition of the Masai, for since all of the Israelitish law is made up of commands and prohibitions of God, we may assume that the traditional prohibition of the reed splinter in the myth was based on an expression of divine will (1).

1. The fact that among many Negro peoples too the reed splinter is used to cut the umbilical cord is meaningless for the above question and signifies only that even beyond the wood stage the freshly torn reed splinter was retained as an aseptic instrument for those operations for which it was adequate and suitable. A similar instrument is the tap root of a species of luceme, pulled out

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/footnote 1 continued/ of the ground as needed and carefully freed of its rind, which the Wadschagga use as a uterus probe to induce abortion, as I observed on Kilimandscharo.

The Naming of God

We find a further correspondence in the traditions of the Masai and Israelites in the fact that in the period before the lawgiving, whose epoch is bounded in the Bible by the beginning and end of the works of Moses, God bears a different name than he does afterwards, and that among both peoples the fact of the change of name is handed down by a divine word from this very epoch. 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 6, 2 and 3 reports: "Then God spoke with Moses and said to him: I am Jahve /Yahweh/. I have appeared to Abraham, Isaak /Isaac/, and Jakob /Jacob/ as El Schaddaj (2);

2. I.e., the Almighty.

but I have not revealed myself to them under my name Jahve." And in the tradition of the Masai, the angel Ol dirima speaks at the command of God in the first of the ten commandments: "There is only one God. He has sent me here. Heretofore you called him E'majan (3)

3. = The Forgiving One, the Pardoning One.

or E'magelani (4);

4. = The Almighty.

from now on you shall call him 'Ng ai." It is to be noted especially that the meaning of the names El Schaddaj and E'magelani is the same, the Almighty, and that further E'majan is the Forgiving One, the Pardoning One, an epithet that in the Bible is often applied to God, for example, 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 34, 6, where Jahve calls

/334 cont./

*539 out to Moses: "Jahve, Jahve, a compassionate and merciful God,
*773 forbearing and abounding in favor and truth, keeping favor for
*171 thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, etc."
*121

/335/ The Fiery Serpent

The fiery serpent at the time of El gowai may at first glance be interpreted as a repetition of the tempting serpent in paradise.

In point of time, however, the story coincides with the one about the fiery serpents and the brass image of a serpent in 4th Moses /Numbers/ 21, for both lie in the epoch of the lawgiving. In order to evaluate the latter story, it is now to be considered that the brass image of the serpent could be historical, on the basis of 2nd Kings 18, 4, according to which King Hiskija /Hezekiah/ broke it into pieces around the year 700 B.C., and that presumably it has its prototype in the Egyptian snake god Serapis, to whom a healing power was ascribed there, just as it was to the brass serpent here. We would then have in 4th Moses /Numbers/ 21 a combination of history and myth, for it is to the latter that the fiery serpents in their essence belong. What the leitmotiv for the combination was, whether indeed it was based on more profound idea, or whether it was brought about merely by external circumstances, as seems to have been the case in the story according to which the cattlebreeder Jakob /Jacob/ deceived the hunter Esau out of the right of the first-born, cannot be investigated here. It should be pointed out, however, that the nature of the fiery serpent in the tradition of the Masai seems to be such as to favor the origin of the combination in question.

The entire picture from the tradition of the Masai, however, just as it is and in the place where it stands, could also fit into that of the Israelites, and, to be sure, as occasion for the words of the first commandment: "I am Jahve, thy God ... Thou shalt have no other gods besides me," just as it must also be considered as such for the first commandment of the Masai.

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The Ten Commandments

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We find an abundance of correspondences in the law of the two peoples, both in the manner in which it is given to the human beings by God, in the external circumstances accompanying the delivery of the law, and in the external form that divides it into ten sections and, finally, also in the content.

The 1st commandment of the Masai coincides with the first Biblical one in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 20, 2-4: "I am Jahve, thy God ...., thou shalt have no other gods besides me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any divine image..."

We find the 2nd commandment in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 20, 13: "Thou shalt not kill."

The 17th verse of the same chapter gives the 3rd commandment in detailed form: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house; thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's."

The 4th commandment traces quarrels and controversies back to drunkenness, just as in 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 21 a stubborn and rebellious son is called a glutton and a drunkard, who should be stoned.

/336/ The 5th commandment corresponds to the one given in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 20, 14: "Thou shalt not commit adultery."

The 6th commandment requires doing good and the giving of alms, like the Israelitish law in 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 15.

Corresponding to the 7th commandment, we also constantly find in the Old Testament the idea that only one shall rule over the people, and, just as God then appoints Kidonoi as the first ol oiboni, so is it also the business of Jahve, according to 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 17, 15, to choose the king.

In the ram that, according to the 8th commandment, is to be slaughtered on the day on which the woman in childbed shaves her head for the first time after her delivery, one may probably recognize the lamb of the offering for purification in 3rd Moses /Leviticus/ 12. -- It does not seem strange that the Israelitish law is not familiar with the command for monogamy, for, according to the tradition of the Masai, this command existed for only a short time and had already been lifted again long before the time of Marumi — Moses.

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The 9th commandment, which prohibits the killing of breeding animals, is provided solely for a people living by animal husbandry. It thus seems natural that we find no corresponding commandment in the Israelitish law, for the latter was modified after the Israelites became sedentary.

The later modification is also shown by a comparison of the 10th commandment with the Bible. There only two feasts are ordered to be celebrated annually, in contrast to the more than 70 feast days on which the Israelites were forbidden to do any work. The agriculturist (in the Orient) can probably celebrate that many days, but not the cattlebreeder, for the livestock must be taken to pasture and to water daily, have clean stalls, be milked, etc.; in short, the same work is required every day. The future offering ordered in this commandment seems by its nature to be the prototype of the Day of Atonement (3rd Moses /Leviticus/ 16, 29), which also, like that one, is to be celebrated in the seventh month of the year.

There remains to be briefly considered the external circumstances that accompany the lawgiving according to the tradition of the Masai and according to the 19th chapter of the 2nd Book of Moses /Exodus/. In both traditions a mountain is the site of the lawgiving. The proclaimer of the law appears on this mountain, promises the law, and gives those who are to receive it a period of preparation. The Masai tradition says that the elders had to assemble on the following day, the Biblical tradition stipulates the third day for the proclamation. Here the proclaimer is God himself, whose appearance, as otherwise also among the Masai, takes place in a dense cloud (Verse 9) and in fire and smoke (Verse 18). It is not God, but his messenger, the angel Ol dirima, who proclaims the "ten things" to the Masai. Just as here only the elders may climb the mountain, so, according to Verses 12 and 13, the common people may not approach the mountain, may not touch it.

/337/ Despite the existing differences, it can undoubtedly be understood from the correspondences that the Israelitish tradition never distinguished a law-giving and a law-changing as two special occurrences accompanied by certain events, as might be expected from the very late period in which the Bible puts the Sinai lawgiving. Rather, the

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*539 Biblical author merely inserted into the traditional framework of the
*773 primeval-age lawgiving the laws that were modified or had become
*171 necessary as a consequence of the sedentation, the changes way of
*121 life and outlook, with at the same time omission of the commandments that were lost for the same reason or pushed out of the favored position as a consequence of their reduced significance.

Some Further Points of Contact

In a mythical account the Masai show why dogs are regarded as unclean and live only on disgusting food; God himself condemned them to this.

*539 In view of this, it seems noteworthy that the authors of the Jahve
*773 /Yahweh/ and Elohim doucments, that is, precisely probably the
*171 oldest sources of the Pentateuch, put into the mouth of God utterances
*121 through which dogs are represented as disgusting animals. Thus, the
231 Jahvist /Yahwist/ reports in 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 11, 7: And Jahve said to Moses: "But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog point his tongue, from man to livestock, that ye may know that Jahve makes a distinction between Egypt and Israel." And the Elohim Document states, 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 22, 30 /sic; see 22, 31/: "And ye shall be holy men unto me, and ye shall not eat flesh torn off in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs (1)."

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1. Cf. also 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 23, 59 /sic: see 23, 18/ male whores = dogs. F. Hommel.

*539 Just as 'Ng ai punishes the Masai who transgress his commands
*773 by epidemics, so it is also Jahve's /Yahweh's/ nature to send plagues
*171 if the human beings otherwise do not want to submit to his will and
*121 complain about him. From the time before the lawgiving we know
[784] of the ten plagues by which Jahve forces the Egyptians to let the Israelites depart. Then later the wrath of God is turned against Israel. 4th Moses /Numbers/ 11 tells of a great fire in the camp at the place Tabera /Taberah/, as well as a great disaster among the people in Kibroth Hatthaawa /Kibroth-hattaavah/, the place of the graves of

/337 cont./
*539 people that lusted; according to 4th Moses /Numbers/ 12, Jahve
*773 punishes Mirjam /Miriam/ with leprosy; in the 14th chapter of the
*171 same book the blasphemous people are threatened with pestilence
*121 and then punished with a prolongation of their sojourn in the wilderness, so that none of the blasphemers would reach the promised land; in the 16th chapter Jahve destroys the rebellious company of Korah with fire.

As among the Israelites, so also there falls among the Masai a series of plagues sent as punishment in the period after the receiving of the ten commandments.

/338/ In both traditions we further find the picture of the ladder of heaven. According to the tradition of the Masai, 'Ng ai uses it to come down from heaven to earth, to reach the first human couple in paradise. In Genesis the Elohim Document, in Chapter 28, Verse 12, reports about Jakob's /Jacob's/ dream: "And he dreamed, and behold, a ladder was set up on the earth, and its top reached to heaven, and behold, the angels of God ascend and descend on it."

In both traditions the first human couple had three children, and, to be sure, three sons, one of whom, in the Bible Kain /Cain/, here Sisia -- in contrast to the others, is distinguished by a bad character. He leaves the country in which his people live and moves to a tribe practicing agriculture. That the latter is also true of Kain is taught by the words in Gen. 4, "and Kain was an agriculturalist," and then "and he built a city." There, among the agriculturalists regarded as inferior, he settles down and becomes the ancestor of the despised blacksmiths. Thus the tradition of both peoples reports that the blacksmith trade did not originate among their own people, but rather was brought to them by an ill-bred and rebellious member of a tribe of godless heathens. This is further proof that even among the Israelites of the primeval age the blacksmiths occupied a low social position.

The names of the second son -- in the Bible Habel /Abel/, among the Masai Nabe -- are so similar in sound that, especially in view of total picture of the correspondences discussed, we can not but interpret them as identical in origin. That here, too, the report of

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#539 the Masai gives the older interpretation requires no further proof.
#773 On the other hand, the later alteration of the Biblical name is
#171 shown in its meaning of breath, for this is closely connected with
#121 the myth, only arising in more recent times, which designates
Kain /Cain/ as the first murderer.

With regard to the order of succession of the three sons, it seems to me that not only what was said above about the children of Eramram-Amram applies here, but that it is also to be noted that it is not in keeping with the views of a primitive people that the eldest son and heir should wander away from his homeland and abandon the paternal property.

III.

000 The Masai and the oldest Hebrews originate from the same people. -- The schism in the original homeland. -- The Ạmeroi. -- The El eberet. -- The El eberet = Hebrews. -- Their proximity to the El dinet, who know the God Jau and the prohibition against the partaking of blood. -- The Ạmeroi may be the Amorites. -- The Biblical myths of the primeval age stem from the Amai people and may have come to the Israelites through the El eberet-Hebrews, to Canaan through the Ạmeroi-Amorites, and from there to Babel.

#121 174 Laws and customs can probably give only a relatively slight chance to prove the original solidarity of the Masai and Israelites, /339/ for the latter, at the time from which the oldest accounts about them stem, that is to say, in the tenth century before Christ, during which the Jahvist /Yahwist/ source of the Pentateuch originated, were already quite advanced in culture, and, to be sure, in a direction originally quite foreign to them. From savage nomads there had developed, even at that time, urban dwellers of an organized state. Conversely, however, the Masai too may not have remained completely uninfluenced by the numerous peoples with whom they came in contact in the course of millenniums, in connection with which, to be sure, it is to be noted that by far the

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*121 174 most of these peoples were and are themselves Semites or Nigrito-Semites. The differences that we find in the customs and in the law of these two peoples should therefore not be put too much in the foreground.

*121 173 174 The situation is different with regard to the early history, the early religious tradition, and everything that is included under the designation religion; for these three things form such a closely knit, homogeneous whole that foreign elements must always remain foreign within it. Now, since we find precisely in this a complete correspondence between the Masai and the Israelites, and even among the already sedentary Israelites still see preserved the customs based on their early history or on their early religious tradition, there follows with compulsory necessity the conclusion that there must have once been a time when the two peoples were one people.

*121 173 The manner in which the schism between the two peoples occurred is reported by the tradition of the Masai, which, on account of its natural simplicity and considering the amazingly accurate preservation, in word and meaning, of the other traditions from primeval times, may probably be regarded as credible throughout, corresponding to the truth.

According to it, as a consequence of epidemics and drought, some of the Masai had become quite poor in livestock, many people had even lost all their livestock and lived as hunters. These impoverished ones, who were called 'L amerak or Ameroi, had to cover part of their subsistence by buying vegetable foods among nearby agriculturalists. They thus became dependent on them and could choose their places of residence scarcely more than a few days' march from them, whereas the still well-to-do Masai wandered from one pasturing place to another with their herds, in accordance with their ancient custom. They remained livestock nomads, while the others gradually had to become agriculturalists. The aforesaid dependence of the nomad on the agriculturalist can, in the natural course of things, only ever be a temporary state and must necessarily lead to the former's learning agriculture, for the independent production of his subsistence is the basic condition for his continuance. Now this further development, however, does not

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*121 by any means depend on immediate and permanent sedentation.
173 Rather, the latter presupposes first of all a vital energy such as a /340/ people torn out of its previous circumstances by poverty and distress no longer possesses, and then also an inner urge toward sedentation, arising only in the course of long periods of time through gradually entering into new interests and views, which conquers the inborn, hereditary inclination toward nomadism. Thus, a nomadic people, deprived of its herds, experiences a long stage during which it slowly learns the tilling of the soil and seeks to obtain its customary and indispensable meat diet through hunting. The war and raiding lust inherent in the free nomad, whose goal, war, constitutes for him an economic resource through the livestock herds thus captured, is a factor that delays the attainment of permanent sedentation. For, first of all, ruffians are uncomfortable neighbors whom people prefer to drive farther away, and, second, the booty in livestock prolongs the hybrid existence of the erstwhile herd nomads. The yield of the hunt is another factor with the same effect, which undergoes an intensification if the hunter learned the trade at a time in which he could train himself as a hunter-nomad with the support of well-to-do fellow tribesmen as their escort.

Now the tradition of the Masai relates that with, or, better, beside and in association with, the Ameroi lived tribesmen who were impoverished even earlier and more thoroughly than the former and had already learned how to acquire by stalking the meat food longed for by them. We may therefore expect that they were only able to become sedentary later than the former and that at that time their settling down as agriculturalists still lay far away. Now tradition mentions among them an influential man named Ol eberet. In him
[171] I think one may recognize Eber, the ancestor of the Israelites mentioned in 1st Moses /Genesis/ 10, 21 ff., and in the lineage named after him, the El eberet, the Hebrews. I suspect this not only because of the phonetic similarity of the names, but also for two other reasons.

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*121 173 Ol eberet became the founder of the lineage of the El eberet, named after him, which already at that time was separated from the Ameroi by its external mode of life and had to become separated even further by its continued development. Through this it is most probable that after the migration of the Masai the meaning of the name as one of many lineages of a people receded and was transformed into the conception of a folk name.

[171] Furthermore the tradition of the Masai reports that their separation from the Ameroi and El eberet remaining behind took place at the time the son of Ol eberet, Geréua, lived, and the Biblical account in 1st Moses /Genesis/ 10, 25 says that at the time of Peleg, son of Eber, the earth was divided, which, translated from the Biblical language and considering the circumstance that the Israelites regarded themselves as the chosen people, beside whom other peoples were inferior, contemptible heathen, could mean nothing other than: at that time a local shift not without significance for the Hebrew people occurred, within the field of vision of the Hebrews, among the peoples close to them.

/341/ Accordingly, I think it may be assumed that to the Amai of the primeval age, as whose direct descendants the present-day Masai regard themselves, belonged the oldest traceable component of the Israelites, who, as a Hebrew people, was originally identical with the lineage of the El eberet.

*121 173 171 773 With regard to the further fate of the El eberet-Hebrews the Masai tradition reports that they found special support by the agricultural people of the El dinet (1)

1. As a parallel to the peaceful, neighborly association in which, according to the tradition of the Masai, the El eberet stood with regard to the El dinet, might be interpreted, in the sense of the meaning El dinet = Hetthiter /Hittite/, the report in Genesis 23, in which it is told how Abraham acquired a burial place for Sarah in the land of the Hetthiter /Hittites/ with whom he was on a friendly basis, and further the passage

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# 121 /footnote 1 continued/ in Genesis 26, 34,
173 which reports that Esau, Abraham's grand-
171 son, married two Hetthiter /Hittite/ women,
773 Judith and Basmath /Bashemath/. -- That even at that time it was not always easy for Hebrews to find suitable girls of pure Hebrew extraction for marriage we see from Genesis 27 and 28, where it is reported that Jakob /Jacob/ was induced by his mother, who could not get along with Esau's Hetthitish /Hittite/ wives, to set out for distant Mesopotamia in order to fetch himself a Hebrew wife from there. -- One should also note, in connection with the name El dinet, the name of Jakob's daughter by Rahel /Rachel/, Dinah (Genesis 30, 21). This evidence seems to me of particular significance because it refers to that most ancient time in which the Hebrews were still culture-poor nomads. One may think as he wants to about the historical value of these passages, but among all the details there is one that may be clung to: namely, that these reports are based on the memory of a close contact -- and, to be sure, not a brief one, but of longer duration -- of the Hebrews with the Hetthitern /Hittites/, which took place during a time that lies at the very beginning of Hebrew history, in those epochs in which the first historical moments rose up like islands out of the sea of myths. -- The Masai tradition reports further that the El dinet lived in tembes. This, however, is a hut form very similar to the one that is still customary today in Asia Minor and Syria, that is to say, in the lands once inhabited by Hetthitern

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/footnote 1 continued/ /Hittites/, which even today still shelter the most and purest Hetthiter /Hittite/ descendants.

and lived in their vicinity. From that it is to be concluded with great probability that they adopted some customs from them, and this assumption also seems to confirm the one in the direction of the identity of the El eberet and Hebrews.

Just as the El dinet did not consume blood and let the slaughter animal bleed from the opened neck artery before cutting it up, so also was it forbidden for the Israelites to consume blood, according to 1st Moses /Genesis/ 9, 4; 3rd Moses /Leviticus/ 3, 17; 7, 26-27; 17, 10-14; 19, 26, and 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 12, 16, 23, 24; 15, 23, a law which later, as is well known, became elaborated into the slaughter ritual. The passages in 3rd Moses /Leviticus/ 17, 13, and in 5th Moses /Deuteronomy/ 12, 16, 24, and 15, 23, also expressly order that one is to let the blood run out and flow on the ground like water. It is to be mentioned in this connection that the last of these passages comes from the law book that allegedly was found around the year 623 when the temple was being repaired, but in reality had only been written then, for the forming of the first priesthood that had grown on Kanaanitic /Canaanitic/ soil into a priestly rule. The other passages, however, stem from the so-called Priestly Codex, /342/ made by priests who, just like the people for whom it was intended, grew up in exile. If I further add that the quoted passages are the only ones in the entire Pentateuch that deal with the prohibition of the consumption of blood, it is doubtless indeed clear that we are dealing here, not with something originally Hebrew, but with a foreign view and institution. That the prohibition against the consumption of blood could have come to the Hebrews only through the influence of a people practicing agriculture is taught by the fact that, for the herd nomads, the blood of their livestock is a valuable food, which is preferably consumed either alone or as an addition to other foods. Just as among the Semite peoples of interior Africa who have become sedentary -- amid mixture with Negroes -- so also among the Hebrews does the custom of consuming blood as food seem to have been preserved long after they became sedentary.

*121 /342 cont./

173 For otherwise what reason would the lawgivers have had to state [illegible] above show, at a time when the Israelites had already been sedentary for more than half a millennium?

*121 173 174 We find a further influence in the Israelitish god's name jahveh /Yahweh/, which may have originated from the 'n jau of the El dinet. As is already well known, jau is also the Assyrian form of jahveh, so that in this we have before us further proof of the reliability of the oral tradition of the Masai. In connection with the etymology of the word jau, it is to be said that, according to the statements of the Masai, their ancient language knew the word hau = great, which still occurs today in the Tatoga speech as 'hau. Through this it is probable that the stem of this word belongs to the original Semitic language and in it has the meaning "great," so that the god's name 'n jau in its feminine form would be translated as "the great one."

Now, according to Hommel (1), Ai is the oldest designation of the moon god among the western Semites, whose moon cult was almost monotheism. The, long before Moses introduced the official god's name Jahve, Ai and Jau are found as synonymous secondary forms of the name of the supreme god. Just as the god's name of the Masai, Ńg Ai, shows the feminine form, so Ai of the Babylonians was also of the female sex. Moreover, Hommel found an A—u element in Assyrian and Mesopotamian personal names and proved that this name was originally Hau.

*121 174 Let us now turn to the other part of the Masai people, who remained in the original homeland, the Ạmeroi or Ạmoroi. That the Bible also gives information about them we shall be able to assume as probable from the outset, in view of what has been found before. The following seems to me to argue that we may recognize in them the Amorites of the Bible:

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1. Prof. Dr. F. Hommel: Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das alte Testament /The Ancient Oriental Monuments and the Old Testament/. 2nd edition.

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*121 174

First of all there is a similarity of sound between the two names. The /343/ possibility of the identity of the two names is strengthened by the cuneiform designation for the Amorite people. In the Omina tablets, which stem from the period around 3000 B. C., the lands of Syria and Palestine are called Amurrû, and the letters of Hammurabi show that originally a people was designated with this word, and, to be sure, the one that Assyriology has already definitely recognized as the Amorite people.

Further, the Bible, in 1st Moses /Genesis/ 14, 13, reports that Abraham concluded a war alliance with the chiefs of the Amorites. One should indeed note: Abraham, "domiciled" as a herd nomad at Ur in Chaldea, concluded an alliance, on his wanderings, with the Amorites settled about 1000 kilometers away in Palestine. First of all, such an alliance presupposes a community of like or similar interests. Now Abraham, however, is still a nomad, whereas the Amorites are already sedentary (it has already been conjectured above that the Ameroi must have become sedentary before the El eberet). We still have the same relationship today between sedentary Wakuafi and nomadic Masai; despite the difference in their way of life, there is a close community of interests, for the Masai who has become sedentary, just like the nomadic one, has no concern other than the preservation or, more accurately, the increase of his property in livestock, a goal that goal is served precisely by war. Work in the fields does not trouble him, but rather is a matter for the women, and, to be sure, primarily those who were captured in war for this from agricultural tribes.

Further, however, we may also unhesitatingly conclude from the existence of the pact, in view of the national-exclusive position of the people of Israel, that there was a national community, even though outwardly loose, nevertheless still existing in the feelings of both parties. It would be directly contrary to the character of the Masai to enter into any -- seriously intended -- alliance with a people belonging to the El meg. For the alliances concluded in later times by the Israelites with other peoples, what was intended for the ones still living in a state of savage warlike nomadism at the time of Abraham need no longer apply.

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*121 174 Unfortunately, Oriental research still knows practically nothing about the Amorites, or at least not much more. We do not know what somatically different peoples participated in the formation of the historic Amorite people, and we are not familiar with either their ethnography or the manners and customs characteristic of them before they were absorbed. Not until research has thrown light upon this shall we have more detailed knowledge, for the time being we can only surmise. Now my surmise on this subject is that the Ḁmeroi as they became sedentary became an essential part of the Amorites, to whom they also gave their name. The other constituent part of the Amorites was -- as is surmised -- blond-haired and of Aryan origin, and probably also significantly surpassed the Semitic Ḁmeroi in numbers. The fact that the Amorites, however, were named after the latter and not the former /344/ will not surprise us if we consider that the people of the same race as the Ḁmeroi, the El eberet-Hebrews, and the Semitic Babylonians were given that name, and that the Hebrews too, despite their 95 per cent non-Semitic blood, were always called Hebrews (and Israelites) and never Hetthiter /Hittites/.

*121 773 174 Now, if it is correct that the Masai, the Hebrews, and the Amorites, descended from the original Amai people in the aforesaid way, the following is shown with regard to the origin and migration of the Biblical myths coming under consideration: The myths stem from the original Amai people, who passed them on directly to their descendants, the present-day Masai. Through the El eberet-Hebrews, the oldest consitiuent part of the Israelites, they came to the latter. The Ḁmeroi-Amorites, who first became sedentary in Kanaan /Canaan/, subsequently brought them, through their immigration, to Babylon, where the part of them that could be inserted into the astral cult prevailing there was preserved. This assumption may satisfactorily explain the form of the reports of those myths found in Babel: of the original accounts the images, the external forms, are preserved, whereas the spirit of the 'Ng ai-Jahve religion originally animating them was driven out by the one of the Babylonian state religion, which is represented as an astral cult planted on the shamanisn of the Sumerians.

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IV.

000 The future of the Masai People. -- Weighing the effect of the people-preserving and people-destroying factors. -- Polygamy. -- Nutrition. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality. -- Free love. -- Organization. -- Wars. -- Epidemics. -- National pride. -- Clash of the culture of the Masai with that of the Europeans. -- The incompatability of the two hurts the Masai. -- Harmful consequences of the impoverishment. -- Difficulty of becoming sedentary.

121 In order to make a prognosis about the future of the Masai people
it seems necessary, first of all, to weigh the people-preserving and
people-destroying factors established in the people, in its character
and customs, and then to observe the phenomena that appear when
the Masai meet the Europeans. We have many examples of the fact
182 that polygamy does not promote an increase in the population to the
595 extent that monogamy does as a rule. As the reason for this phenomenon
one finds an accumulation of wives in the hands of the wealthy,
and, as a consequence of that, celibacy for lack of women among
very many of the less well-to-do and among the poor. It is obvious
that under such circumstances polygamy leaves very many women
[162] neglected. But it is different among the Masai, for here there is
such a surplus of women -- perhaps in part again as a result of polygamy
-- that no man remains celibate, in fact the possession of only
one woman is an exception. Hand in hand with this goes the not so
[735] unequal distribution of property; in practice there are scarcely any
poor people. Another reason to which /345/ the decline in population
among many polygamous peoples is attributed is that polygamous
marriages as a rule are relatively poorer in children then monogamous
[842] ones. This objection is not to be taken into consideration here either,
for we have seen that the fertility of the Masai women is very great.
Yet, in order fully to consider the polygamy of the Masai in its
economic effect, we must observe the milieu in which it exists.
The polygamous household of the Masai may be compared to a
stock company, to which the property, theoretically belonging solely
to the house father belongs in practice. The house father is the chief

/345 cont./
182 shareholder, the rest of the shares are in the hands of his wives, who
595 acquire these shares through the birth of a son. Through this the wives,
who have the duty to tend and care for the livestock, are interested
in the preservation of the property in the most extensive way. This
is the one factor of the polygamy of the Masai promoting prosperity
with all its advantages for the political economy. The other lies in
the fact that many women give birth to more sons for one man than
one woman could. Here, however, male offspring are augmenters
of the paternal property. The boy grows up to become a warrior and
brings his family the spoils of the numerous raids, through which not
only is the herd increased, but, through the supply of new blood, is
also improved.

Polygamy among the Masai is therefore a natural institution.
Without it large masses of women would be deprived of their natural
occupation, a condition that seems impossible for a primitive people.
It is, moreover, a source of prosperity, which, among a culture-poor
nomadic people, can only make itself felt favorably for their preser-
[146] vation as a people. From it follows, first of all, good nutrition,
which makes the body resistant to the effects of illnesses. It corre-
[165] sponds to my observations that among the Masai in general, among
[164] adults, fewer cases of death occur as a consequence of illness than
is the case among the Negroes living in their vicinity. Also, serious
illnesses are more infrequent among them than among the former
182 and are milder in their course. The circumstance that abortion is
847 practiced by the women in only very rare exceptional cases also
undoubtedly acts to promote health. One can sufficiently observe
the harm that this bad custom has often caused primitive peoples
among the various neighbors of the Masai, though indeed there are
also exceptions to this. Thus, I met a number of Dschagga women
who went through this operation four to six times and allegedly, as
well as apparently, without harm.

182 In contrast to the high fertility there is also a rather high child
165 mortality, though infanticide is entirely unknown. It is definitely
854 beneficial for the child that through work the mother is not kept
[847] outside the kraal, but can always remain in the vicinity of the child.
[853] The long nursing period of about two years is also advantageous.

/345 cont./
182 Harmful to the child's health, on the other hand, are the poor huts,
165 which are always /346/ filled with dense smoke, and furthermore
854 the lack of cleanliness and the faulty diet. The belief, widespread
[362] among all African primitive peoples, that fat gives strength and
[353] health leads to the stuffing of the baby, despite all its struggles and
[46] screams, with unbelievable quantities of butter. Soor, as well as
[856] stomach and intestinal affections, and ailments of the respiratory
[164] organs are therefore also the principal illnesses that carry off the
babies. If one compares the high mortality among children with
the very low one in later life, and if one further considers that, in
inspecting the Masai kraals, one finds almost only healthy people
full of energy, one cannot resist the thought that the treatment of
the children, especially the babies, unconsciously aims at culling
out all the weak elements at an early age and preserving for the
people only the most vigorous ones that are equal to the demands
of life. Seen from this standpoint, that of natural selection, the
high child mortality seems less unfortunate. Finally, the late age
182 at which the men enter their first marriage is unfavorable for population
582 increase. Until about the 28th or 30th year of life the Masai
836 belongs to the warrior standing, and he may marry only after leaving
837 it. This circumstance in turn makes free love, such as exists in the
warrior kraals, an understandable social institution. One must judge
this arrangement on the soil in which it grows, in order to remain
objective. From the same standpoint we shall have to judge more
leniently the free love existing among the married, which, despite
numerous restrictions, appears to us like a continuous prostitution
[348] of the woman. One can do this all the more since through that professional
prostitution is excluded here, and consequently the possibility
of infection is greatly reduced; this last circumstance is undoubtedly
to be regarded as people-preserving. Actually the Masai
[164] maintain that in former times (before the great livestock epidemics)
venereal diseases only very rarely occurred. Immorality is rightly
182 regarded as a people-destroying factor, and history teaches us by
831 many examples how licentious and refined sensuality was one of
the grounds that caused the decline of higher peoples. Here among
the Masai, however, it is not a matter of this unnatural kind of

/346 cont./

182 831 [181] immorality. Rather, I should call their behavior animalistic-natural and mention in this connection that the Masai, extraordinarily vain about preserving his youth, handsomeness, and physical strength, imposes upon himself wise moderation in sexual enjoyment.

182 721 [181] An outstanding people-preserving factor is a strict organization. It can make a small people superior to a larger, less well organized one, and here has given the Masai a position of power over the Negroes. A well organized people of the steppes nowhere on earth grazes its little lambs in quiet contemplation. Rather, such people are always characterized by a warlike and predatory nature. War makes itself felt here harmfully above all, since it /347/ devours great masses of men. It has often happened that only half of those who set out returned; indeed, they tell of expeditions in which all the warriors were killed. At the beginning of the nineties -- to cite one example, several thousand Masai warriors set out against Unyamwesi. They had assembled a few hours to the west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ and had as a guide an Unyamwesi man by the name of Degénja, who had lived for a long time among them. During the night before the planned attack, Degénja betrayed it to his countrymen. The Masai were repulsed with heavy losses and turned back. Far more than half of them died of hunger and thirst along the way on the twelve- to fourteen-day march. Such man killing expeditions of war are by no means rarities; rather they recur constantly in the history of the Masai. Certainly the great surplus of women is to be ascribed to them.

182 731 233 With regard to the harm that livestock epidemics (1)

1. The reason that the epidemics were so destructive around 1890 is, first of all, that two epidemics occurred in quick succession: a pulmonary epidemic and rinderpest, and, on the other hand, the renewal of the herds by war expeditions was in part made difficult, in part rendered impossible, by the military stations.

/347 cont./
182 caused the Masai people in the period before the occupation of the
731 country by Europeans, I have no reliable observations made by myself
233 or by Europeans. Such can scarcely exist, for at that time the Masai were a feared power that every caravan liked to avoid. I am therefore relying on the statements of old men. According to their recollection, the epidemics were never capable of producing actual famine. As soon as the beginning of an epidemic was observed, the Masai fled in wild flight with the herds, leaving the sick animals lying along the way. Half the herd at most is supposed to have succumbed. If one considers the size of the herds at that time, one understands that the surviving part could always still furnish sufficient milk and meat.
[721] Furthermore, the war expeditions soon brought substitutes for the fallen animals and thus acted to preserve prosperity (2).

> 2. It is to be inserted here that empirically livestock epidemics caused few losses for the sedentary Negro practicing animal husbandry along with agriculture. This is probably chiefly due to the fact that he calls only very few head his own and keeps these in his hut, which is far from the next one. Through that the Masai were able to replenish their depleted herds quickly and easily.

182 Finally, the Masai's profound contempt for the surrounding Negro
186 tribes was also favorable for the preservation of the people. It kept the people free of foreign elements, which here would only have resulted in a degeneration of the race.

121 The fable that primitive peoples would have continued to develop
177 peacefully and favorably if Europeans, with their corruption, had not disturbingly interfered has long been recognized as such. On the other hand, however, it remains an /348/ undeniable fact that these peoples decline upon contact with the higher culture, and that many even disappear as a people. The reason for this phenomenon lies in the fact that these peoples have already been living on an unhealthy basis and have owed their preservation to means that we designate as

/348 cont./
121 illegal and immoral, because they run contrary to our consciousness
177 of justice and our Christian morality, and which cause to arise in the
economic field exploitation in the crassest sense of the word. Now
while every state that occupies a savage country has the duty to appear
as promoter and guardian of justice and morality and at the same time
to promote economic development by guiding production along the
paths of our modern principles, along with that it only too often over-
turns the foundation pillars on which the existence of a primitive people
rests.

182 Thus in plague-ridden Africa the Masai largely owe their existence
721 as a nomadic people, whose only resource lies in its livestock holdings,
178 to the fact that they can always replace their losses by expeditions of
war and plunder. As soon as the possibility of such expeditions is taken
[648] away from them, or at least very much reduced, through the erection
of military stations that grant protection to the victims of the Masai,
there must naturally arise a situation in which a gradually increasing
weakening of the vitality of a people takes place. What was formerly
to their advantage, their war lust and the cowardice of the Negroes,
now becomes fatal for them. Both entice them to raiding expeditions
[361] again and again. In order to avoid the punishment deserved for that,
they retreat into regions that they formerly avoided as harmful to the
health for human beings and livestock, or on account of inferior
177 pastures. If the Masai, when they came under the influence of the
182 European occupation, had still been the strong people of Mbatyan of
30 years ago, they might perhaps, after the example of other primi-
tive peoples, have carried from it even though a marked, nevertheless
only a temporary weakening in the meeting with the higher culture,
and then gradually recovered again when they had become ready for
182 its advantages. But we found the Masai already in a condition that
looked very much like ruin. The livestock epidemics around the
731 year 1890, which, not locally restricted, had afflicted the herds
of all the Masai to such an extent that actually only miserable
remnants were left, had produced a general and extraordinarily
sever famine. Hundreds of thousands of Masai, especially men and
boys, fell victim to it, and in the year 1895 the author still found the
steppes around Kilimandscharo appearing in places as though they

/348 cont./
182 had been sown with the bleaching skulls of those who had starved and
731 out of the stricken animals. Any of the women and girls who had not
[648] died of hunger sought and found refuge among Negroes practicing
agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals.
A mother would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell
herself a day later for a similar price, in order to avoid starvation.
Negroes and caravans /349/ took possession of the will-less ones, in
order to resell them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part
through flight, in part through redemption by their relatives, but
more are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their
blood lives on beneficially in the new mixture with Negroes, are
182 permanently lost to the Masai people. So greatly has the misfortune,
731 to which an opposite effect is so often attributed, broken up the
669 former organization, the firm unity, that, soon after the end of the
epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lenana-Zendeo
about the undivided rule over the Masai could begin. With its continuing
civil wars it acts powerfully toward the completion of the
destructive work of the epidemics. The Negroes, with whom alone
[726] the Masai formerly waged war, except for smaller undertakings
[186] among themselves, which bore more the character of provocations
than of serious battles, were opponents inferior to them. Now equal
parties stand opposite each other, which makes the wars bloodier,
more destructive.

178 Through increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics
241 and civil wars, there is now going on among the Masai -- as formerly
[433] among the Wakuafi -- a change from nomadism to sedentation,
agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The ones
[361] deserting the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in
part self-sufficient, in part supported by Negro tribes, somewhat
removed from the dry steppes, there where the watering is adequate
for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be
particularly skillful at this; but Nature, which goes so far to meet
her children in the tropics, helps here too. A moderate watering
suffices to make the batata shoot stuck in the virgin soil grow and
produce tubers. Maize for the most part appears just as easily
satisfied as advantageous. These then are the principal useful plants

/349 cont./
178 that are started with as a rule and which one therefore finds in all the
241 settlements. Yet despite the ease of production of the field crops,
the transition to agriculture nevertheless is taking place in a way
178 that is reducing the population in extraordinary fashion. First of all,
182 the acclimatization process slowly being accomplished demands a
164 great sacrifice of human lives. The Masai, little afflicted with
165 fever in the dry steppes, suffers with it quite seriously in the moist
regions in which mosquitoes are permanently at home. Thus on two
occasions in the same new settlement I found all the adults and many
children sick with fever. Another one had just been abandoned by
its inhabitants, leaving the sick behind. The ones left behind,
principally men and boys, were badly reduced by fever and, in
addition, suffered to a great extent from virulent leg ulcers, whose
great extent -- in many cases they covered the entire lower leg,
from knee to ankle -- probably is to be traced back to a general
weakening of the body by fever and lack of food; for such ulcers
are not common among nomadic Masai, and, where they occur,
/350/ they remain smaller and show a tendency to heal rapidly.
Other illnesses arise from the unfamiliar diet. The rapid transition
[262] from an almost pure meat diet to an almost pure vegetable diet
makes demands on the stomach and intestines that a body weakened
by fever is seldom equal to. Sickness and death from this cause
are frequent and are increased further by the consumption of bad
water. Thus, more than half the people in one settlement complained
of painful diarrhea and bloody stools. All these acclimatization
[842] illnesses seem also to manifest their effect in decreased
[163] fertility of the women and increased child mortality. I was repeatedly
struck by the small number of sucklings (two-year suckling
period) and older children. Thus early in 1902 in Ngaruka, between
Lake Manyara and Lake Natron, among a number of about 50 women,
I found only twelve children, three of them babies. According to
the statements of the parents, very many children had died of various
ailments, especially fever, stomach and intestinal affections, several
178 also had perished in Masai attacks. For the Masai who are becoming
619 sedentary, the ones still living among the "people" as nomads are
721 a scourge that scarcely falls short of the illnesses just mentioned in

/350 cont./
178 its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturalists, the
619 sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause
721 them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility
[829] for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping
livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary
[177] for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes
[164] and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal
582 diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among
178 the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary
184 ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who
165 is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her
attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it
178 must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly
182 free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over
having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil oneself
are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also
[186] brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept
[177] Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvan-
[144] tageous race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place.
Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At
[648] that time no European administration prevented their raiding exped-
[721] itions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock
and women experienced in agriculture.

177 In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up
178 and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become
sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share
in the disadvantages that /351/ come to the Negroes through the
encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

178 We have seen how many difficulties sedentation brings to the
177 Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who
361 have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again
after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to
live by hunting, and call themselves this.

/351 cont./

177 648 The existence of the Masai people was based on a sovereign power shattering or destroying the Negro tribes, which, through constant, successful war and raiding expeditions, not only again and again furnished the necessary cattle herds, but also fostered national unity. The European administration interfered here and through that hastened, in the manner described above, the ruin of a people clinging with extreme tenacity to its old habits of life.

000 The process of becoming sedentary, the transition from livestock nomads to stock-raising agriculturalists will presumably slowly continue to take place, but amidst enormous sacrifices in human lives and the destruction of the people's continuance. A small part -- the ones now richest in livestock -- will perhaps go on maintaining themselves as nomads, or -- the poorest -- will, by the detour of agriculture, again become that and, in enforced peaceableness, graze their small herds. But they, too, will then have ceased to be Masai, for a Masai with shepherd's staff and pipe is no longer a Masai. In view of such an outlook for the future, one is almost struck with melancholy when one hears how firmly the Masai believe in a resurrection of their power, according to the prophecies of Mbatyan, who shortly before his death said: "Epidemics will destroy the herds, and civil wars between the parties of Lenana and Zendeo will thin the ranks of the warriors. Then a white bird will come from the coast, nest in our land, and bring us to the edge of destruction. But after this time of trial the Masai people will expand to a new flowering and their old power."

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Appendix I.

824 "Masai pharmacological" and other notes about the plants regarded by the Masai as having therapeutic, useful, harmful, or other effects.

1. ol ăbaĭ́ (Microglossa spec.). To get rid of fleas, cattle, especially calves, are washed with an extract of the leaves.

2. ol ăbălắsăs (Dodonaea viscosa L.). The chewed end of a small piece of twig serves as toothbrush.

3. en aboloṅa (Eragrostis tenuifolia Hoch.). A grass particularly valued as rich fodder for sheep.

4. ol ădắbĭ (1) (Phytolacca abyssinica Hffm.). The leaves of this shrub serve as fodder for small livestock.

5. ol adjai. Fodder for small livestock.

6. ol agaramŏ́ni (Crossandra nilotica Oliv.). The chewed herb is placed on swellings and is supposed to act as a resolvent. The juice is dripped on lues sores to heal them.

7. ol aibĕ́riai (Cyperus spec.). The grass is used to cover the huts and is regarded as middling cattle fodder.

8. en aibĭ́rŏ ṅ gob (Portulaca quadrifida L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

9. ol aibĭ́ro ṅ gob (Ocimum spec.). Good fodder for small livestock.

10. en aibor buguri (Oldenlandia capensis L.).

11. en aiṅoṅoṅdǵo (Melothria tomentosa Cogn.). It is popularly used as padding for the bed, since the smell of the plant keeps bugs away.

12. en aigŭ́sŭgŭs (Tricholaena rosea Nees). Good fodder grass for cattle.

1. In abyssinia the ripe fruits are dried, powdered, and then used as soap; in the dialect of the Tigre province the plant is called schĭ́ptĭ.

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13. eng airascharasch (Crotalaria striata D.C.)

14. ol airascharasch (Crotalaria laburnifolia L.). The consumption of this plant is supposed to produce a morbid elongation of the feet or hoofs among cattle and donkeys.

/353/ 15. ol airascharasch l eṅ gare (Desmodium paleaceum Guill. et Perr.). The consumption of the plant is supposed to have the same effect as that of the previous one.

16. ol airascharasch l os sobugo (Crotalaria spec.).

17. ol airembai l eṅ gare (Lemna spec.). The duckweed to be found everywhere in ponds and pools.

18. ol aisai (Cyathula Lindoviana Vlks.). The dried and pulverized root, stirred in water, is taken as an emetic for the fever of colds (ol oirŏbi).

19. ol aisegerai, also ol aisegirai and ol aisigirai (Heliotropium zeylanicum Lam). For eye inflammation the expressed juice of the plant is dripped into the eyes of cattle. Fodder for small livestock.

20. ol aisegerai kitok (Heliotropium Steudneri Vtke.). Is used like ol aisegerai.

21. ol aisegerai l eṅ gare (Verbena officinalis L.). To hasten healing, the juice is dripped onto minor wounds, especially cracks, etc. on the feet.

22. ol aisĕramai (Toddalia aculeata Pers.).

23. eṅg aitetojai (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.) (1).

1. Described by K. Schumann.
Commelina (Eucommelina) Merkeri K. Sch. n. sp.; gracilis parce ramosa caulibus sulcatis pilosulis, pallidis; foliis angustissime linearibus attenuato-acuminatis minute pilosulis vagina valde ampliata laxa; inflorescentiis pluribus, spatha acuminata basi rotundata ciliata et extus villosa haud clausa suffultis, paucifloris; floribus longe pedicellatis violaceis; sepalis oblongis; capsula trivalvi loculis ventralibus dispermis, dorsali monospermo, fragili papyracea; seminibus applanatis trilobis pallidis.

/353 cont./

The plant is about 40 cm. high, the dried stalk is not even two mm. in diameter, is yellowish gray. Like-colored are the leaves, 6-13 cm. long and two mm. wide; the sheath is 2-3 mm. long, 5 mm. in diameter, and at the base has deep violet running over it. The spathe is two cm. long and eight mm. high. The blossom has a stalk three cm. long. The fertile stamens are 11 mm. long; the twisted pistil, violet at the tip, measures 1.5 cm.. The yellowish seeds are three mm. wide and 1.3 mm. long.

Masai steppes: south and west of Kilimandscharo and Meru (Merker).

Native name: eńg aitetojai.

As the nature of the seeds shows, the plant is merely related to C. trilobosperma K. Sch.; but it is distinguished by still narrower leaves, by broader, not long tapered, and hairy spathes.

An ingredient of the secret medicine of the ol oiboni. Adults drink water in which the pounded herb has been steeped, as protective magic against illnesses of all kinds, and sprinkle it on children's faces for the same purpose. With the same intention one places the stalk of the plant in the first bath water of the newborn child. For colds, people drink a diaphoretic tea made out of the stalks. The plant is also valued as fodder for small livestock.

24. eńg aitetojai kete (Aneilema Johnstonii K. Sch.). Used in the above way.

/354/ 25. eńg aitetojai kitok os sobugo (Aneilema aequinoctiale Bth.). Fodder for cattle and small livestock.

26. ol alili (Acacia nov. spec.). Two handfuls of bark are leached out cold; the extract is drunk as desired by the warriors at the ol bul meals, on account of the digestive effect attributed to it.

27. ălómŏ (Senecio discifolius Oliv.);

28. ol ama (Ximenia americana L.). One eats the fruits, which

/354 cont./

824 are very sour, but pleasantly refreshing on marches through the steppes. For diarrhea one drinks goat-meat broth in which pieces of the root of ol ama have been boiled. For the same purpose one also drinks a cold extract of the root bark. A root decoction is added to the liquid fat (of cattle, sheep, and goats) particularly popular as a tonic for the sick, in order to prevent the diarrhea that the consumption of such quantities of fat easily causes.

29. ol amai. The decoction of six finger-sized pieces of root bark are drunk for severe diarrhea.

30. eñg ambalagai (Schimdtia quinqueseta Benth.). This grass is feared because the livestock is said to become with diarrhea and loss of hair after eating it.

31. ol amboschi (Momordica cardiospermoides Kl.). The juice of the large above-ground tuber is drunk as a diaphoretic remedy for the fever of colds (ol oirobi).

32. ol ameloki (Cadaba farinosa Forsk.). Fruits edible. The bush is regarded as harmful for cattle, but as good fodder for donkeys. To cure anthrax carbuncles the goat-ulcer-sickness of the Masai (eńg ga ol dododoi l en dare), one drinks a root decoction to which some fresh blood or honey is added as a taste corrective.

33. ol amemǵrua (Pribulus terrestris L.). The plant is feared for the feet on marches, because of its thorns.

34. ol ameróri. A root extract, mixed with a little milk, is drunk for diarrhea.

35. ol amora (Ocimum suave Willd.). The leaves are sometimes mixed in with the chewing tobacco; snuff is often mixed with the pulverized bark.

36. ol amriake. Fruits edible. The unripe fruit is eaten as medicine for bronchial catarrh.

37. ol amulul (Faurea arborea Engl.). Cattle sick with e' bujańgat are given an infusion of cold leaf-extract of this parasite plant as a means of cure.

38. ol andanogi (Hoslundia verticillata Vahl.). Fruits edible.

39. ol añer 'n jaua l ol dorut (Panicum colonum L.). The grass is regarded as excellent milk fodder, which is expressed in its name, through the comparison of the udder (= en jaua) with a pool (ol dorut).

/355/

824 40. ol ĭnjaru (Cyperus). The three-edged sedge is regarded as good cattle fodder. Children eat the roots.

41. ol araba (Sporobolus festivus Hochst.). Good fodder grass for small livestock.

[302] 42. ol ĭr kidoŝoi (Croton.). It is popular to sprinkle the hair with the fragrant root powder.

43. ol ĭsĭjĕt (1)

1. Also called ol aduerai.

(Withania somnifera [Z]. The root is chewed as an emetic for snake bite. For conjunctivitis one drips into the eye a cold extract of leaves previously crushed.

44. ol asambalan (Scilla Hidlebrandtii Bak.).

45. ol asasiai (2)

2. ol asasia l os subertai is also mentioned because of its healing effect for rheumatism.

(Osyris tenuifolia Engl.). Secret medicine of the ol goiatiki. In some places a decoction of ten finger-sized pieces of root, mixed with milk, is drunk for gonorrhea. For rheumatic pains in the back one drinks a root decoction that is sweetened with honey. The woman in childbed, soon after delivery, is given a root decoction, to which fat is liberally added, as a tonic and to promote milk secretion.

46. ol aseramai. The fruits are edible.

47. ol atu ischu (Barbacenia tomentosa Pax.). If it is believed that the cow has pain in the udder, the latter is smoked with glowing twigs.

48. ol aiischĭn (Grewia spec.).

49. ol ŝubĭ (Adenia Volkensii Harms).

50. em bĭ ol ŋodjine (Andropogon contortus L.). Good fodder grass, but feared for the eyes of cattle during the blossoming stage, because of its sharp, stiff spikes.

/355 cont./

824 51. em balagai (3)

> 3. Panicum maximum Jacq. is also called this.

(Panicum laetum Kth.). Good fodder grass for cattle, especially valued for calves.

52. em balagai nadua (Panicum and Digitaria). Regarded as not as good a fodder grass.

53. em balagai os sobugo (Panicum and Ptychophyllum). If cattle eat the grass, they become sick with edg Ea oh godjit.

54. ol bada (Plantago palmata). Fodder for small livestock.

55. em badgalé (Cardamine africana L.).

56. ol bararuai (4),

> 4. Derris violacea (Kl.) Harms was also designated as ol bararuai.

also called ol bariroi (Lonchocarpus Busssei Harms nov. spec.). A mouthful of bark bast is chewed morning and evening as a means of loosening catarrh. For the same purpose a decoction of the bast in meat broth -- especially of goat's meat -- is drunk.

57. ol ba͡u (5)

> 5. ol bau and the e' sube os sobugo mentioned later are different local forms.

(Andropogon Sorghum var. effusus Hack.). Reedlike, thick, /356/ good fodder grass; valued especially in the dry season, because it stays fresh a long time.

58. em bĕmbé. Good fodder for small livestock.

59. em bere e baba (Asparagus africanus). On the day of circumcision, before the operation, the boys wash off their bodies with an extract of the leaves of the climbing species of Asparagus. I did not learn anything certain about the reason or purpose of the custom.

M
824

/356 cont./

60. em bere eñ gob (Adiantum hispidulum Sw.).

61. ol beres (Panicum horizontale Meg.). Good fodder grass.

62. ol beres l ol obe kidobei. Good fodder grass.

63. em berdai (Pappophorum abyssinicum Hoch.). Good fodder grass.

64. ol berdai (Chloris virgata Sw.). Good fodder grass.

65. em berdai l em bugoi (Panicum spec.). Good fodder grass.

66. ol berdai l en diamatu (Sporobolus robustus Kth.). Good fodder grass.

67. ol berdai l eñ gare (Panicum spec.). Good fodder grass.

68. ol berdai l e' rube (Chloris virgata Sw.). Good fodder grass.

69. ol beresi ol obe kidonoi (Sporobolus indicus [L] R. Br.). Good fodder grass.

70. ol beresi 'njugi (Andropogon ischaemum L.). A very good fodder grass, which is valued so highly that the people often actually regard it as a preventive against sicknesses of livestock.

71. ol beresi was (Chloris myriostachya Hochst.). Good fodder grass.

72. ol bibiai. Reed mace.

D
[824]

73. ol bibiai odo (Leonotis mollissima Gürke). Honey plant valued by the El dorobo.

74. ol bibiai lete (Leucas Neuflizeana Courbon.). (1). Likewise.

75. ol bibiai l ol mushe (Leonotis nepetifolia [L.] R. Br.). Likewise.

76. ol bilil (Commiphora spec.). The honey pots (ol sisi) are made from the wood of this tree.

77. ol bobodi. Candelabrum euphorbia.

78. ol boiboli is the designation for Oncoba spinosa Forsk. and Cucumis metuliferus E. Mey.

79. ol boiboli kitok (Sphaerosicyos sphaericus Cogn.). The plant commonly grows in abandoned kraals.

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1. Also called en dialolo.

/386 cont./

924 80. ol bombei l en dare = goat bean (Vigna /one species is the cowpea/). Goat fodder.

81. em bos togoia (Heliotropium strigosum Willd.). Fodder for small livestock.

82. ol bugoi (Terminalia Brownii Fres. var. Merkeri Engl.). The decoction of two handfuls of bark, without any additive, is drunk for diarrhea; with a strong addition of fat, for dysentery. The pulverized bark is further used as tanning bark for tanning. [931]

/387/ 83. em bugoi (Dactyloctenium aegyptiacum Willd.).

84. em buendgile (Orthosiphon australis Vtke.). Regarded as rich fodder for sheep.

85. ol burtian kitak (Plectranthus pangamensis Gürke). Very succulent and hence thirst-quenching fodder for small livestock.

86. ol burugoi. Bows are made out of the branches.

87. ol burugoi l eñ gob (Sida ovata Forsk.). Good fodder for livestock.

88. ol burugoai l eñ gob (Hermannia spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

89. en dagoitai (Gomphocarpus lineolatus).

90. ol damen (Asclepias Phillipsiae N. E. Br.).

91. en damedjoi = ol adjai. Fodder for small livestock.

92. en dindewia (Conyza stricta W.).

93. ol dibe (Acacia Merkeri Harms and Acacia hebecladoides Harms nov. spec.) (1).

1. Described by H. Harms.

Acacia hebecladoides Harms n. sp.: ramulis molliter tomentello-pubescentibus; foliis breviter petiolatis, petiolo communi nec non pinnarum rhachi breviter hirsuto- vel villosulo-puberulis, pinnis 4--7-jugis, foliolis circ. 10--20-jugis, anguste oblongis, nervo medio subtus prominulo fere centrali, obtusiusculis vel acutiusculis, fimbriatulo-puberulis usque subglabris; spinis stipularibus brevibus paullo recurvis, tomentellis;

/357 cont./

824 /footnote 1 continued/ pedunculis numerosis fasciculatis, breviter villosula-puberulis, involucro infima parte pedunculi affixo; capitulis subglobosis, calyce margine brevissime fimbriatulo.

Twigs with loose, short, somewhat feltlike, soft hair. Leaf spindle 4-8 cm. long, with loose, ± squarrose hair; pinnae 2-4 cm. long. Capitulum stalk 2.5--3 cm. long.

Masai steppes (Merker 1902).

Native name: ol debe.

The variety is obviously (Since the involucrum is at the base of the pedunculus) closely related to A. hebeclada DC. and A. abyssinica Hochst.; only when the pods are known will one be able to state more exactly its position with regard to those two species.

A. Merkeri Harms n. sp.; ramulis glabris, cortice subflavidulu-cinereo obtectis; foliis breviter petiolatis, petiolo communi nec non pinnarum rhachi sparse adpresso-puberulis usque subglabris, pinnis 3--4-jugis, foliolis circ. 8--15-jugis, anguste oblongis, glabris; spinis stipularibus brevibus, glabris; pedunculis paucis 2--3 fasciculatis, argenteo-sericeo-villosulis, satis brevibus, involucro sericeo infra medium pedunculi affixo; capitulis subglobosis, calyce argenteo-sericeo.

Only one twig is available; it is bare, with light, yellowish-gray bark. Leaf spindle 4--5 cm. long, pinnae 2.5--3 cm. long, small leaves 5--6 mm. long, 2--2.4 mm. wide. Capitulum stalk approximately 1--1.5 cm. long.

Masai steppes (Merker 1902).

Native name: ol dêbe.

M
824

/357 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/

This species is striking because of the silky sheen of the hair of the capitulum stalk and calyxes.

Inflamed eyes of cattle are washed with a decoction of extract of the bark bast for healing. Furthermore, secret medicine of the ol goiatiki.

94. ol darboi (Kigelia africana Bth.). The paste obtained by boring out scrapings of fresh young fruits is placed on wounds. /358/ A small piece of boiled fruit is placed in the fermenting honey beer to hasten fermentation.

95. ol dĕbĕlĕgi (Grewia spec.).

96. ol debĕsi (Acacia verrugera Schwfth.). The decoction of a hand-sized piece of bark (dose for one or two days) is drunk for gonorrhea until a cure is produced.

M
[301]

97. ol degŏm (Cardiospermum halicacabum L.). The black, almost pea-sized seeds are strung on a string like beads and worn by the women as an ornament around their necks.

98. ol degoṅ.

99. en dĕlĕmĕt (Sesamum angustifolium [Oliv.] Engl.).

100. ol dĕmĕlŭă (Solanum setaceum Damm., Solanum Schumannianum Damm.). The decoction of about ten finger-sized pieces of root is mixed with meat broth and drunk to cure the ol dododoi 1 en dare sickness.

101. en dẹmẹschŏ. Warriors like to drink a bark decoction in meat soup as an aid to digestion.

102. en dẹmŭmŭă. Good fodder grass.

103. en demunjua (Pennisetum spec.). Good fodder grass.

104. ol dĕrĕgĕlĭ (Strychnos heterodoxa Gilg). The decoction of a square inch of bark is taken to get rid of taeniae and ascarids.

D
[824]
[231]

105. en dĕrĕwĕnj (Setaria verticillata P. B.). The burs are used by the El dorobo to make tight beehives that have become leaky.

106. en dĕrĕwĕnj ol godjita. Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

107. en dĕrĕwĕnj on gẹg.

/358 cont./

824 108. en dĕrĕwĕ́nj os sobugo (Triumfetha rhomboidea Jacq.).

109. ol dĕsa (Microglossa oblongifolia Hffm.). Arrow shafts are made from the branches. The inflamed eyes of cattle and the ulcers caused by horseflies -- especially also by Dermatobia noxialis -- are washed out with an extract of the leaves.

110. ol dĕsĕgŏ́n (Pluchea Dioscoridid Dec.). A grass feared for the eyes of the livestock because of its sharp spikes.

111. ol dĕsĕgŏ́n kĕtĕ (Vernonia brachycalyx O. Hffm.).

112. ol dĕsĕgŏ́n l eñ gare (Laggera alata D.C.). The twirling sticks (ol birŏn, el biroñdo) of the fire lighter are made from the branches.

113. ol dĕsĕgŏ́n oibor (Microglossa volubilis D.C.). Same use.

[271] 114. ol dĕ́wŏ (Sarcostemma viminale). The Plant is chewed as thirst-quenching on marches.

115. en dĭăgŏlĕ (Lactuca capensis Thbg.). Fodder for small livestock.

116. en dĭămĕ́schŭ. Warriors like to use the branches to make bed padding on marches.

/359/ 117. en dĭămŏ́njŭă or en diămŭ́njŭă (Pennisetum spec.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

118. en dĭămŭ́tŭ (Sporobolus marginatus Hochst., Sporobolus spicatus Kth.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

119. en diăti osila (Amaranthus viridis L.). Fodder for small livestock. The El kuafi, as well as the Negroes, prepare a spinach-like vegetable from the young leaves.

120. ol dĭ́ắtĭ l eñ gine (Jussiaea acuminata Sw.). Fodder for small livestock, especially for goats.

121. en diắti naibor (Chenopodium nuwale L.). Fodder for small livestock.

122. en diắti os sobugo (Trianthema pentandrum L.). Livestock fodder.

123. ol dibiligwa (Psychotria spec.). The shrub is regarded as harmful, its fruits as immediately poisonous for small livestock.

124. ol dibiligwa ate (Pavetta spec.).

125. ol dimuai (Commiphora spec.). Rubbing with the oil of this tree is used for the parasitic skin eruption called el bebedo.

/359 cont./

824 [252] 126. ol dĭmĭgŏmĭ (Pappea capensis Eckl. et Zeyh.). About seven finger-sized pieces of the bark are boiled with the meat and fat of a fatty tail (of sheep); the warriors in particular drink the broth as Tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/ and beautifying agent.

[252] 127. ol dinjâi (Cissus quadrangularis L.). About ten finger-sized pieces of the vine are cooked with goat-meat broth. The broth serves as a stimulant.

128. en dŏbŏgĭ (Helichrysum foetidum [L.] Cass.).

129. en dodoio (Loranthus).

130. ol dirgoian. Edible root.

131. ol dogir (Cycnium). Fodder for small livestock.

132. ol dŏldŏlĭăi or ol dŏldŏlĭăn or also ol dŏndŏlĭăn (1) (Blepharis linearifolia Pers.). Fodder for small livestock.

133. ol donjai (Senecio longiflorus D.C.). Fodder especially prized for goats.

134. ol dŏñoroiñoroi (Poinciana elata L.).

135. en doroñiki. The decoction of a fist-sized piece of root is drunk as a stimulant, that of a hand-sized piece of bark for severe intestinal catarrh.

136. ol dŏrŏtŭă (Rhoicissus erythrodes [Fres.] Pl.). The expressed juice is dripped into fresh arrow and spear wounds for healing purposes.

137. en dŭlĕ (Senecio subscandens Hoch.).

138. en dŭlĕlĕ (Solanum campylacanthum Hochst.). The decoction of a fist-sized piece of root is given to the malaria patient as a diaphoretic remedy. To someone wounded by a poisoned arrow one give gives as an emetic /360/ a mixture of the juice of the fruits and the amniotic fluid of a gravid sheep.

139. en dŭlĕlĕ eñ gare (Solanum). One smokes swellings on cattle with the glowing stalks of the plant to heal them.

140. ol dŭngûi (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.). Edible fruits. The decoction of a handful of bark or root is used as an emetic for fever. The juice is dripped into suppurating wounds to heal them.

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1. Plectranthus panganensis Gürke was also pointed out to me as en dŏndolian.

/360 cont./

824 141. ol dŭrgŏ (Cordia gharuf [Forsk.] Ehrenb., Cordia quarensis Gürke). The inflamed eyes of livestock are washed out with a decoction of root or bark. [847] About three finger-sized pieces of the root are chewed to induce abortion. [262] The roughly pea-sized vermilion fruits, called eñ gŭlŭlŭ, are edible. At times of food shortage they constitute the chief food in some El kuafi settlements, for example, in Nguruman, where this large shrub occurs very abundantly. The European, after eating a few berries, feels as though his lips were stuck together.

142. ol ĕbĕrĕtĭ (Phyllanthus kilimandscharicus Volkens). A person who has stolen a head of livestock anxiously avoids breaking off a twig of this shrub, since it is believed that otherwise the one robbed would soon recognize the thief as such. The twigs are used as goat fodder.

143. ol ĕbĕnĭă (Cassia obovata Coll.). A decoction of the plant serves as a remedy for stomach-ache for children.

144. ol ĕbĭtĭrŏ (Dolichos kilimandscharicus Taubert). Named after ol bitĭr = the wild pig, which likes to eat the plant. One washes young livestock with an extract of the leaves to get rid of fleas.

145. ol eboloña (Vernonia).

146. ol ebuloña (Eragrostis superba Peyr.). Rich fodder for small livestock.

147. ol ĕbŭlŏt (Bridelia cathartica Bert.). An extract of the pounded root is used as an aid to digestion and is therefore regularly drunk by the warriors at the ol bul meals.

148. en ĕdĕrĕgĕ (Psychotria fuscula K. Sch.). The sword scabbard is made out of the wood.

149. ol ĕdĭrăñgŏn (Pedicellaria pentaphylla L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

150. ol ĕdŭrŭt (Epaltes gariepina). During the first days after delivery, the woman in childbed is given a decoction of the plant, to which is attributed a favorable effect on the recovery of the birth organs.

151. ol ĕgĭsĭkŏn (Cissampelos Pareira L.). [751] Pieces of root are worn as amulets, mostly on the neck ring, for all possible illnesses, and, to be sure, both to prevent them and to cure them.

/360 cont./

824 152. ol ĕgŏgoĭă (Hibiscus micranthus L.). Shield hoops are made from the branches.

153. ol ĕgŏlĭă (Phyllanthus maderaspatensis L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

[262] /361/ 154. ol egororom (Duvernoia interrupta Lindm.). The berrylike fruits are eaten.

155. ol ĕgŭrŭgĭ = en dĕmĕschŏ.

156. ekum (Spilanthus Acmella L.). If the noses of little children, especially babies, become sore because of the flies that during the day are almost always sitting on the nostrils, the mother chews the herb and smears the sore spots with the chewed-out juice. The plant is chewed as a loosening agent for coughs. Moreover, the mother gives the baby afflicted with feverish bronchial catarrh the extract obtained by her from chewing a small piece of the pungent root, mixed with milk, to drink.

157. ol eleschua (Tarchonatus camphoratus). On account of its fragrance, ropelike neck rings are made from various parts of the plant, smelling strongly like vanilla.

158. ol ĕmbŭrĭasch (Andorpogon intermedius R. Br., var. punctatus [Roxb.] Hack.). The livestock in general does not like to eat the grass, which, according to the statements of the Masai, is not harmful.

159. en ĕmĕrĕgĕsch (Eragrostis superba Wawr. et Peyr.). Good fodder grass, especially for sheep.

160. ol ĕmŏrăn (Ocimum canum Sims.). The peppermint-like herb is powdered and used as snuff in the absence of tobacco.

161. ol ĕmŭdŏnoĭ (Pelargonium multibracteatum Hoch.). Good fodder for livestock.

162. ol ĕndănŏgĭ = ol ăndănŏgĭ.

[262] 163. ol enda 'njugi. The fruits are eaten.

164. ol ĕngĭgĕbĕ (Duvernoia interrupta Lindm.). Good fodder for small livestock.

/ 361 cont./

824 165. ol ĕnjŏ̉rĭŏ̆ (1)

> 1. Designation of the El kuafi at Meruberg /Mt. Meru/.

(Pentas zanzibarica [Kt.] Vtke.). Older men drink a root decoction as a cure for rheumatism.

166. ol eńoroṅ (Orthosiphon Merkeri Gürke) (2).

> 2. Described by M. Gürke. Orthosiphon Merkeri Gürke n. sp.; caulibus erectis, 20--25 cm altis, ramosis, pubescentibus; foliis brevissime petiolatis, lanceolato-ovatis, basi acutis, margine crenato-dentatis, apice obtusis, utrinque pubescentibus, 10--15 mm longis, 5--10 mm latis; spicastris laxis, terminalibus, 6--10 cm longis; verticillastris 4--6-floris; floribus 5--8 mm longe pedicellatis; calycis extus puberuli labio superiore rotundato, marginibus subdecurrentibus, dentibus lateralibus triangularibus acutis, inferioribus longioribus, anguste-triangularibus, setoso-acuminatis. Masai steppes (Merker). Native name: el eńoroṅ.

[825] The herb, smelling strongly like peppermint, is burned on the hearth fire or in the hut doorway to repel the mosquitoes feared as fever-carriers.

167. en ĕoilín (Cycnium Herzfeldianum Vtke.). Fodder for small livestock.

168. ol ĕ̌răgŭ̉dj (Toddalia aculeata Pers.). Fodder for small livestock.

169. ol eraĭ (Acacia cfr. arabica Willd.). The decoction of two handfuls of pounded bark is drunk as desired for diarrhea and is rightly regarded as very constipating because of the very high tannin content.

/362/

824 170. eṅg ĕrắmrăm (Senecio longiflorus D.C.). Fodder for small livestock.

171. ol ĕramrăm (Cissus Oliveriana [Engl.] Gilg.). Fodder for small livestock.

172. ol ĕrbăt (Achyranthes aspera L.). Fodder for small livestock.

173. ol ĕrbăt kĕtĕ (Achyranthes spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

174. en ĕsĕrĕrĭmĭ (Cuscuta ontusiflora A.B.K.). Fodder for small livestock.

175. ol ĕsŭbénĭ (Helinus mystacinus [Act.] Hemsl.).

176. ol ĕtănŏk (Hoslundia verticillata Vahl.). Edible fruits.

177. ol ĕlĭgŭrŭrónĭ (Pavonia Kraussiana Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

178. eṅ găbălăsĕs (Boscia coriacea Pax.). Edible fruits. The Shrub is regarded as prized fodder for donkeys.

179. eṅ gadardar (Ochna Merkeri Gilg). Secret medicine of the ol goíatiki. Clubs and ear plugs are carved out of the hard, beautifully marked wood.

180. eṅ gailowai (Commiphora spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

181. eṅ gairĕtuai (Physalis minima L.). A few twigs are placed in the first bath of the newborn child as protective magic against sicknesses of all kinds.

182. eṅ gáisĕdjói (Oxygonum sinuatum [Hochst. et Std.] Bth. et
[271] Hk.). Fodder for small livestock. These sorrel leaves are eaten along the way as thirst-quenching.

183. eṅ gáisĕdjói ĕătŭă eṅ găre (Oxygonum sinuatum). The stems
[271] are chewed as thirst-quenching.

184. eṅ gaisedjoi kitok (Rumex abyssinicus Jacq.). Livestock fodder.
[271] The leaves are eaten along the way as thirst-quenching.

185. eṅ gaisedjoi os sobugo. Use like the above species.

186. ol gălĕ (Phaseolus aff. Schimperi Taub.). Fodder for small
[262] livestock. Children eat the roots.

187. eṅ gălŏschŏ (Oldenlandia Schimperi T. And.). If cattle have fever, they are given the plant, sprinkled with wood ashes, to eat.

188. eṅ gămărlăsĭs. As protective magic against lions, the person
[789] spending the night alone in the open steppe or in the bush ties a twig
[825] on a stick and plants this in the ground beside him.

824 /362 cont./

189. ol gărắschă. Ropes are made out of the bast.

190. ol gărmălắsĭai (1)

> 1. The red blooming Talinum cuneifolium Willd. and Talinum caffrorum (Thbg.) Eckl. u. Zeyh. are likewise designated as ol garmalasia.

(Portulaca oleacea L.). Yellow blossoms. Good fodder for small livestock. El kuafi and impoverished El masai eat the leaves as a spinachlike vegetable. [262]

191. eṅ gauri. Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

192. eṅ găwărnă (Cluytia kilimandscharica Engl.). The leaves are chewed in the case of throat catarrh and are supposed to have a loosening effect.

193. en găwŭrŭ (Sporobolus cordofanus Hoch.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

194. ol gĕbărnja (Combretum spec.). /363/ Cattle sick with eṅg g̱a om benek are given an infusion of an extract of the pounded leaves and fruits as a strong laxative.

195. ol gĕbĕrĕ l ĕ gĕmă (Sphaeranthus microcephalus Willd.). An extract of this herb is added to the first bath of the newborn child. During the first days after the delivery, the woman in childbed drinks a decoction of this plant, to which is attributed a favorable effect for the recovery of the birth organs.

196. ol gĕbĕrĕ l ĕ gĕmă ol sirgon (Sphaeranthus suaveolens D.C.). Popular fodder for donkeys; it has the advantage that it only rarely dries up, even in the driest period.

197. eṅ g̱ĕdjŭ năbŏ (Enicostemma verticillatum [L.] Engl.). Gravid goats are said frequently to miscarry after eating this plant.

198. eṅ gĕgĕn gŏwal = ol ebereti (Phyllanthus kilimandscharicus Volkens).

199. ol gĕlai (Teclea unifoliata Engl.). The decoction of approximately ten finger-sized pieces of root is drunk unmixed for gonorrhea, mixed with milk and fresh blood as a tonic for the wounded.

/363 cont./

M
824
200. eṅ gelĕn gelĕ (Casia mimosoides L. and Sesbania punctata D.C.). Regarded as rich fodder for goats.

201. ol gĕtălăsŭă (Myrica kilimandscharica var. macrophylla Engl.). A decoction of four finger-sized pieces of root is drunk with beef broth as a stimulant. A smaller dose acts as Tonicum roborans /strengthening tonic/.

D
[752]
[824]
202. eṅ gĕrĭgŭs (Jatropha spec.). On bruises or sprains the El dorobo make incisions and drip into these the juice or rub in a powder of the charred twigs of the plant.

203. ol gĕrĭ l ol sibolio (Cleome diandra Burch.). Good fodder for goats.

204. ol gĕwăgĕt (Schrebera Holstii Gilg).

205. ol gibumbu. Good fodder grass.

206. ol gibumbul (Panicum spec.). Good fodder grass.

207. eṅ gidoṅ on dare = eṅ gaisedjoi.

208. eṅ gĭjăbŏrĭ (Indigofera suaveolens Jaub.). Good goat fodder.

209. eṅ gĭlŏgĭrgĭr (Sonchus asper Vill.). The milky juice of the plant is dripped into the patient's eye for eye inflammation.

M
[751]
210. eṅ gĭlollŏ (Pterolobium lacerans R. Br.). Secret medicine of the ol oiboni. He makes an amulet out of the powder of various parts of the plant, which is supposed to protect one against all kinds of illnesses.

211. eṅ giloṅo. If the noses of small children, especially of babies, have been made sore at the nostrils by flies, the mother chews the herb and smears the sore places with the chewed-out juice.

212. ol gĭlŏrĭtĭ (Acacia abyssinica Hochst.). At the meat meals the warriors cook two handfuls of the bark in approximately 15 to 20 liters of water and drink the nerve-stimulating decoction as desired.

/364/ 213. ol gĭnĕ (Scilla spec.). An extract of the pounded bulb is given to calves to drink for fever.

214. ol gĭnjĕ (Euclea fructuosa). Edible fruits. A root decoction is drunk for spleen pain. The handle of the bow is made from the wood.

215. eṅ gĭnjŏnjŏrĕt. The El kuafi give the small livestock, for diarrhea, a mash made of the pounded leaves and water, with the addition of steppe salt.

/364 cont./

824 216. ol giramatian (Enteropogon monostachyos [Vahl] Pilger). Good cattle fodder.

[262] 217. eṅ gĭrā́rŏ (Erucastrum leptopetalum [DC.] Engl.). Good goat fodder. The leaves are also eaten as a vegetable by the el kuafi.

218. ol gĭrḗnĭ (Olinia Volkensii Gilg.). The simple dose of this nerve-stimulating remedy consits of the decoction of a piece of bark approximately five square inches in size, which is drunk as desired in the course of the day.

219. ol girgiri (Pterclobium lacerans R. Br.). Shield hoops are made from the twigs.

220. ol giriabori (1) (Tephrosia anthylloides Hoch.). Goats are said to die if they eat a great deal of this.

221. ol gĭrĭā́n (Aristida adscensionis L.). In general good fodder grass, but cattle do not like to eat it when it blooms, because they dislike the smell of the blossom.

222. ol gĭrĭā́n oibor. Good cattle fodder.

223. ol gĭrĭgĭr (Acacia pennata Willd.). The wood is used to make bows and shield hoops. Root powder is blown into the noses of calves and small livestock to drive away the maggots of the warble fly.

224. eṅ gĭschŏngā́ (Micromeria biflore [Ham] Bth.).

225. ol gĭtĕndĕ (Haemanthus nov. spec.). The extract of a cut-up, approximately fist-sized bulb is one of the means of inducing the em boschona sickness. The use of this drug is not as common as that of the other stimulants.

[271] 226. ol gĭs ărĕmbŭa (Stathmostelma globuliflorum K. Sch.). The large tuber is eaten to quench thirst on the march.

227. ol gĭtĕlĕgĭ (Clerodendron Hildebrandtii Vtke.). To cure the e' bujaṅgat sickness the cattle are given an infusion of leaf extract mixed with some milk.

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1. Here and there Indigofera Bankeana Vtke. was also called this.

/364 cont./

824 228. ol gobĕrĕsai. Fodder for small livestock.

229. eṅ gŏbŏnĭ. The leaves are chewed as a loosening remedy for coughs.

230. ol gŏdĭt ŏnjŭgi (Andropogon schoenanthus L.). After /365/ eating this grass, calves are afflicted with severe diarrhea, which often leads rapidly to death.

231. ol gŏdjĭt (Eragrostis spec.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

232. ol gŏdjĭta ŏnjŭgi (Themeda Forskahlii Hack.). The grass, growing very thick, remains fresh in its lower part even during the dry season and for this reason is particularly valued as cattle fodder, though it is regarded as only middling in its goodness.

233. ol gŏdjŭk. The decoction of five finger-sized pieces of root is mixed with beef broth and is a stimulant often consumed at the meat meals of warriors.

234. eṅ gŏgĭ (Lycium cf. arabicum Schwfth.). A root decoction, mixed with milk or meat broth, is drunk to cure the ol dododoi l en dare sickness.

235. ol gŏgŏrĭsĭai. Babies are given an infusion of a root decoction if their behavior makes one think of illness and one is uncertain about its nature.

236. eṅ gŏgŏ mŏtŏnj (Boerhavia spec.).

237. ol gŏgŭrŏi (Berkheyopsis diffusa [Oliv.] O. Hffm.). Good fodder for small livestock.

[262] 238. ol gŏiănĕne (Ipomoea spec.). Children eat the roots.

239. ol gŏisĕrărĭĕ (Kedrostis spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

240. ol gŏlĭnĭ (Ficus spec.). The bast is used for binding the switches in the hut construction.

241. eṅ gŏlŏschŏ (Capparis galeata Fres.). An extract of the pounded shrub is given to feverish children to drink for curing purposes. The orange-colored, figlike fruit is edible.

242. eṅ gŏmănĭ. A decoction of a piece of bark half a square foot in size is drunk as a nerve stimulant and is said to make it possible for the warrior to cover great stretches in rapid march.

/365 cont./

824 243. *eṅ gŏmbĕ́t* (1)

1. Also called *eṅ gamba.*

(Eragrostis megastachia Link.). It is regarded as the very best fodder grass, especially for cattle and is therefore also called *e' rube Eṅg ai*.

244. *ol gŏṅgórŭă̆* (Orygia decumbens Forsk.). Good fodder for small livestock.

245. *eṅ gŏnĭ́n* (Sida Schimperiana Hochst.). Good fodder for small livestock.

246. *eṅ gonini*. A secret medicine of the *ol oiboni*, who gives it as an amulet against fever.

247. *eṅ gŏnĭ́ni os săgărărắm* (Dyschoriste Hildebrandtii). Fodder for small livestock.

248. *ol gŏnjĕl* (Rhamnus prinoides l 'Hérit.). Older men drink a decoction of the wood to cure muscular rheumatism.

[273] /366/ 249. *ol gŏnjĕt*. A few twigs with leaves are put in the honey beer, first -- so it seems -- to prevent acetic fermentation, and then because there is attributed to this decoction an effect driving away taeniae and ascarids.

250. *eṅ gŏrbŏbĭt* (Euphorbia sparsiflora Vlks.). One fears the milky juice, which, as soon as it gets in the eye, produces a rather painful inflammation.

251. *eṅ gosŏ mŏtŏnj* (Cycnium Meyeri-Johannis Engl.). Fodder for small livestock.

252. *eṅ gŭjĕnĕ* (Cyathula Merkeri Gilg) (1).

1. Described by E. Gilg.

Cyathula Merkeri Gilg n. sp.; suffrutex humilis caule subterraneo lignoso apice ramos numerosos erectos iterum paullo ramosos emittente, ramis parce hispidis; foliis oppositis obovato-oblongis usque oblongis, apice subrotundatis, apice ipso breviter apiculatis, basin versus sensim in petiolum brevem angustatis, membranaceis, integris, parce

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/366 cont./

strigosis; floribus argenteis in apice caulis in capitulas parvas sphaericas densiusculas dispositis; inflorescentiis partialibus 3-floris, floribus partim hermaphroditis, partim masculis, partim sterilibus; tepalis 5 lanceolatis, rigidis; staminibus 5 semper cum pseudostaminodiis 5 ovato-triangularibus teneris alternantibus; ovario ovato, stylo longissimo.

Plant 20-25 cm. tall. Leaves 1.5 cm. long, 8-10 cm. wide. Leaf stalk 3 mm. long. Capitulum approximately 1 cm. in diameter. Perianth leaves 7-8 mm. long, 2-3 mm. wide.

A secret medicine of the ol oiboni and ol goiatiki. A root decoction is taken as a diaphoretic agent for fever.

253. ol gŭlăṅgŭ́lĭ (Caesalpinia Bonducello Roxb.). From the powdered leaves the ol oiboni makes an amulet against fever. The hard, ball-shaped fruits are used as stones in the board game (en dodoi).

254. eṅ gŭlḗlŏ (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.). A small piece of bark is cooked with beef broth as spice for it.

255. eṅ gŭlŏ́ilŏ. Fodder for small livestock.

256. ol gŭm. Edible fruits. A leaf extract is used to wash out inflamed eyes.

257. ol gŭmi (Vangueria edulis Vahl.).

258. ol gurmajek (Barleria spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

D
[824] The twigs are popularly used as bed padding in the hut. The El dorŏ́bo value it as a good honey plant.

259. ol gurschaschi (Barleria mucronata Lindau). Small-livestock fodder. Numerous punctures with the very sharp thorns of the plant are made around a snake bite, in order to facilitate pressing out an abundant quantity of infected blood. A decoction of stalks and roots is used as an emetic.

/366 cont./

824 260. ol gurschaschi 1 os subertai (Barleria cephalophora Lindau (2).

2. A new species.

A root decoction is drunk to treat muscular rheumatism.

261. ol gŭschū́rĕ (Farsetia stenoptesa Hoch.). Fodder for donkeys.

[271] 262. eṅ gŭsŭăgĕ (Rivea kituiensis [Vtke] Hall.). The tuber is chewed en route on marches to quench thirst.

/367/ 263. ol ĭăsū́rĭă (Anticharis linearis Bth.). Fodder for small livestock.

264. eṅ ĭăsū́rĭă 1 ol asurai ṅĭro 1 ol jaṅit subugi (Barleria mucronata Lindau). A person bitten by a snake is set over a wood fire on which are thrown leaves of the plant, together with sheep hair, to cause him to perspire profusely from the smoke thus created.

265. ol idoṅdoṅ on dare = eṅ gaisedjoi.

[751] 266. eṅg ischoṅgi. From the plant the ol oiboni makes an amulet against fever.

267. ol iogĕno (Boerhavia plumbaginea Cav.). Good fodder for small livestock.

268. ol ĭŏgĭŏnŏ (1)

1. Designation of the Masai.

(Pentas zanzibarica [Kl.] Vtke.). Older men drink a root decoction as a remedy for muscular rheumatism.

269. en jăbŏrĭ (Tephrosia aff. Uhligii Harms). Good fodder for small livestock.

270. en jălĕgŏi (Grewia spec.). Good fodder for small livestock.

271. ol jănĭ ĭnjŏ (Turraea Volkensii Gürke).

272. ol jánĭ ĕrŏk (Bersoma Volkensii Gürke). The warriors like to use the soft twigs for making bed padding on marches.

273. ol jánĭ ĕmŭnj (Glossonema Revoili Franck.). Good livestock fodder.

274. ol jánĭ 1 ol sirgon (Cadaba farinosa Forsk.). If donkeys eat a great deal of this, it causes severe constipation, which is said to be frequently fatal.

/367 cont./

824 275. ol jā́nĭ l oṅ gŭăr (Dichrostachys nutans Bth.). The hunter seeking game in vain thinks he will quickly find it after breaking off a twig.

276. ol jā́nĭ 'njŭgĭ (Embelia Kilimandscharica Gilg.). Acts as a laxative and, in larger doses, is regarded as an agent for driving away taeniae and ascarids. The cold extract of two handfuls of bark is warmed and mixed with fat, meat broth, or milk before being taken.

277. ol jā́nĭ oibor l ol ogunja (2)

2. The plant is also called em bos 'l ogunja.

[789] (Heliotropium strigosum Willd.). Small-livestock fodder. The person spending the night alone in steppe or bush likes to toss a few plants into his campfire as protective magic against all kinds of dangers.

278. en jărū́ (Pennisesum ciliare Link). Good fodder grass for cattle.

279. en jéně ĭmălăsĭ (?). Good fodder for small livestock.

280. ol jerai (Acacia seyal Del.). It is one of the milder stimulants taken at the forest meals of the warriors. A piece of bark approximately a handbreadth wide and 20 cm. long is powdered and then steeped in cold water. This quantity is the simple dose per person per day.

281. ol jĕrtŭjăn (Euclea spec.).

282. ol jŏgĭ kĕtĕ (Euphorbia velutina Pax.). Small-livestock fodder.

[826] 283. ol jŏgĭ l el aijok (Euphorbia spec.). In order to simulate a circumcision, boys smear the glans with the milky juice. The glans swells /368/ because of this and prevents the drawn-back foreskin from slipping forward.

284. en jŏgĭ ol aiteri (Cluytia spec.).

285. ol jŏgĭ săbŭg (Euphorbia Schimperi Presl.). Regarded as poisonous.

286. ol jŏgĭr. Good fodder for small livestock.

287. ol jŏgŏlĭăn (Rauwolfia inebrians K. Sch.). The scabbard of the sword is made out of the wood.

/368 cont./

824 288. ol jorai = ol jerai (Acacia seyal Del.).

289. ol jorioi os sobugo (Disperis Merkeri Schlechter).

290. ol joroi ate (Acacia arabica Willd.).

291. ol kioge (Courbonia virgata Brogn. and Maerua Grantii Oliv.). Secret medicine of the ol goiatiki.

292. ol legemojik. Collective name for ferns.

[751] 293. ol legemojik l os soito (Actinopteris radiata Link). From the root the ol oiboni makes an amulet against all kinds of sickness.

294. ol legileṅa = ol gitende (Haemantus nov. spec.).

295. ol magaragara (Vitex Strickeri Vtke. et Hildebr.).

296. ol magaragara 'l osugo (Justicia uncinulata Oliv.). Fodder for small livestock.

297. ol magiṅgi (Moschosma multiflora [Hoch.] Bth.). Adults drink a cold extract of the leaves for abdominal pain. For children a decoction of the leaves is regarded as an emetic.

298. ol magiṅgi kĕtĕ. Use like the preceding.

299. ol magirigireni (Lippia asperifolia Rich.). The leaves, which smell like peppermint, are powdered and then added to the fat with which one rubs the head.

300. ol mairirgireni oibor. Small-livestock fodder.

301. ol magutian (Sporobolus Rehmanni Hack.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

302. ol magutugut (Clerodendron discolor [Kl.] Vtke.).

303. ol mâme. Fodder for small livestock.

304. ol mandaidet (Loranthus). A parasite, found on twigs of ol gamarlasis. It is used like this latter.

305. ol manera ṅ gonjek (Triumfetha flavescens Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

306. ol maṅgulai (Grewia villosa Willd.). The woman in childbed, during the first two days after delivery, is given a decoction of approximately 20 finger-sized pieces of root, to which is ascribed a favorable effect for the recovery of the birth organs.

307. ol maṅgulai l eṅ gob (Melhania ferruginea A. Rich.). Is used like ol maṅgulai.

308. ol manuai. Edible fruits. A decoction of approximately ten finger-sized pieces of root is given for feverish gastric catarrh.

/369/

824 309. ol marbait (Croton Elliottianus Engl. et Pax.). The decoction of an approximately hand-sized piece of bark is mixed with fresh blood and, as a strengthening soup, given to the patient who is weak or recuperating.

310. ol marigireni (Lantana salviifolia Jacq.). The extract or decoction of an approximately fist-sized quantity of stalks and leaves is given to goats and sheep as an infusion for diarrhea.

311. ol mariroi (Combretum splendens Engl.). For the en gutuke on janit sickness of cattle, which, in the view of the people, arises because the stricken animal has eaten grass polluted with uterine blood and hair from the birth of a gnu calf, a decoction of approximately two liters of minced root bark is given as an infusion.

312. ol masaba. For diarrhea cattle are given an infusion of a decoction of this shrub's root.

313. ol masambrai (Tamarindus indica L.). Fruits are edible.

825 314. ol masiligi (Calotropis procera R. Br.). One likes to use it in the bed padding, because it is said to keep insects away.

315. ol mata (Thespesia Garckeana F. Hofm. u. Dombeya reticulata Mast. vel aff.). The extract of an approximately hand-sized piece of bark is popular as an aid to digestion in connection with the forest meals of the warriors.

316. ol mătasia (Clausena inaequalis [Spr.] Bth.).

317. ol mesigie (Rhus villosa L.). Edible fruits. The one wounded by arrow or spear drinks an extract or decoction of approximately ten finger-sized pieces of wood. The effect ascribed to this medicine is that the wound ceases to be moist, becomes dry, and, as a consequence, heals more rapidly.

318. ol mesigie kete (Rhus spec.). Use like that of the preceding Rhus species.

319. ol mesigioi kitok.

320. e' mĕta (Melasma indicum Wettst.). The woman in childbed, during the first days after her delivery, is given a root decoction of this plant, to which is ascribed a beneficial effect on the recovery of the birth organs.

321. ol mĕta (Indigofera kilimandscharica Vlks.).

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824 [301] 322. ol mogoṅgora, a liana not infrequent in the river forests. The root bark, smelling strongly like vanilla, is twisted, ropelike, and worn by men and women as a neckband. It also finds use as a secret medicine of the ol oiboni and the ol goiatiki.

323. ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica Brongn.). One or two hand-sized pieces of trunk bark or root bark are pounded with a club into fibers and held for a few minutes in boiling meat broth for steeping. This soup is used by warriors as a nerve stimulant, by [832] women as an aphrodisiac. To cure gonorrhea, one adds a small amount of honey to the broth before drinking it. An extract that is made with double or /370/ triple the amount of bark is used to get rid of taeniae and ascarids, or also as an emetic for bilious fever. The fresh bark bast is chewed for constipation.

[262] 324. ol momoi (Solanum nigrum L.). Children eat the berrylike fruits.

325. ol mŏrĭa (Ocimim suave Willd.). A root decoction is used as an emetic.

326. ol moridjoi or ol morijoi (Acocanthera abyssinica). The arrow poison is obtained from the roots and wood by boiling.

327. ol marok l on dare.

328. 'mtaṅguju (Maerua rigida Oliv.). From the powdered root [751] the ol oiboni makes an amulet that is supposed to protect one against colds and fever.

[271] 329. ol muguti kitok (Caralluma spec.). The soft, fleshy twigs are eaten by warriors on the march, by boys tending cattle, to quench thirst.

330. ol muguti l ol hŏdĭnĕ (Euphorbia spec.). Hyenas allegedly eat this plant.

331. ol muguti l ol ugara.

332. ol mŭmĭnj (Acacia abyssinica Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

333. ol munjagara (1) (Acalypha indica L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

1. Also called eṅ gĭtămbŭ.

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334. e' mundeja (Phyllanthus spec.). The el dorobo places a twig of it close beside the slain game as protective magic to prevent birds from circling above the animal and thus attracting other people.

335. ol mundeja (Veronica cinerascens). This plant serves the el dorobo as protective magic against lions.

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336. ol murgéa (Phyllanthus). Shield hoops are made from the branches.

337. i' mikila. Milk fodder for cows.

338. ol dabbeli (Ficus sycomorus L.). A decoction of two hand-sized pieces of bark is drunk for diarrhea.

339. ol dakkotia (Euphorbia spec.). Goats are said to die after eating this plant.

340. ol deriandus l en daje (Plumbago zeylanica L.). The ornamental scars on the faces of women are produced by cauterizing with the caustic root juice.

341. ol deriandus l en jakuri (Thunbergia alata Boj.). The sword scabbard is dyed with the red root juice.

342. ol ajaligwa.

343. ol émmeni (Cyperus spec.). Fodder grass for small livestock. The onionlike roots are eaten with special liking by guinea fowl.

344. ol émmeni l el sirgon (Kyllingia alba Nees.) is a good fodder grass that is especially valued for donkeys.

/371/ 345. ol émmeni l oo sobugo + en dalila.

346. ol abe ridadat (Sporobolus indicus R. Br.). Good fodder grass.

347. ol tadadet + ol tsadadet (Phyllanthus).

348. ol oberati kete.

349. ol oberati kitok.

350. ol ladid (1)

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1. The Masai also called Stephania abyssinica A. Rich. ol obito.

(Glycine javanica L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

/371 cont./

824 351. ol [illegible] i ol [illegible] (Rhynchosia caribaea D.C.). Good fodder for small livestock.

352. ol [illegible] (Erythrina tomentosa R. Br.). Approximately six finger-sized pieces of wood are cooked in goat-meat broth. The soup is drunk as a cure for gonorrhea.

353. ol edua (Maesa lanceolata). One chews several (approximately six to ten) of the pungently spicy grains for constipation. The frequent consumption of the pounded grains in beef blood acts as a nerve stimulant for the warriors.

354. ol odoerai = ol asajet.

355. ol edud gisewi. If children eat the root -- mistaking it for the ol dirpoian plant -- they have pains in the rectum.

356. ol egilelia (Coleus kilimandscharicus Gürke). The juice of the peppermintlike-smelling leaves is dripped into the eyes of cattle to cure inflammation.

357. ol egilelia gte. The cow is given a leaf decoction to hasten the expulsion of the afterbirth, if this takes an abnormally long time.

358. ol [illegible] (Boerhavia diffusa L.). A root decoction is drunk for articular rheumatism.

359. eng [illegible] (Justicia flava Vahl.).

360. ol egur i oldek (Pennisetum spec.). Good fodder grass, valued especially for bulls.

361. ol egurede. Good fodder grass.

362. ol egulditu.

363. eng eiberesh (Ampelocissus abyssinica Pl.). The blue, grapelike fruits are edible.

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364. ol eiber benek (Dregea rubicunda K. Sch.). The root bark, together with that of ol mengelgora, is used to make neckbands. Powdered root is sprinkled in the hair as perfume. A root decoction is popularly added to the honey beer as a taste corrective. It is also regarded as loosening for catarrh and, for this, is drunk with meat broth, or, as a laxative, between the consumption of milk and meat.

365. ol eibergeha = ol eiberkeha (Tricholaena rosea Nees) is a good fodder grass.

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824 366. ol oiborgeba I os sobugo (1) (Dinebra retrofleya Vahl.). Good fodder grass.

367. ol oibor ṅariat (Aerua javanica Bl. Juss.).

368. ol oidj' erok (Sanicula eureupaea L.).

369. ol oidju (Vemonia pauciflora Jess.). Small-livestock fodder.

370. ol oidubului.

371. ol oigĕro (Ormocarpum Kirkii S. Moore).

372. ol oigĕro kĕtĕ (Pteridella viridis [Forsk.] Uech.).

373. ol oigĕro kitok (Pteris longifolia L.).

374. eṅg oigimĕgi (Hibiscus crassinervis Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

375. ol oigororomi (Hibiscus calyphyllus Cav.). Shield hoops are made from the branches. The switches for building huts are bound with the bast.

376. ol oigororomi kĕtĕ (Abutilon hirtum Don.). Use like the preceding.

377. ol oigoromi oibor (Abutilon indicum [L.] Don.).

378. ol oigururĕni. Fodder for small livestock.

379. eṅg oija basĕj (Wedlia abyssinica Vtke.). Fodder for small livestock.

380. ol oija basĕj (Wedelia [mossambicieusis Oliv. ?]). Good fodder for cattle.

381. ol oijawijab (Croton macrostachys A. Rich.).

382. ol oijesai (Pupalia lappacea [L.] Moq.).

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1. In places Aristida adscensionis L. and Eragrostis Schimperi (Hoch.) Bth. are also called this.

/372 cont./

383. ol oilale (2)

2. The Masai also called Zizyphus Jujuba Lam. ol oilale.

(Colubrina asiatica Brongn.). During the first days after delivery, the woman in childbed is given a bark decoction mixed with beef broth, to which is ascribed a beneficial effect for the recovery of the birth organs.

384. ol oile (3)

3. Euphorbia Schimperi Presl. is also called this.

(Euphorbia Tirucalli). One glues the spear shaft into the sockets of blade and shoe with the heated juice.

385. oiri (Grewia populifolia Vahl.). Small-livestock fodder. Edible fruits.

386. ol oirien. Clubs are made out of the beautifully marked wood. Foul-smelling gourd bottles are smoked with the wood.

387. ol oiriroi (Maerua Eminii Pax.). Edible fruits.

388. ol oiriroi rohgai. The board game (en dodoi) is made out of the wood.

389. ol oisigi (Fargara Merkeri Engl.). The mother gives the baby the extract obtained by chewing a piece of bark the size of half a finger, mixed with milk, to drink for coughs.

390. ol oitihereg (Chenopodium opulifolium Schrad.).

/373/ 391. ol oitero eó âijaba (Clerodendron ternatum Schinz). The herb is chewed in order through that to blacken the gums, tongue, lips, and palate.

392. ol oitero 'giacho 'el âijaba = ol oitero eó âijaba.

393. oiti (Acacia mellifera Bth.). The thorny branches are used with special liking for the construction of the barricade of branches around the kraal. The cold extract from a piece of bark about the size of five fingers is a vigorously acting emetic, which is taken for fever, etc.

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394. ol oja basẹ́j = ol oija basẹ́j.

395. ol ojeṅgalíni (Sesbania aegyptiaca Poir.). The decoction of a piece of bark approximately ten inches square in size is given the cow to hasten the expulsion of the afterbirth, if this is protracted for an abnormally long time.

396. ol okiténi. The decoction of an approximately fist-sized piece of bark is regarded as loosening for catarrh.

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397. ol omej. Masai sometimes, El dorobo often, stick a branch of this on either side of the hut door as protective magic against predatory animals.

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M
[825]
[789]

398. ol ómŏ. Valued by the El dorobo as a good honey plant.

399. ol ońorua (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.). A nerve-stimulating agent of the warriors. They drink the decoction of approximately seven finger-sized pieces of the pungent-tasting root at the ol bul meals, as desired.

400. ol ońoroṅ. The berries are edible.

401. ol ŏńŭ (Andropogon Schoenanthus). The livestock do not like the grass, because of its lemon smell. In places the grass is used to make a diaphoretic tea that is given for fever.

402. ol ońuṅoi = ol gitende (Haemanthus nov. spec.).

403. ol ŏrŏk olele (Justicia matamensis). Good fodder for small livestock.

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[825]

404. ol ŏrŏndŏ́ (Cissus Paraguensis Gilg). Warriors en route and especially during the forest meals like to put the vines into the bed padding, because they are said to keep away insects.

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301

405. ol orowil kete (Justicia calcarata Hochst.). Fragrant neckbands are twisted out of the bark bast, smelling like vanilla.

406. ol orowil kitok (Justicia Fischeri Lindm.). Use like that of the preceding.

407. ol orowil l el aijok (Ageratum conyzoides L.). Use like that of the preceding.

D
824
301

408. ol orowil l el dorobo (Neuracanthus sacani Kl.). The El dorobo make fragrant neckbands out of the scraped bark.

409. eṅg osida kitok. Good fodder for goats.

M
824

410. eńg osida gutok (Barleria ventricosa Nees.). El dorobo make arrow shafts from the branches.

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824

/373 cont./

824 411. ol osidja gutok (Asystasia gangetica [L.] T. Amd.). One washes young goats and sheep with an extract of the crushed plant to get rid of fleas.

/374/ 412. ol osigiria l en djoi. If a cow has fever, one ties a twig on its tail, with which it then whips its body. The milk of such a cow is drunk by pregnant women, since it is believed that through that the child expected will not be susceptible to fever. [843] [272]

413. e' rano 'l ogunja (Pentanisca uranogyne S. Moore). Fodder for small livestock.

414. o' rarait (Cissus rotundifolia [Forsk.] Vahl). The leaves are placed on wounds as a plaster. A root decoction mixed with bull-meat broth is drunk for muscular rheumatism.

415. o' remit (Salvadora persica L.). The pieces of twig chewed to resemble a brush are used as toothbrushes. A paste of powdered root takes the place of our mustard plaster. A decoction from about five finger-sized pieces of root to be drunk is regarded as a cure for gonorrhea and cystic catarrh.

416. e' rikā́ru (Andropogon papillosus Hochst.) is a good fodder grass (1).

1. On the southern end of Lake Natron a Panicum species was also called e' rikaru.

417. o' rikā́ru (Cynodon dactylon Pers.) is a good fodder grass.

418. o' riroi, also called o' riroi l om bī (2) (Gladiolus nov. spec.). The juice obtained by chewing the bulb serves as glue to fasten the feathering on the arrow.

2. Eulophia Shupangae Krzl. was also called this.

419. o' ropande (Commiphora spec.). The extract or decoction of a piece of bark the size of two or three hand-palms, mixed with meat broth, is taken as a remedy for abdominal pains. Since its effect is considerably milder than that of similar remedies, it is preferred by pregnant women.

/374 cont./

824 420. o' rŏs oibor. Fodder for small livestock.

421. o' rosua (Celosia trigyna L.). Fodder for small livestock.

422. e' rube. Very good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

423. e' rube Eṅgai = eń gombet.

424. e' rube kitok. Good fodder grass.

425. e' rube loṅ gischu (Panicum and Ptychophyllum). Good fodder grass.

426. e' rube os sobugo (Andropogon Sorhgum Bros. var. effusus Hack). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

427. e' ruguni (Hydnora). An extract of four finger-sized pieces of the rhizome, mixed with milk, is given as an infusion to babies for diarrhea.

428. es sabai (Indigofera). Small-livestock fodder.

429. os sadjĩlo. The livestock does not like to eat the grass in the blooming period, because the smell of the blossoms is unpleasant to it.

430. os sagararam (Bauhinia reticulata D. C.). A piece of bark two feet long and approximately as broad as a hand is pounded and cooked in beef broth. The broth, which old people drink mixed with milk, is regarded as a remedy for gonorrhea and urine retention.

/375/ 431. 'sambaragaiĕt (Indigofera Garckeana Vtke.). Small-livestock fodder.

432. os sămbŭgŭbĕs (1) (Albizzia maraguensis Taub.). Ax handles are made out of the wood.

433. os sambururoi (Glinus latoides L.). The pounded plant is placed as a plaster on burns.

434. os sanaṅgururi (Oncoba spinosa Forsk.). Fruits are edible.

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1. Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv. was sometimes also called this.

/375 cont./

824 435. os sañgasch (Pennisetum ciliare Link) is a good fodder grass. The name os sañgasch also designates various thick grass and reed species; from one of the latter, in the primeval age, according to the myth, people made a reed splinter, which served for cutting the umbilical cord of the newborn child.

436. es sǐs (Leucas glabrata [Vahl] R. Br.).

437. os sēgi (Cordia quarensis Gürke). A pile of this wood is burned at the ol ogor l ol gerĕti feast. Quarreling people are separated by placing an os sēgi branch between them; one who would step over this would be punished by God. The girl who has become pregnant chews approximately four finger-sized pieces of root to induce an abortion, whereupon the foetus is said to die quickly and to be expelled. For pains in the leg one ties a small piece of the wood around the ankle. [847]

438. os séja = various species of reed.

439. os sējai (Cyperus spec.). Good livestock-fodder.

440. os sejai l eṅ gare (Cyperus spec.).

441. os sejai l ol sirgon = ol ṅonomi l ol sirgon (Kyllingia alba).

442. os sẹmbẹrẹmbẹruĕt (Indigofera kilimandscharica Vlks.).

443. os senetoi (Cassia obovata Coll. and Cassia didymobotrya Fres.). A decoction of roots or leaves with the addition of some milk or butter is drunk as a remedy for pain and swelling in the spleen.

444. os siañti (Acalypha psilostachyoides Pax.). From the branches the boys make the shafts of the small arrows used by them.

445. os siañti ạdo (Acalypha fructuosa Forsk.).

446. os siañti oibor. Small-livestock fodder.

447. os siañti l os sobugo (Acalypha psilostachya Rich.). Small-livestock fodder.

448. os siañti l os sobugo oibor (Acalypha ornata M. Arz.).

449. os sida gutok (Asystasia rostrata).

450. es sida gutok kete (Justicia diclipteroides Lindau).

451. os sigiria l en djoi (Ormocarpum Kirkii S. Moore). A decoction of approximately 20 finger-sized pieces of wood is given to donkeys as an infusion for coughs.

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824 [951] 452. os sinande. Secret medicine of the ol oiboni; ingredient of amulets that are supposed to protect one against wounds, sickness, and accidents.

453. os sinóni (Lantana salviifolia Jacq.). With the wood, /376/ whose smoke smells pleasant, one fumigates the gourd bottles to remove the unpleasant odor arising in them through use.

454. es sǐsǐnǐ (Corchorus trilocularis L.). Good fodder for cattle, goats, and sheep.

455. es sǐsínǐ (Schwabea esbolioides Lind.). Small-livestock fodder.

456. os sǐsǐwět (Ocimim filamentosum Forsk.). Women like to use the bush as padding for the bed, on account of its plesant peppermint-like smell.

457. os siteti (Grewia bicolor Juss.). Fruits are edible. The straight, long, and very thin sticks that older men always carry with them are made from the branches. Pregnant women drink a tea made from the leaves, which has a laxative effect.

458. os sobugéĭ (Dombega).

459. os sodjo (Euclea fructuosa Hiern). Approximately one tablespoon of scraped root bark, mixed in honey beer, is taken as a strong laxative for pain and swelling of the spleen.

460. os sogonoi is an older large tree, which, in the younger stage, is called en doroniki. Its bark is used like that of the last one, but its effect is less vigorous.

[301] 461. os soṅgoio (Indigofera spec.). The warriors make fragrant neckbands out of the bark bast.

[862] 462. os suguroi (Aloe). If the child is to be weaned, the mother smears on her nipples the bitter juice of the fleshy leaves and thus makes the breast repugnant to the baby. People who like to drink a great deal of honey beer steep in it two pieces of wood a hand-span long, which has been previously pounded with a club. This addition is supposed to prevent both the indisposition from carousing and an upset stomach. A piece of root is put in the fermenting honey beer for hastening the fermentation.

463. os sugurtuti = ol dinjai (Cissus quadrangularis L.).

464. os sumatěgi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg). Edible fruits.

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824 465. ol uai (Acacia spirocarpa Hochst.). The extract of an approximately fist-sized piece of bark is drunk as a remedy for diarrhea in human beings and animals.

466. ol ugunonoi (Heeria cf. pulcherrima Schwfth.). The extract of approximately two handfuls of bark is regarded as a remedy for diarrhea. [789] [825] One spending the night alone in the steppes chews some bark and spits it out all around on all sides, murmuring uscho-uscho. Then he lies down to sleep, feeling safe from the attack of nocturnal predatory animals.

[825] 467. ūsche. The ol dorŏbŏni, before returning to camp, lays a few branches beside his hunting booty and through that regards it as protected from being devoured by birds and predatory animals.

468. ol wăluă (Adenium obesum [Forsk.] Roem. et Schult.). The plant is regarded as poisonous for donkeys.

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Appendix II.

Some of the principal animal-names.

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In the following I am giving a series of animal names: many only in the Masai language: others, for which the El dorŏbo have still further designations, also in their particular idiom. Moreover, I was able to discover a number of obsolete words now generally or locally, permanently or temporarily, out of use (1).

1. An added asterisk in the following indicates that I owe the statement concerned to the research of Herr Johs. Deeg.

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Gray carrion-vulture (Neophron percnopterus [L.]):
El masai: ol mŏtŏ̀nj ñĭro or for short ol ñĭro = the gray one.
ol mŏtŏ́nj = the large predatory bird.
obsolete: 'sărsărăndĕ́t,
El dorobo: os sŏmbĭ́t.

Black carrion-vulture (Lophogyps occipitalis [Burch.]):
El masai: ol mŏtŏ́nj ĕrŏ́k,
ol gĭ̌njắn mŏ́răn,
obsolete: os sắgērĭ́,
ol orok' gŏschŏ́gĕ = black body.
ol săla͡ibŭgŏ,
El dorobo: os sĕmĕ́rĕgĕl.

Monkey: see long-tailed monkey, night monkey /lemur/, baboon, colobus.

Ant: the small reddish brown ant (siafu of the Wasuaheli):
El masai: en dĭrắngŏ,
obsolete: e' sắsă,
e muĭǵ,
El dorobo: 'n dŏgŏschắschĕ.

The large black ant:
El masai: ol aisoisoi,
further: see Termite.

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Antelope: see Eland, Hartebeest /not listed below/, Kudu, Black-heeled antelope /impala; not listed below/, Oryx, Waterbuck /not listed below/.

Zoril (Jetonyx /Ictonyx/ zorilla):
El masai: ol bĕlĕ́s ạte.

Bee: the common wild honeybee:
El masai: ol oderŏ́k,
obsolete: ol gairoi.

A stingless bee:
El masai: ol saliboi (pl. es saliho).
obsolete: ol gắsŭai (pl. el gắsŭă).

Buffalo (Buffelus caffer [Sparrm.]):
El masai: ol ŏ́sŏgwăn,
obsolete: ol ạ́rok.
D
[825] El dorobo: 'l arọi.

Badger: see Honey badger.

Squirrel-like animal:
El masai: ol gidas 'ndarĕ́: they maintain that it sucks on the udders of the goats.
obsolete: gărĕbŏ́bŏ.

Lizards: small:
El masai: ol oiriri,
obsolete: ol gŏmĭ́n (pl. el gŏmĭnĭ́).

Medium-sized:
El masai: ol agelalem,
obsolete: 'l ắrŭŏnĭ́ (pl. 'l ắrŭŏ).

Large:
El masai: ol mŏ́gŏă,
obsolete: ol măbắ.

Elephant (Elephas africanus Blbch.):
El masai: ol jắnĭtŏ sắbŭg (ol jắnĭtŏ probably originally meant the animal, sắbŭg = fat),
ol dŏ́mĕ,
ol bĕ́liai,
ol eṅgaina (eṅ gaina = the hand; the elephant uses its trunk like a hand, therefore ol engaina means, say, the "Handerich" /handy one/ in German).
D
[825] obsolete: ol mẹdjắli,

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M
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El dorobo: djănġk (1).

1. Abyss. nage*.

Eland (Oreas oreas [Pall.]):
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El masai: os sĭ́rŭă,
ol dṓbŏsăt = the bluish gray one,
El dorobo: ol gitĕ̱rḗ̱r.

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Aardvark (Orycteropus):
El masai: en aischĭr băr,
obsolete: nắgĕtĕ.

Donkey: cf. also the names given in the 2nd Part, Ch. XVIII:
El masai: ol bē̱lĕ̱ndŏ́g, which word is said to mean "the carrier,"
ol ắndījă,
obsolete: ol ĕndoi,
ol o͡idŏrĕ.

Owl: general:
El masai: ol mŏtŏ́nj on gĭ́ă = the ear bird of prey. This designation has been transferred from the great horned owl to all owls.
obsolete: gŭrńŭngŭ́sch.

Partridge (Pternistes and Francolinus):
El masai: eń gŭrlḗ̱ or eń gŏrlḗ̱ (1).

1. Cf. Hebr. Koreh.

Fish: general, without distinction as to species:
El masai: os sĭngĭ́rĭ.

Bat: general, without distinction as to species:
El masai: en ăgŭrgắn,
obsolete: jābijăb.

Fly: common fly and carrion fly:
El masai: 'l ădjăńắni (pl. 'l ădjăńă).

Horsefly:
El masai: ol kĭmbâi or ol gĭmbâi,
further: see Tsetse.

D
M
/379 cont./

825 Flea (Pulex):
El masai: ol oisŭ́sŭ,
obsolete: ol bĕdĕla̍l (pl. el bĕdĕlă̇),
El dorobo: ol jaṅit l ol diain = the animal of the dogs.

M
825 Frog:
El masai: en dŭắ,
obsolete: eṅ ṅăschắr.

Gazelle: Gazella Granti:
El masai: en dĭ̄lŏ.

Gazella Thomsoni:
El masai: 'n ĭ̆nĭ̆njắt.

Indian leopard /cheetah/ (Cynaelurus guttatus):
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El masai: eṅ gĕrĭ́sĭ = the one who tears,
ol genja l ascho = the calf-eater,
obsolete: ol mŭ́ndălŏl.

Genet (Genetta pardina):
El masai: ol dŏlŭ́gŏ.

Giraffe (Camelopardis giraffa L.):
El masai: ol maiit = the spotted one,
ol ĭ́do gĕrăgă̇tă = the one long in lying,
obsolete: o' rŏbĭ́t.

D
M
825 Gnu (Connochaetes taurinus Burch. and C. albojubatus Thos.):
El masai: eṅ gắt,
obsolete: ol bărăṅgă̇t,
schăbălĭlĕ̇,
ol ĭlĕ́,
El dorobo: o' rimbol (1).

1. Cf. Hebr. re' êm and Assyr. rîmu = wild ox.

Hare (Lepus victoriae Thos.):
El masai: eṅ gitodjo,
El dorobo: ol ĭdo gĭ́a = long ear.

Grasshopper (migratory locust) (Schistocerca):
El masai: ol mă̇ti,
obsolete: ol mŭ́njălŏlŏ,
El dorobo: ol mŭ́njălŏlŏ.

M
825 Honey badger (Mellivora ratel):
El masai: ol bĕlĕ̇s.

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/380 cont./
Dog (house dog) (Canis):
El masai: ol dĭắ,
obsolete: 'lẹ́bă (2).

2. Cf. Hebr. keleb and Assyr. kal-bu = dog.

El dorobo: os sĭrătắn.
Centipede:
El masai: eṅ gŏlȯră os sĭrgŏ́n.
Hyena, spotted (Hyaena crocuta Erxl.):
El masai: ol nŏdjĭ́nĕ,
ol ĕlĕmbĕ́sch,
obsolete: ol gŏnôĭ,
sĕrnăṅgŭ́sch,
El dorobo: en jălŏ́s.

M
825

Striped (Hyaena striata and H. Schillingsi):
El masai: en gŭṅgărŭ́ ĕmĭlĭ́,
obsolete: rŭ́mŭrŭm.
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Hyena dog (Lycaon pictus Temm.):
El masai: ol oibor gidoṅo = white tail,
os sŭ̇jăn.
Hedgehog (Erinaceus albiventris Wagn.):
El masai: en jŏlĭ́s,
obsolete: bắṅgĕbăṅ.
Polecat: see Zoril.
Camel:
El masai: en dŏmĕ́s,
en dĭmĕ́s.
Crocodile (Crocodilus vulgaris Cuv.):
El masai: ol ginjaṅ,
obsolete: ol ŏgŏ́lŏrĭŏṅ.
Louse (Pediculus capitis de Geer):
El masai: 'l ăhĕ́,
obsolete: ṅgŏmĕ́ă.

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825 Leopard (Felis [Leopardus] nimr Ehrbg.):
El masai: ol ŭgărŭ gĕrĭ̌ = the spotted predator,
obsolete: os sĭ̌giĕ́t,
o 'rŏñgâĭ.

Lion (Felis [Leo] somaliensis Noack):
El masai: ol ŭgărŭ kitok = the big predator,
ol ñătŭnj,
os sĭ̌mbă,
obsolete: en dḗnĕrĕ̌,
bărŭgŭ́tŭ.

Mongoose: see Zebra mongoose.

Marabou (Leptoptilus argala Tem.):
El masai: en dĕrmŭgŭ́sĭ̌,
obsolete: en ắdŏgŭs.

Mouse and rat (Mus):
El masai: en dĕrŏ́nĭ̌,
en jĭrĭ́,
mărḗănĭ̌,
obsolete: e 'mắrĭăn.

Long-tailed monkey, dark green (Cercopithecus albigularis Sykes):
El masai: ol gḗmă,
obsolete: ol gŭ́lŭ.

Olive-colored (Cercopithecus rufoviridis Js. Geoff.):
El masai: en dŏrắsch.

Kite (Parasite kite) (Milvus aegypticus Gm.):
El masai: ol gŭlŭ̂,
obsolete: 'l ĕgĕlwắ.

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Dung beetle:
El masai: ol mȯĭllă (pl. el mŏ̂ĭlăk).

Mosquito (Anopheles):
El masai: eñ gŏdjŏñắnĭ̌,
obsolete: es sŏ̂lăn.

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825

Night monkey, long-eared maki (Galago):
El masai: ol gĭnjăñ ngĭ́rĭ = the meat eater, because it likes to go to the hung meat,
e 'bŭrĭ̌schŏ ol bul = the ol bul thief, because it likes to steal some of the pieces of meat at the ol bul.

Rhinoceros (Rhinoceros bicornis L.):
El masai: e 'mŭ̇nj,
e 'rĕ́r,
eñ gŏmbĭ̌lŏ,
ol jă̌ñĭtŏ ñĭ́ro,
obsolete: es sĕ̇rŭ̌ñŭ̌ă̌,
gŏmbĭ̌rĕ́,
El dorobo: es sĭ̌gĭ̌ndĭ́rĕ̌.

D
[825]

Rhinoceros beetle:
El masai: ol ĕmŭ̇njŭ̌.

Hippopotamus (Hippopotamus amphibius L.):
El masai: ol mă̌kă̂u (1),

1. Cf. Assyr. ma-ak-ka-nu-ú, literally, animal of southern Egypt.*

bărkĭ̌lĕmbĕ́,
obsolete: dĭ̌rgĭ̌lĕmbĕ́.

Baboon (Papio Cercopithecus):
El masai: ol dŏ̌lă̌l,
obsolete: ol gŏ̄wăsĭ́ŏ̌,
El dorobo: 'l ŏ́tĭ̌m.

D
[825]

Pelican (Pelecanus rufescens Gm.):
El masai: en dĕ́ă̌nĭ̆.

Guinea hen (Numida):
El masai: ol gĭ̌lĕsŭ́rĕ̌,
ol gĕrĕsŭ́rĕ̌.

M
825 /382 cont./
Horse (Equus):
El masai: em bằ̇rtă or em pằ̇rtă (2).

2. Cf. the ancient Semitic root par = to run.*

obsolete: ol gĭ̊jābĭ (el gĭjắb).
D
[825] Raven (Corvus scapulatus Daud. and Corvultur albicollis Lath.):
El masai: ol gŏrŭ̆k (3).

3. Cf. Arabic gŏrắb, Hebr. ʿoreb.

obsolete: o 'rŏ̇gĕlă.
/383/
El dorobo: ol ȏlbŏrŭŏ̆.
D
[825] Jackal (Canis variegatus Crchm.):
El masai: en dĕrắsch,
en dĭtḗsĭlă,
obsolete: em bằrĭĕ̆,
ol gứsch 'ă,
El dorobo: em bằrĭĕ̆.
Turtle (Testudo):
El masai: ol oigứmĭ,
obsolete: ol jắnĭtŏ dŏrṓb.
Snake (1):

1. A legendary serpent in the myths is
called kĭlĕ̆ngȏl.

in general, without differentiation of species
El masai: ol ắsŭrai,
eṅ gĕ̄n' eṅ gob (eṅ gĕ̄ne = leather strap),
ol jắnĭtŏ l od gŏ̆dji̊t = the animal in the grass,
obsolete: ol ĕrắsŭmĕ̆.

/383 cont./

D M 825 Hyrax (Dendrohyrax and Procavia):
El masai: eń gíně os soito = the cliff goat,
eń gĭnjŭnjúr,
El dorobo: ngĕmăsī̆.

M 825 Kudu (Strepsiceros):
El masai: ol mắlŏ (2).

2. In Darfur: bạ̄l.

obsolete: ol dắṅgĕ̇gī̆.

Scaly anteater (Manis temmincki Smuts):
El masai: en dĭbōī̆.

Swallow (Hirundo):
El masai: os sĕrămbălánī̆,
obsolete: sĕ̤rôljī̆.

Colobus, white-tailed (Colobus caudatus):
El masai: ol gŏrōī̆.

Serval (Felis serval):
El masai: es sĭmăṅgŏ́r.

Scorpion:
El masai: eń gŏlŏ́wī̆,
obsolete: en dĕṅgĕ̇l,
D [825] El dorobo: en jŏ̆ṅgŏrŏrŏ.

Oryx (Oryx callotis Thos.):
El masai: ol gĕmăsŏ̇rŏk (ol gema = fire, orok = black).
obsolete: sărī̆ī̆.

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Spider: general:
El masai: es sŭ̇rŭsŭrī̆,
obsolete: es sĭrĭăndĕ̇t.

Porcupine (Hystrix africae-australis):
El masai: os sĭ̇sī̆,
oiaiai.

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M
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Ostrich (Struthio molybdophanes):
El masai: es sĭdāĭ,
en jĕr,
El dorobo: ol jañito l obĭ̂r.

M
825

Dove (Columba):
El masai: en dŭ́rgŭlŭ̆ (1),

1. Cf. Hebr. tŏr and Somal: gŭlé.

en dáră̆gwai, named after the en dáră̆gwă̆ tree, whose fruits it likes to eat.

Termite:
El masai: ol airogai,
obsolete: 'l ḗrŏdjă̂.

Tsetse (Glossina morsitans):
El masai: en dŏrŏbŏ (2).

2. Cf. Hebr. 'arob, which, according to 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 8, 16 ff., Jahve sends into Egypt as the fourth plague. "With the land of Gosen /Goshen/, however, in which my people dwell, I shall make an exception, so that no 'arob shall appear there, etc." Thus, the land of Gosen was free of the tsetse, which is why the livestock-raising Hebrews chose it as their residence. This must certainly be the oldest report of the tsetse fly still today generally feared in Africa for cattle and solipeds.

A species of weaver bird (Anaplectes melanotis):
El masai: ol dūŏ,
ol dărĭdĭgĭ.

Wild pig (Potamochoerus africanus Schreb.):
El masai: ol bĭtĭr,
eñ gŏmbĕ̂l,
eñ gĭnjaĭ̂.

M
D
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/384 cont./
obsolete: e [illegible],
o [illegible].
El dorobo: o [illegible].

Mole (Georhynchus Schillingsi Mtsch.):
El masai: ol [illegible].
obsolete: ol [illegible].

Zebra (Equus Böhmi Mtsch.):
El masai: ol [illegible].

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obsolete: 'l [illegible].
ol [illegible] = the striped one.
El dorobo: ol [illegible].

M
825 Zebra mongoose (Crossarchus fasciatus):
El masai: ol [illegible].

[illegible] of dogs
El masai: ol [illegible] I ol diein.

-- Of goats (reddish brown):
El masai: ol [illegible] [illegible].

-- Of cattle (spotted yellow or striped yellow on the legs):
El masai: ol [illegible] [illegible].

-- Of human beings:
El masai: en [illegible] [illegible].

18: Merker--ESS G-5 (1855-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
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Asa

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/384/ Appendix III.

Description and measurements of the bodies of 18 men (1)

1. The relatively small number of men is explained by the fact that the records of 27 men were lost.

and 43 women. A. Physical description. B. Physical measurements.

A. Physical description.

For each individual the genealogy was given up to the grandparents. Where the lineage or the tribe of a person could not be given with absolute certainty, it is designated as "Masai" or "Dorobo."

The numbers accompanying the color designations refer to the corresponding numbers of the Broca color chart.

It should also be expressly pointed out here that the striking oblique-forward position of the upper medial incisors is a natural one, not artificial.

No. 1.

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Ol oraigeri, ♂, ca. 27 years old, a native of the steppe area Sogonoi. Lineage: El mamasita.

♂ El mamasita ♀ El aguassi ♂ El barkinero ♀ El masseigue
♂ ♀
♂ ol Oraigeri.

Ext. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-grey--reddish-brown (28), chest somewhat darker, back of hand dark brown (43), palm of hand grey-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 28), scrotum black-reddish-brown (37), nipple somewhat lighter.

/386 cont./

#142 Color of the iris: dark-grey--yellowish-brown (between 2 and 3). European eye form. The palpebral fissure /lid slit/ is set somewhat obliquely and slit rather narrowly. Hair moderately abundant in quantity, curly. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput; from the occipital view, symmetrically rounded, crown arched. From the /387/ side view, the crown lies toward the back, the sinciput is medium high, the occiput rises strongly arched out. The face is broad-oval, orthognathous in profile. The chin projects slightly. The forehead shows a hair edging indented up laterally. It is high, somewhat receding, and full-arched; eyebrows and glabella project very little. Laterally the forehead gradually merges into the temporal region. The nose is medium-sized and broad, the root moderately deepened, the bridge straight, the tip blunt and directed straight out. The nostrils are set obliquely and are oval, the alae flat, their lower edge is curved upward. The lips are moderately thick. The teeth are medium-sized. The two middle incisors of the upper jaw are directed considerably forward and a little outward; they are visible in the mouth slit with the mouth closed and diverge moderately far from each other. The middle incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The rest of the set of teeth is intact. The ear lobes are considerably enlarged and bear tubelike wire spirals. The nipple is remarkably large and projects 1 cm. Feet medium-arched; the second toe juts out. Hand slender and long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, short and broad. Legs thin, somewhat X.

No. 1.

Nakurt, ♂, about 30 years old, a native of the steppe area Sogonoi. Lineage: El mamasita.

♂ El mamasita ♀ El [illegible]   ♂ El [illegible] ♀ El [illegible]

♂   ♀

♂ Nakurt

/387 cont./

*142 Medium fat. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), cheek somewhat lighter, chest black-brown (42), back of hand black-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 27), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), scrotum black-brown, likewise nipple. [304] Below the navel a tattooing in the form of a flat bow opened toward the top. Color of the iris: black-brown, with dark gray-blue toward the edge. European eye form; palpebral fissure set straight. Hair abundant, curly. Head, from the crown view, rounded, elliptical, moderately rounded at the occiput; from the occipital view, symmetrically rounded. Crown arched. From the side view, the crown lies toward the back; the sinciput is medium high, the occiput more strongly arched out. The face is broad-oval and shows a scarcely noticeable general prognathism. The chin is vertical. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked. The forehead is high and steep with faintly projecting frontal protuberances. Eyebrow ridges and glabella projecting very little. Nose medium-sized and medium broad; root moderately deepened; bridge slightly convex; tip blunt and directed downward; nostrils oval and set obliquely; alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two middle incisors of the /388/ upper jaw directed forward and outward, the two middle ones of the lower jaw pried out; otherwise the set of teeth intact. Teeth medium-sized and broad. Ear lobes considerably enlarged. Foot medium-arched; the first toe juts out. Hand slender and long-fingered. Nails large, long, narrow. The legs are sturdy. The shanks show a rachitic curvature, which, according to Naharé's statement, was considerably more pronounced in his childhood and to which he owes his name, which means "crooked leg."

/383 cont./

No. 3.

142 Kimdro, ♂, about 27 years old, a native of the steppe area Sigirari. Lineage: El massígua.

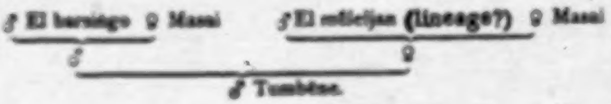
♂ El massígua ♀ Masai ♂ 'L eng-adji-ssajugi ♀ El mamasita
♂ ♀
♂ Kimdro.

Medium fat. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), cheek somewhat lighter (28), chest likewise, back of hand black-brown (42), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (29), scrotum black-brown (42), nipple likewise. Color of the iris: black-brown, with dark-blue--gray toward the edge. European eye form; palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely. Hair abundant, curly and in part also rolled spirally. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. From the occipital view the transverse profile is symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and, from the lateral view, lies toward the front. The sinciput is high, the occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval, triangular toward the bottom, profile barely prognathous. Chin slightly receding. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked. The forehead is high, full-arched, with moderately developed frontal protuberances. Eyebrow ridges and glabella project barely noticeably. The cheek-bones stand out somewhat. Nose medium-sized and broad, moderately deepened at the root, bridge straight, tip blunt, directed straight out; nostrils oval and set obliquely; alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two middle upper incisors are directed slightly forward, the two middle lower ones pried out. Otherwise the set of teeth intact. Teeth medium-sized, broad. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. Foot medium-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand slenderland long-fingered. Nails large, long, narrow. Legs thin, straight.

/388 cont./

No. 4.

*142 Tumbêne, ♂, about 30 years old, a native of the steppe area Mo͡lbo. Lineage: El barsiágo.



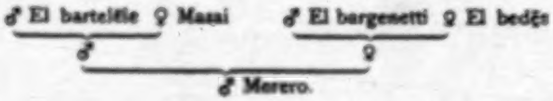
/389/ Thin. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead dark-gray--reddish-brown (somewhat darker than 28), cheek somewhat lighter (28), chest somewhat lighter still (between 28 and 29), back of hand black-brown, palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 29), scrotum black-reddish-brown, nipples like back of hand. Color of the iris dark-gray--yellow-brown with pale blue border. Palpebral fissure straight, slit narrowly. The partly curly, partly spirally rolled hair is present in moderately abundant quantity. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, medium-strongly projecting at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view rounded. Crown lies toward the back and is slightly arched. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face is pointed-oval. The profile shows medium-strong prognathism. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, moderately steep, full-arched, with moderately projecting frontal protuberances. Eyebrow ridges and glabella projecting very little. Cheekbones directed forward more. Nose large, high, broad, flat at the root, bridge straight, tip blunt, directed straight out, nostrils placed transversely, almost circular, alae curved upward, on the other hand set so remarkably deep that a sharply curved ∼-shape is formed. Lips very thick, the lower one somewhat pendulous. The left middle upper incisor is missing (knocked out by a head of cattle), the other one is directed forward and outward, the middle lower incisors have been pried out. Otherwise the set of teeth is intact. The teeth are large, long, and broad. The two ear-lobes are considerably stretched. Foot

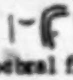
/389 cont./

*142 medium-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails large, long, broad. Legs thin.

No. 5.

Merero, ♂, about 30 years old, born in the steppe south of Lake Naiwascha. Lineage: El barteläle.



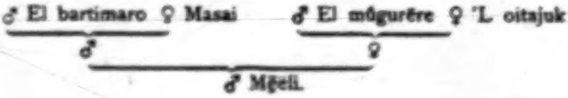
Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead, cheek, and back of hands black-reddish-brown (27); chest somewhat darker (between 27 and 42); palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (29); scrotum darkest brown-black, likewise nipples. On either side of the [304] navel, line tattooing  Color of the iris black-brown with deep blue edge. Palpebral fissure set barely noticeably obliquely. The partly curly, partly spirally rolled hair is present in abundant quantity. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and lies somewhat toward the back. Sinciput moderately high, occiput more strongly arched out. The pointed-oval face shows medium-strong prognathism in profile. Chin projecting. The hair edging of the /390/ forehead is angular-crooked. The forehead high, steep, full-arched, with slightly protruding frontal protuberances. Cheekbones directed backward more. Nose is small, low, broad, root set flat toward the forehead, bridge straight, tip blunt, directed straight out, nostrils oval and longitudinally set; alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. Of the two middle incisors of the upper jaw, the left one is missing

/390 cont./

*142 (knocked out), the right one is set forward so considerably that it is directed horizontally. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. Otherwise the set of teeth is intact. The teeth are large, long, and broad. Both ear-lobes are considerably stretched. Foot medium-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails large, long, narrow. Legs sturdy and straight.

No. 6.

Mȩ̄ëli, ♂, about 30 years old, a native of the steppe area Sogonoi. Lineage: El bartimaro.



Thin. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 42); cheek somewhat darker; chest black-brown (42); back of hand black-reddish-brown (27); palm of hand dark-gray--reddish-brown (28); scrotum and nipples like chest. Color of the iris almost black-brown with gray--dark-blue edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely, slit quite wide. Hair partly curly, partly spirally rolled, abundant in quantity. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput; from the occipital view, symmetrically rounded. Crown arched, lying somewhat toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval, orthognathous in profile. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, receding, full-arched. Eyebrow ridges projecting. Cheekbones forward more. Nose small, high, broad, root set moderately deep toward the forehead, bridge straight, tip blunt and directed straight out. Nostrils roundish, alae puffed out, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two middle incisors of the upper jaw are

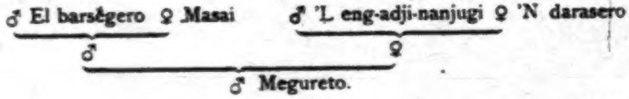
/390 cont./

*142 directed considerably forward and somewhat outward, the corresponding lower ones pried out. Otherwise the set of teeth intact. The teeth are medium-sized. Foot high-arched. The second toe juts out. Both ear-lobes are considerably stretched. Hand long-fingered, but rather broad. Nails large, long, narrow. Legs thin and straight.

No. 7.

Megureto, ♂, about 29 years old, a native of the steppe area Leitokitok on the northeastern foot of Kilimandscharo. Lineage El barsegero.

/391/



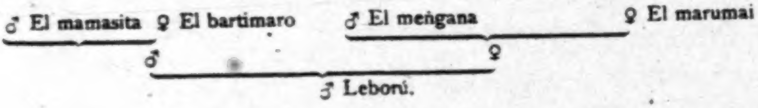
Thin. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), cheek black-brown (42), back of hand, scrotum, nipple black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand dark brown (43). Color of the iris black-brown (1) with dark blue edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely, wide-slit. Head hair recently shaved, is only 3 mm. long, present in abundant quantity. Head, from the crown view, rounded, with narrow front end, projecting strongly at the occiput. The crown lies toward the back and is arched. From the side view, the sinciput is moderately high, the occiput strongly arched out. The face is pointed-oval, drawn down to a point, and shows a slight general prognathism in profile. The chin projects somewhat. The hair edging of the forehead is indented up laterally. The forehead is high, steep, and full-arched. The cheekbones are directed forward more. Nose small, high, narrow; root of nose set moderately deep toward the forehead. The bridge, in the upper half, is straight, in the lower half somewhat convex. The tip of the nose is medium-pointed and

/391 cont./

*142 points downward. The alae are flat, their lower edge is slightly sloped upward. Lips moderately thick. The set of teeth would be faultless if the two middle incisors of the lower jaw had not been pried out. Shape and color of the teeth are perfectly beautiful. It is expressly to be noted that the two middle incisors of the upper jaw are perfectly vertical, a rare case. The ear lobes are moderately enlarged. The foot is high-arched. Heels are quite far back. The first toe juts out. The hand is slender and long-fingered. The nails are large, long, and narrow. The legs are thin and straight.

No. 8.

Leboní, ♂, about 22 years old, a native of Leitokitok. Lineage: El mamasita.



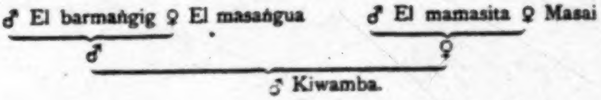
Thin. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), chest somewhat darker, back of hand black-brown (42), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), scrotum black-reddish-brown (27), nipples somewhat lighter. On the right thigh are found two scars 2 cm. long, resulting from shots with poisoned arrows. Color of the iris brown (3) with slate blue edge. Around the lower half of the iris, a strip of brown pigment 1 mm. wide lies on the sclera. Eyes almond-shaped, palpebral fissure wide-slit, set somewhat obliquely. The abundant hair is /392/ arranged [302] in a braid coiffure, a rear braid, a small forehead-braid, and two small temple-braids. It forms a pad on the head about 1 cm. thick, so that the measurement of the cephalic vault does not give any usable results. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, more strongly projecting at the occiput. The transverse profile of the occipital view can be ascertained, by feeling with the fingers, as symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput is high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face is broad-oval, drawn to a point toward the chin.

/392 cont./

*142 The profile shows a very slight general prognathism. Chin receding. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked. The forehead is moderately high, somewhat receding, and well arched. Eyebrow ridges and glabella project very little. Cheekbones directed more forward. The nose is small, high, and broad, flat at the root toward the forehead. The bridge, in its upper half, is straight, in the lower one slightly convex. The tip of the nose is medium-pointed and directed downward somewhat. The nostrils are set obliquely and are long-oval, the alae rather flat, their lower edge is curved upward, but is set remarkably deep. Lips thick. The two middle upper incisors are set almost vertical, the corresponding lower ones have been pried out. The teeth are large, long, and broad. Very good set of teeth. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. Foot medium-arched, the big toe juts out. Hand medium slender, nails medium-sized, as broad as they are long. Legs rather thin and straight.

No. 9.

Kiwamba, ♂, about 21 years old, a native of Ol goneré. Lineage: El barmańgig.



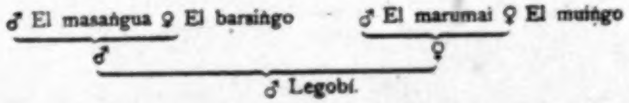
Moderately medium-fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 27 and 28), cheek somewhat lighter (but still also between 27 and 28), chest black-reddish-brown (27), back of hand, scrotum, and nipples deepest brown-black. Palm of hand gray-reddish-brown. Color of the iris: black-brown.

/392 cont./

*142 [302] Palpebral fissure set very obliquely and slit wide. The moderately abundant head-hair is arranged in the warrior braid-coiffure. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched quite high and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Cheekbones directed more forward. Nose medium-sized, rather /393/ low and broad. Root of nose flat toward the forehead; bridge straight; tip blunt and directed straight out; nostrils oblique-oval; alae puffed out very little. Lips rather thick. The middle incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The corresponding upper ones are set obliquely forward in such a way that their longitudinal axis stands at an angle of 45° to the vertical. Between the two is found a natural gap 4 mm. wide. The teeth are large, long, and narrow. Both ear-lobes are considerably stretched, the upper auricle-edges pierced once. Foot high-arched. First toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails large, long, narrow. Legs sturdy and straight.

No. 10.

Legobí, ♂, about 25 years old, a native of the steppe near Ngílí. Lineage: El massañgua.



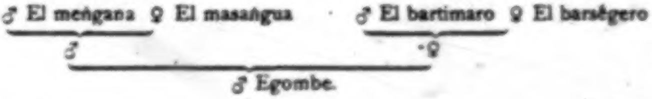
Thin. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), back of hand, scrotum, and nipples black-reddish-brown (27), chest somewhat lighter (between 27 and 28), palm of hand light-gray--reddish-brown (between 29 and 30). Color of the iris dark-gray--yellow-brown (2), with an outer slate-blue border 2 mm. wide, which is milkily clouded at the outer edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. Head hair 2 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow

/393 cont./

*142 front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched high and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, medium high, broad; root moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge straight; tip blunt and directed straight out. Nostrils oblique-oval. Alae slightly puffed out. Lips moderately thick. The set of teeth is splendid, the teeth are perfectly beautiful in shape and color. The two medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out, but the gap is completely closed. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, the upper auricle-edges each pierced once. Foot medium-arched. First toe juts out. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy, thin. On the right thigh a scar from a sword thrust received in war. A scar the size of a one-mark piece on the right jawbone, on the left nipple, and 10 cm. below it, resulting from abscesses that allegedly arose from the consumption of the meat of goats and sheep stricken with eng ea nairogua, that is, the hot sickness.

/394/ No. 11.

Egombe, ♂, about 23 years old, originating from the steppes on the Dõnyo longito, two days' march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/. Lineage: El meńgana.



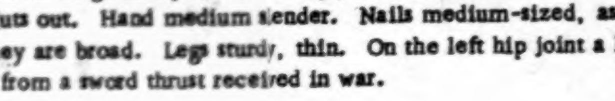
Thin. Tonus of the soft parts medium fat. Skin color: forehead dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), cheek somewhat darker and chest somewhat darker still (both nevertheless still between 27 and

/394 cont./

*142 28), back of hand, scrotum, and nipples black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand lighter gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30). Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2) with a slate-blue border 1 mm. wide, the outer edge of which appears milkily clouded. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and wide-slit. Hair 4 cm. long and rolled up in loose little balls. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose rather large, high, rather broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead, bridge straight, tip blunt and directed straight out, nostrils oblique-oval, alae moderately puffed out. Lips moderately thick. Splendid set of teeth, teeth perfectly beautiful in shape and color, except that the left middle incisor of the upper jaw is set a trace forward. The gap produced by the prying out of the medial lower incisors has completely closed. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, and both upper auricle-edges pierced once. Aside from that, the ear is small and very handsomely shaped. The nipples are rather large and project strikingly. Foot medium large. First toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy, thin. On the left hip joint a large scar from a sword thrust received in war.

No. 12.

Mbuaî, ♂, about 19 years old, a native of the steppe southwest of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: Es sumaga.

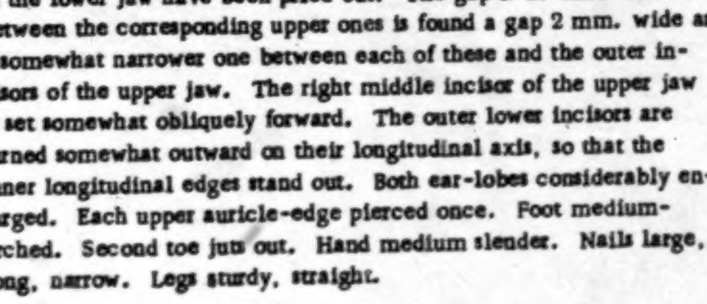


/394 cont./

*142 Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 27 and 28), chest, nipples, back of hand, and scrotum black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand dark-gray--reddish-brown (28). Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (2) with a 3 mm. wide, slate blue, /395/ and slightly milkily clouded border. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and wide-slit. Hair is 4 cm. long and partly rolled into little balls. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose rather large, medium high, broad, root moderately deepened toward the forehead, bridge straight, tip blunt and directed straight out, nostrils oblique-oval, alae moderately puffed out, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The gap is 10 mm. wide. Between the corresponding upper ones is found a gap 2 mm. wide and a somewhat narrower one between each of these and the outer incisors of the upper jaw. The right middle incisor of the upper jaw is set somewhat obliquely forward. The outer lower incisors are turned somewhat outward on their longitudinal axis, so that the inner longitudinal edges stand out. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. Each upper auricle-edge pierced once. Foot medium-arched. Second toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails large, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight.

No. 13.

Mgare, ♂, about 24 years old, a native of Leitokitok: ol lumbuani. Lineage: 'L eng-adji-nanjugi.

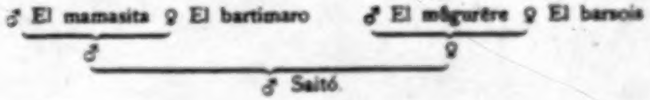


/395 cont./

142 Thin. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29); cheek somewhat darker (28); back of hand and scrotum black-reddish-brown (27); nipples somewhat lighter (between 27 and 28). Color of the iris: black-brown with bluish edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely, wide-slit. Head hair an inch long, curly. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face round to broad-oval. Profile almost orthognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead almost symmetrically curved from ear to ear. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, high, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge straight, tip blunt and directed straight out; nostrils oblique-oval; alae rather flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. The corresponding upper ones are set somewhat obliquely forward; between them is /396/ a gap 3 mm. wide. The teeth are large, the front ones long and narrow. Both ear-lobes considerably stretched; the upper auricle-edges each pierced once. Foot medium-arched. Second toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails large, long. Legs sturdy, somewhat bent inward; slight rachitic curvature on the shanks. [146]

No. 14.

Saitó, ♂, about 27 years old, a native of Sogonoi; ol muli. Lineage: El mamasita.



Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29); chest somewhat darker (28); back of hand and scrotum black-reddish-brown (27); nipples lighter (between 27 and 28); palm of hand

/396 cont./

M
*142 light-gray--reddish-brown (30). Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2), with slate-blue edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. The curly head-hair is ca. 2 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown is arche[illegible] and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly [illegible]d out. Face oval. Profile slight general prognathism. C[illegible]ical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Fore[illegible] steep, full-arched. Nose large, medium high, somewhat [illegible] Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge straight; tip medium-pointed and directed straight out; nostrils oblique-oval; alae almost flat. Lips rather thick. The teeth are large, the front ones long and narrow. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out; gap is 14 mm. wide. The upper middle incisors are set somewhat obliquely forward and outward. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper auricle-edges each pierced twice. Foot medium-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand slender. Nails almost large, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. On the abdomen around the navel a small tattooing in the form of an ellipse open at the top. M [304]

No. 15.

D
142 Katai͡s, ♂, about 35 years old, a native of the steppe area Kisongo, six hours' march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/. Lineage: Eñ gidoñ.

♂ Eñ gidoñ ♀ en doroboni ♂ El bodjus ♀ en doroboni
♂ ♀
♂ Kantai͡s.

Thin. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and chest gray-reddish-brown (29), cheek somewhat darker (between 28 and 29), back of hand /397/ and scrotum very dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 27 and 28), nipples somewhat lighter.

/397 cont./

142 palm of hand yellow-brown (between 29 and 30). On the inner side of the right thigh a very large, rectangular scar, on the inner side of the left thigh two larger scars of a penetrating wound. Both wounds were caused by the butt of a rhinoceros. On the left hip joint a larger scar resulting from a spear stab. On the abdomen a large number of scars of small perpendicular cuts that were made for therapeutic purposes. Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 2 and 3), its outer edge has a milky bluish ring a millimeter wide. The palpebral fissures are set somewhat obliquely and are slit wide. The curly hair is 1 1/2 cm. long and present in moderately abundant quantity. The head, from the crown view, rounded, front and rear ends are equally broad, projecting more strongly at the occiput. The transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and lies toward the back. From the side view the sinciput is high, the occiput more strongly arched out. The face is pointed-oval, drawn somewhat to a point toward the bottom, with scarcely noticeable general prognathism in profile. The chin projects somewhat. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked, the forehead itself high, somewhat receding, and full-arched. Cheekbones more forward. The nose is medium-sized, low, and broad, the root moderately deepened toward the forehead, bridge slightly convex, tip blunt and directed somewhat downward. The oval nostrils are set obliquely, the alae rather flat, their lower edge is slightly curved upward. The lips are moderately thick. The incisors are vertical. The medial lower incisors have been pried out, but at first glance nothing of this is to be seen, since the outer incisors and the canines have pushed toward the center in such a way that the spaces between these four teeth are quite uniform and unobtrusive. The teeth are medium broad and long. The ear lobes are very considerably stretched. The foot is high-arched and broad; the big toe juts out. The hand is medium slender; the nails are small, long, and narrow. The legs are quite sturdy and straight.

/397 cont./

No. 16.

142 Samá, ♂, about 35 years old, a native of the steppe area Ngoñgodgíre, three hours' march east of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/. Lineage: El barsindé.

♂ El barsindé ♀ en doroboni   ♂ El magubeeis ♀ en doroboni
♂   ♀
♂ Samá.

Thin. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead, chest, nipples, and scrotum very dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 27 and 28), cheek somewhat lighter (28), back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand dark-yellow--brown (between 29 and 30). Both on the inside of the left thigh and /398/ on the right calf a large scar resulting from the butt of a rhinoceros. The color of the iris is dark-gray--yellow-brown with a milky-bluish ring 1 mm. wide on the periphery. The position of the palpebral fissure is striking: the outer corners of the eyes are somewhat lower than the inner ones. The curly hair is moderately abundant; the individual hairs are 3-4 cm. long. From the crown view the head is rounded, front and rear ends are equally broad, the occiput is moderately rounded. The transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and, from the side view, lies toward the front. The sinciput is high, the occiput more strongly arched out. The face is pointed-oval, drawn out rather pointed toward the bottom, the profile with scarcely noticeable general prognathism. The chin projects slightly. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-rounded; it itself is high, steep, full-arched. Eyebrow ridges and glabella perfectly filled in with the forehead. The cheekbones are directed more forward; the zygomata project strikingly strong laterally. The nose is medium-sized, high, and rather narrow, the root moderately deepened toward the forehead, the bridge somewhat concave, the tip medium-pointed and directed straight out. The nostrils are set longitudinally rather than obliquely and are oval, the alae are flat, their lower edge is slightly

/398 cont./

142 curved upward. The lips are moderately thick. The two middle upper incisors appear somewhat pushed forward, the corresponding lower ones have been pried out. The teeth are medium-sized, long, rather narrow, and on the whole ugly. The ear lobes are rather considerably enlarged, each of the upper edges of the auricles pierced once. The foot is medium-arched, the big toe juts out. The hand is medium slender and long-fingered. The nails are medium-sized, moderately long, and broad; they are narrow at the root and quickly become broader toward the front. The legs are thin and straight.

No. 17.

Mágia, ♂, about 27 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: El mégurtre.

$$\underbrace{\underbrace{\text{♂ El mégurtre ♀}}_{\text{♂}}\ \text{en doroboni}\qquad \underbrace{\text{♂ 'L eng-adji-naajugi ♀}}_{\text{♀}}}_{\text{♂ Mágia.}}\ \text{en doroboni}$$

Emaciated. Soft parts consequently flabby. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), chest somewhat darker (28), back of hand, scrotum, and nipples black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (29). Color of the iris dark-gray--yellow-brown (2) with deep gray-blue edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair curly and abundant in quantity, the individual hairs are 6 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown /399/ is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval, profile orthognathous. Chin receding. Hair edging of the forehead very slightly angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched; frontal protuberances projecting. Nose medium-sized, high, broad. Root very moderately deepened toward the forehead. Bridge somewhat concave; tip medium-pointed and

/399 cont./

142 directed straight out. Nostrils obliquely oval, alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips very moderately thick. The two medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The gap has been completely closed by the crowding in of the next teeth. The upper incisors are vertical. The teeth are medium-sized and rather broad. Ear lobes more considerably stretched; upper ear-edges pierced once. Foot medium-arched. First toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Legs thin, straight.

No. 18.

Barsaiga ♂, about 36 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: El barsidgo.

♂ El barsidgo ♀ en dorobuni   ♂ El muidgo ♀ en dorobuni
♂   ♀
♂ Barsaiga.

Thin. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29); chest somewhat darker (29); back of hand, scrotum, nipples black-reddish-brown (27); palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 29). Near the navel a mark-piece--sized scar from an injury by a tree branch. Color of the iris gray-yellow-brown (between 1 and 2) with dark slate-blue edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair abundant in quantity, the individual hairs about 6 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with a narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval, profile slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead slightly angular-crooked, almost symmetrically curved from one ear to the other. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Cheekbones directed more forward.

1b: Merker--345 G-5 (1895-ca.1903) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Dorobo FL8
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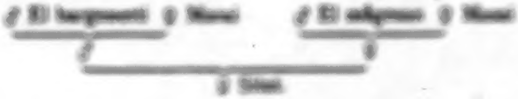
142

/345 cont./
Nose medium-sized, low, broad. Root of nose very moderately deepened toward the forehead. Bridge of nose straight, tip blunt and directed straight out. Nostrils oblique-oval, alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips thin. The two medial lower incisors are -- contrary to the general custom -- not pried out. Samalga says that earlier only the corresponding milk teeth had been pried out. The chewing surfaces of the two upper incisors have been ground down obliquely outward and form an angle of 70° with the vertical inner edges of the teeth. The right middle incisor /sic!/ of the upper jaw seems turned on its longitudinal axis in such a way that its outer edge stands out quite far. The teeth are medium-sized to small and all are considerably ground down. The ear lobes are considerably enlarged, the upper ear-edges doubly pierced. Nipples remarkably small. Foot medium-arched. First toe juts out. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs thin and bent inward somewhat. Samalga is very much in demand among the Masai as a skillful circumciser of boys.

M
142

No. 1.

Sitat ♀, about 50 years old, a native of the steppe area Segenai. Lineage: El bargoenti.



Medium fat. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead black-brown (43), cheek and chest dark-grey--reddish-brown (28), back of hand like forehead, palm of hand somewhat lighter than cheek and chest (between 30 and 28), nipples a glimmer darker than the forehead. Color of the iris black-brown, with dark blue toward the edge. European eye form. Palpebral fissure straight. Hair moderately abundant in quantity, curly. Head, from the

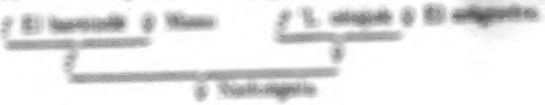
/467 cont./

142 crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with broad front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. The transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded, crown and parietal protuberances project somewhat angularly. The crown is arched and lies toward the back. The sinciput is medium high, the occiput more strongly arched out. The face is pointed-oval and drawn to a point at the bottom. The profile shows a slight general prognathism. The chin projects somewhat. The hair edging of the forehead is indented up laterally. The forehead is high, steep, and full-arched. Eyebrow ridges and glabella project very little. Laterally the forehead gradually merges into the temporal region. Cheekbones are directed more forward. Nose medium-sized, high, and broad, moderately deepened at the root, bridge slightly concave, tip blunt, directed upward, nostrils oval and set obliquely, alae somewhat puffed out, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. The incisors are vertical. The set of teeth is otherwise intact. The teeth are medium-sized, broad. The ear lobes are considerably enlarged; the upper edge of the auricle, on both ears, has been pierced twice and bears copper-wire rings with little bunches of chains hanging on them. Breast large, conical, pendulous. Areola of nipples large, black-brown (45), nipple acutely cylindrical, [143] medium-sized, and projecting considerably. The woman has two children, the younger of which she is nursing at the time. Feet high-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails small, short, broad. Legs sturdy, somewhat O.

/467/

No. 11.

Nadodigale (adv. red; sin. tooth), ♀, about 30 years old, a native of the steppe area Sighiri. Lineage: El baritodi.



/471 cont./

¶192 Pet. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and chest dark brown (42), cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), back of hand black-brown, palm of hand somewhat lighter than forehead and chest, nipples black-reddish-brown. Color of the iris black-brown (1) with dark-blue edge. European eye form. Palpebral fissure straight. Head shaved. Head, from the crown view rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, strongly rounded at the occiput. The transverse profile of the occipital view rounded, crown and parietal protuberances project somewhat. The crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput low, occiput more strongly arched out. The face is broad-oval and in profile does not show a stronger general prognathism. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. The forehead high, steep, full-arched. Eyebrow ridges and glabella projecting very little. Cheekbones directed more forward. Nose medium-sized, high, moderately broad, root of nose moderately deepened, bridge somewhat concave, tip medium-pointed, pointing upward, nostrils oval and set obliquely, alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two middle incisors of the upper jaw are set forward somewhat. The corresponding lower ones pried out. Otherwise the set of teeth is intact. The teeth are short and broad. Ear lobes are considerably enlarged, the upper edge of the auricle has been pierced twice on each ear and bears rings with small chains hanging from them. The breast is large, pendulous, and conical. Areola of nipples large, transversely elliptical, its horizontal diameter amounts to 9 cm., its vertical one only 5 cm., on which stands the large projecting nipple 3 1/2 cm. from the upper edge of the areola. Feet medium-arched. The big toe juts out. Hand long-fingered, medium slender. Nails large, long, broad. Legs sturdy and straight.

No. III.

[illegible] ♀, about 27 years old, a native of the steppe just north of Kilimandscharo. Lineage El kertimaro.

♂ El kertimaro ♀ El mamasita ♂ El marumai ♀ Masai

♂ ♀

♀ [illegible]

/401 cont./

*142 Fat. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), cheek somewhat lighter (between 28 and 29), back of hand black-brown (42), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (29), nipples black-reddish- /402/ brown (27). Color of the iris: black-brown with dark-blue edge. Palpebral fissure somewhat oblique, slit medium wide. The curly hair is present in moderately abundant quantity. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, strongly projecting at the occiput. The transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies in the center. Sinciput is high, occiput more strongly arched out. The face is pointed-oval and in profile very slightly prognathous. The chin is somewhat receding. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-crooked. The forehead is high, steep, full-arched; eyebrow ridges and glabella project only quite faintly. Cheekbones lie more forward. The nose is small and very broad, the root set deep toward the forehead. The bridge is concave in its upper half, convex in the lower one, so that it appears curved~-shaped. The tip is blunt and directed downward. The nostrils are set transversely and are almost roundish, the alae puffed out, their lower edges curved upward. The lips are moderately thick. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out, the other two are vertical, like the upper ones. The incisors are long and narrow, the rest of the teeth short and broad. The two ear-lobes are considerably enlarged. The upper edge of the auricle has been doubly pierced on both ears and bears bunches of chains. The breast is large, conical, and pendulous. The areola of the nipples is large and of a black-reddish-brown color (27). The nipple is small and flat. The woman has never nursed a baby;
*[163] she allegedly had an abortion six years ago and has never again conceived. The foot is medium-arched, the heel juts out quite far in back. The great toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails large, narrow. Legs sturdy and straight. On the back a burn scar 10 cm. long, furthermore one 2 cm. long resulting from a spear thrust, and several smaller ones, allegedly marks of marital quarrels. On both the right and left a bubonic scar.

/412 cont./

No. IV.

4 142 Sengitia ♀, about 24 years old, a native of Segenoi. Lineage: El meitigo.

♂ El meitigo ♀ T. oltajob ♂ El marumai ♀ Nasei

♂ ♀

♀ Sengitia

Degree of cushion of fat, medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), cheek and chest somewhat lighter, back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), nipples somewhat lighter (between 27 and 28). Color of the iris dark slate-blue with dark-brown edge, around which, on the sclera, lies a border of somewhat lighter pigment 1 mm. wide. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, at the occiput /413/ moderately rounded. The crown is midway between roof-shaped and arched and lies toward the back. From the crown view the sinciput is high, the occiput more strongly arched out. The face is broad-oval, tapering more to a point at the bottom, very little prognathism in profile. Chin projecting somewhat. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-rounded. The forehead moderately high and steep. Cheekbones directed more forward. Nose small, high, broad, root is set moderately deep toward the forehead, bridge is somewhat concave, the tip blunt and directed downward, the nostrils oblique and oval, the alae flat; their lower edge is curved upward and set moderately deep. The lips are moderately thick. The set of teeth is intact except for the two middle incisors of the lower jaw, which have been pried out. The two middle upper incisors are set barely noticeably obliquely forward. The teeth are medium-sized. The lobes are extended far on both ears, and each of the upper edges of the auricles doubly pierced. Bunches of chains hang in these holes. The breast is large, full, pendulous, conical. The areola of the nipples has a diameter of 5 1/2 cm. and is somewhat lighter than the nipple. The latter is medium-sized and projecting. The foot is medium-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand slender and long-fingered. Nails large, long, narrow. Legs sturdy and straight. The woman has given birth to two children. 6 [163]

/613 cont./

No. V.

142 Daimet ♀, about 27 years old, from the steppe area Ol daimet north of Meru-erg /Mt. Meru/. Lineage: El masaigua.

♂ El masaigua ♀ El mamasita   ♂ En gidon ♀ El sdigurko

♂   ♀

♀ Daimet

Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (38) with lighter sheen; nipples somewhat darker; chest gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 39); back of hand dark brown (47); palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (39). Color of the iris: inner edge dark brown, outer one dark slate-blue; a brown strip of pigment all around on the sclera. Palpebral fissure moderately wide and set obliquely. Head shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, strongly projecting at the occiput. The crown is arched and lies just behind the center. The sinciput is high, the occiput more strongly arched out. The face is long, narrow, pointed-oval, orthognathous in profile. Chin vertical. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-crenated. The forehead is high, steep, and well arched. Cheekbones directed more forward. The nose is small, low, and moderately broad; the root quite flat; the tip blunt and directed straight out; the nostrils are almost circular; the alae flat; their lower edge is slightly curved upward. The lips are moderately thick. The two middle incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out, the rest of the incisors are /614/ vertical. The set of teeth is otherwise intact. The teeth are small, short, and broad. The ear lobes are extended far; each of the upper edges of the auricles pierced twice. The breast is pendulous, large, conical, full. The areola of the nipples is moderately large and of the color of the nipple. The foot is medium-arched; the heel is moderately far back. The second toe juts out. Hand slender and long-fingered; nails medium-sized, short, and broad. Legs sturdy and straight. The woman has given birth to two children, a third pregnancy ended with an abortion in the third month. # 163

/604 cont./

No. VI.

# 142 Mêîbi.♀, about 20 years old, a native of the steppe area Mâibo, a few days' march south of Arusha tschini. Lineage: El massigua.

♂ El massigua ♀ El bartimaro ♂ El barsigo ♀ El mamasita
♂ ♀
♀ Name

Medium fat. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (59); cheek somewhat lighter; nipple deeper dark-gray--reddish-brown (somewhat darker than 59); back of hand black-brown (42); palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (23). On both the abdomen and left thigh a large burn scar. Color of the iris dark-gray--yellow-brown (2). The palpebral fissure is slit wide and set somewhat obliquely. Head hair shaved. From the crown view, head is rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, flattened at the occiput. The transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and lies toward the back. The sinciput is quite high, the occiput more strongly arched out. The face is pointed-oval and orthognathous in profile. The chin is slightly projecting. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-rounded; the forehead high, steep, and full-arched. The nose is medium-sized, low, and rather broad; the root of the nose flat toward the forehead; the bridge straight; the tip medium-pointed; the nostrils are almost circular; the alae rather flat and curved upward slightly. Lips moderately thick. The two upper middle incisors appear pushed forward somewhat, the corresponding lower ones have been pried out. Otherwise the set of teeth is intact and exhibits rather small teeth. The ear lobes are very considerably extended; the upper edge of the auricle has been pierced three times on both ears. The breast is large, pendulous, conical. The areola of the nipples is large and a glimmer lighter than the nipple. The latter is large and rather flat. The foot is medium-arched. The big toe juts out. The hand is medium slender and long-fingered. The nails are large, long, and medium broad. The legs are sturdy and straight.

/404 cont./

No. VII.

# 142 Nemame, ♀, about 30 years old, a native of [illegible]. Lineage: El molligo.

/405/ ♂ El molligo ♀ El mamaetia   ♂ Ea sutraga ♀ Masai

♂   ♀

♀ Nemame.

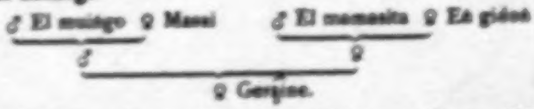
Medium fat. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), chest somewhat lighter (28), nipple black-reddish-brown (27), back of hand black-brown (42), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (30). [34a] Tattooing on abdomen. Scar from spear thrust on left shoulderblade. Several smaller scars on the back, resulting from beatings. The middle toe of the left foot amputated because of suppurating wound. Color of the iris dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set obliquely and is slit rather narrowly. Head hair shaved. From the crown view, head is rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. The transverse profile of the occipital view is somewhat projecting at the crown and the parietal protuberances. The crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly projecting. Face is pointed-oval and in profile shows a very slight general prognathism. Zygomata project strongly. Chin is vertical. Hair edging of the forehead is angular-rounded, the forehead medium high, steep, full-arched. Frontal protuberances project clearly. Laterally the forehead merges into the temporal region with a rather sharp edge. Nose small and broad, at the root flat toward the forehead. Bridge of nose concave, tip blunt and directed straight out. Numerous pockmarks on the nose. Nostrils oblique-oval, alae rather flat. Lips moderately thick. The two lower medial incisors have been pried out, the upper ones are vertical. Otherwise the set of teeth is intact. Teeth are medium-sized. Both ear-lobes considerably stretched. Upper edge of the auricle on both ears pierced twice. These piercings have been torn out on the right ear. The breast is large, pendulous, conical. Areola of the nipples is large and of the color of the nipple, which is medium-sized and projects

/40 cont./

142 verylittle. Foot medium-arched. The first toe juts out. The hand is slender and long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legsturdy, straight.

No. VIII.

Gerpine, ♀, about 22 years old, a native of the steppe area Kitete. Lineage: El mukigo.

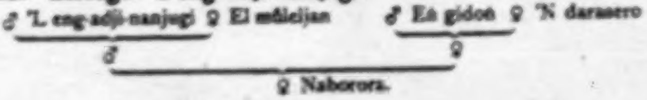


Is very fat considering her youth. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray-reddish-brown (28), chest somewhat darker (between 27 and 28), back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30), nipple like back of hand. Color of the iris: black-brown (1 to 2) with deep dark-blue edge. Palpebral fissure is slit wide and set quite obliquely. /41/ Left eye squints outward. Head hair recently shaved, 3/4 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Crown arched, lies toward the back. Sinciput medium high, occiput moderately arched out. The face is pointed-oval, the profile orthognathous. Chin projects somewhat. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead medium high, steep, full-arched. Nose small, broad, and moderately high, root moderately deepened toward the forehead. Bridge somewhat concave, tip medium-pointed, directed straight out. Nostrils roundish, alae rather flat, their lower edge curved ~-shaped. Lips very moderately thick. The two middle incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out; the next teeth have pushed so far toward the center that only a very narrow gap still exists. The upper incisors are vertical. Excellent set of teeth. Teeth rather long and narrow. Ear lobes considerably stretched, the upper edge of the auricle on each ear pierced three times. Breasts are very large and full pendulous, conical. Areola of nipples very large and of the color of the nipple. The latter is small and rather flat. Foot medium-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand is slender, long-fingered, and very small. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight.

/406 cont./

No. IX.

* 142 Naborora, ♀, about 18 years old, a native of the steppe area Loita. Lineage: 'L eng-adji-nanjugi.

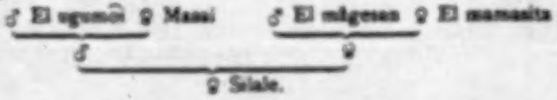


Thin. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30), chest and palm of hand dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), back of hand and nipples black-reddish-brown (27). Color of the iris: black-brown (1). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair recently shaved, 1/2 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with broad front end, very moderately rounded at the occiput. From the occipital view the crown projects angularly. Crown almost roof-shaped; it lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval, drawn somewhat to a point toward the bottom. Profile orthognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose small, low, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened. Bridge straight, tip blunt, directed straight out. Nostrils roundish, alae rather flat, their lower edge curved. Lips moderately thick. The two medial lower incisors have been pried out, the other incisors are vertical. The set of teeth is excellent. The teeth are medium-sized and rather broad. Both ear-lobes considerably stretched, upper edge of auricle pierced three times, on the right side one of the piercings torn out. The breasts are quite small, of the color of the nipple. The latter is /407/ large and projecting. Feet medium-arched. The first toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails small, long, narrow. Legs thin, straight.

/407 cont./

No. X.

*142 Silale, ♀, about 25 years old, a native of Mo͡lbo. Lineage: El ugum͡al.

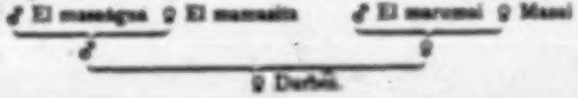


Quite thin. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), chest somewhat darker (between 27 and 28), back of hand and nipple black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30). Color of the iris black-brown (1). Eyes lie remarkably deep. Palpebral fissure is set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. The crown is arched and lies in the center. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile shows very slight general prognathism. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, clearly projecting frontal protuberances. Nose small, low, broad. Root rather flat toward forehead. Bridge of nose slightly convex, tip blunt and directed somewhat downward. Nostrils roundish, alae rather flat, their lower edge very slightly curved upward. Lips very moderately thick. The two medial incisors of the lower jaw pried out, the other incisors are vertical. Excellent set of teeth. Teeth medium-sized, rather long and narrow. Ear lobes considerably stretched. Two of the three piercings of the upper edges of the auricles have been torn out. The right breast is pendulous, conical, and thin, the left one smaller and fuller, not pendulous, but only inclined downward. The areola of the nipples is large and of the color of the nipple, which itself is large and projecting. Foot medium-arched, first toe juts out. Hand slender and small. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs moderately sturdy, straight.

/407 cont./

No. XI.

*142 Darbôi ♀, about 25 years old, a native of Mâibo. Lineage: El masságua.



Quite thin. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead, cheek, chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), nipple somewhat lighter (between 27 and 28), palm of hand dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29). Above the left eye a deep, inch-long scar resulting from a blow. On chest and back several scars, the results of beatings on /408/ the part of her husband. Large, lively, shining eyes. Color of the iris: black-brown. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Crown arched, lies toward the front. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, clearly projecting frontal protuberances. Nose small, low, rather narrow. Root of nose very moderately deepened toward the forehead. Bridge of nose slightly concave, tip medium-pointed, directed upward somewhat, nostrils oblique-oval, alae flat, their lower edge considerably curved∼-shaped. Lips very moderately thick. The two medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out, the gap has been completely closed by the pushing in of the next teeth. The incisors are vertical. Very good set of teeth. Teeth medium-sized. Ear lobes enlarged less than otherwise. Auricle edge pierced three times. A few holes torn out. The breasts are pendulous, conical, rather small. Areola of nipples large, a glimmer lighter than the nipple. The latter is large and projecting. Foot medium-arched, first toe juts out. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs moderately sturdy, straight.

/408 cont./

No. XII.

+142 Séngiria, ♀, about 18 years old, a native of the steppe area Msonder. Lineage: El massigua.

♂ El massigua ♀ Masai   ♂ El mamasita ♀ 'L.aisir
♂ ♀
♀ Séngiria.

Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead, cheek, chest dark-gray-reddish-brown (28), back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), nipples somewhat lighter (between 27 and 28), palm of hand dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29). Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit rather narrowly. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Parietal protuberances project moderately strongly from the occipital view. Crown is arched and lies toward the front. Sinciput moderately high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile shows quite slight general prognathism. Chin receding. Hair edging of the forehead angularly crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, distinct frontal protuberances. Nose medium-sized, low, broad, the root very moderately deepened toward the forehead. Bridge of nose straight, tip medium-pointed and directed straight out. Nostrils oblique-oval, alae rather flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The corresponding upper incisors are directed obliquely outward /409/ and appear turned on their longitudinal axis in such a way that the outer edges of the teeth are farther toward the front, the inner ones farther back. No artificial disfigurement. Otherwise the set of teeth is excellent. The teeth are medium-sized. Both ear-lobes very considerably enlarged, upper edge of the ear pierced twice. The breasts are hemispherical and rather small. The areola of the nipples is large, hemispherically arched out, its lower edge sharply set off against the breast. The nipple is small and projects very little. [illegible] medium-arched. [illegible] Hands medium slender. Nails medium-sized, moderately broad. Legs sturdy and straight.

/409 cont./

No. XIII.

*142 Nôimasôi, ♀, about 25 years old, a native of the steppe area Simanjiro. Lineage: Il serâgînigi.

♂ Lo serâgînigi ♀ Masai   ♂ El moosedjun ♀ Masai
♂   ♀
♀ Nôimasôi

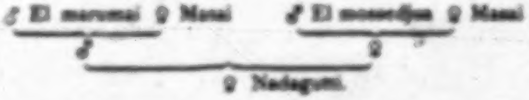
Medium fat. Tone of the soft parts firm. Skin color: cheek, chest, and nipples dark-gray--reddish-brown (28); forehead somewhat lighter (between 28 and 29); back of hand almost black-reddish-brown (between 27 and 28); palm of hand light-gray--reddish-brown (between 29 and 30). On the upper arms numerous horizontal scars from sores chafed by the arm adornment. Color of the iris: dark-gray--yellow-brown (2). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. From the occipital view the parietal protuberances project angularly. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile of scarcely noticeable general prognathism. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, with distinct frontal protuberances. Nose medium-sized, medium high, broad, somewhat of a "saddlenose"; root of nose very moderately deepened toward the forehead; ridge slightly concave; tip blunt and directed upward somewhat; nostrils roundish; alae slightly puffed out, their lower edge curved upward. Lips very moderately thick, almost thin. By prying out the middle lower incisors a gap 13 mm. wide has been formed. The outer lower incisors are turned outward somewhat on their longitudinal axis. Between the middle incisors of the upper jaw, which are set somewhat obliquely forward, there is a natural gap 7 mm. wide. The front teeth are long and narrow. The two ear-lobes are extended relatively little, the upper edges of the ears each pierced once. The breasts are pendulous, conical, large and rather full. The areolae of the nipples are very large and of the color of the nipples. The ulnar tuberosities are large and projecting. Feet medium- /410/ arched; first toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy and straight. Woman has given birth to one child.

#[143]

/410 cont./

No. XIV.

#142 Nadagutti ♀, about 25 years old, a native of Mgbo. Lineage: El marumai.



Medium fat, somewhat emaciated; hence soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek almost black-reddish-brown (between 27 and 28); chest somewhat darker (27); back of hand and nipples darkest brown-black; palm of hand dark-gray--reddish-brown (28). Color of the iris: almost black-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, strongly projecting at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. The profile shows a very slight general prognathism. Chin is vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, distinct frontal protuberances. Nose medium-sized, high, narrow; root of nose very slightly deepened toward the forehead; bridge straight; tip pointed and directed straight out; nostrils oblique-oval; alae flat. Lips moderately thick. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. Between the corresponding upper ones, which are turned outward somewhat on the longitudinal axis, there is a natural gap 4 mm. wide. The teeth are medium-sized, long, and narrow. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged; the upper ear-edges each pierced once. The breasts are pendulous, conical, moderately large, and rather flat. Areola of the nipple large, of the color of the nipple. The latter is large and moderately projecting. Foot medium-arched. The first and second toes jut out equally far. Hand medium slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy and straight. Woman has one child. # [163]

/410 cont./

No. XV.

#142 Noombáng, ♀, about 17 years old, a native of Sigirari. Lineage: El meboni.

♂ El meboni ♀ El muingo ♂ El marumai ♀ Masai

♂ ♀

♀ Noombáng

Medium fat. Soft parts youthfully firm. Skin color: cheek gray-reddish-brown (29), forehead somewhat lighter (between 29 and 30), chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), likewise the nipples, back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand light-gray--reddish-brown (30). Color of the iris: almost black-brown /411/ (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end. Parietal protuberances project somewhat angularly. Crown is arched very high and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval, profile of quite slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat projecting. The hair edging of the forehead runs almost symmetrically curved from one ear to the other. Forehead high, steep, full-arched; distinct frontal protuberances. Nose small, low, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead. Bridge of nose straight. Tip blunt to medium-pointed, directed upward somewhat. Nostrils oblique-oval; alae flat. Lips almost thin. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The corresponding upper ones appear pushed forward somewhat. Teeth are medium-sized. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, the upper auricle-edges each pierced twice. The breasts are hemispherical, somewhat sloped, medium-sized. The areola of the nipples is large and projects hemispherically. Its lower edge is not sharply set off against the hemisphere of the breast. The nipple is broad and quite flat, filled in flush with the curvature of the areola. Feet medium-arched. The first and second toes jut out equally far. Hand medium slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy and straight.

/411 cont./

No. XVI.

#142 Saiîach.♀, about 17 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: El marumai.

♂ El marumai ♀ El kartimaro   ♂ El mágresa ♀ El kormangig
♂   ♀
♀ Saiîach

Medium fat. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), chest and nipples somewhat darker (28), back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand light-gray--reddish-brown (30). Color of the iris dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit rather narrowly. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Crown and parietal protuberances project somewhat angularly. Crown is roof-shaped to arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput rather low. Occiput more strongly arched out. Face round. Profile shows quite slight general prognathism, is almost orthognathous. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead is angular-rounded. Forehead low, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, low, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead. Bridge of nose straight. Tip medium-pointed, directed downward. Nostrils set rather transversely. Lips moderately thick. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The corresponding upper ones appear pressed somewhat forward. The teeth are large, long, and narrow. Both ear-lobes considerably extended, /412/ upper edge of the auricle pierced twice. The breasts are hemispherical-conical, somewhat sloped, rather large. The areola of the nipples is large and arched out hemispherically, its lower edge not set off against the breast. The nipples are broad and rather flat. Feet medium-arched. Second toe juts out. Hand slender and long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, long, and narrow. Legs sturdy and straight.

/413 cont./

No. XVII.

#142 Gilani ♀, about 20 years old, a native of [illegible]. Lineage: El kartimaro.

♂ El kartimaro ♀ El [illegible]   ♂ El [illegible] ♀ [illegible]
♂   ♀
♀ Gilani.

Medium fat. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), cheek somewhat lighter (between 23 and 28), back of hand and nipples almost black-reddish-brown (between 27 and 28), palm of hand light-gray--reddish-brown (31). Color of the iris dark-gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit rather wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead low, steep, full-arched, distinct frontal protuberances. Nose medium-sized, rather low and broad. Root of nose almost completely flat toward forehead. Bridge of nose somewhat concave; tip medium-pointed and directed straight out; nostrils oblique-oval; alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips thin. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out, the upper middle ones appear pressed forward. On the upper canines and incisors a severe inner grinding-off is noticeable. It is slightest on the left canine, strongest on the right one, so that the chewing surfaces of the canines and incisors lie on a plane sloping up to the right. The teeth are medium-sized, long, and narrow. Both auricles considerably enlarged, upper auricle-edges pierced twice. The breasts are pendulous, conical, rather large, and full. Areola of the nipples large, a glimmer lighter than the nipples. Nipple medium-sized, projecting. On the right breast, coming over the nipple, is found a large scar from a burn, through which the nipple is deformed. Foot medium-arched. The first and second toes jut out equally far. Hand medium slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy, straight.

/413 cont./

No. XVIII.

& 142 [illegible]. about 30 years old, a native of the steppe area [illegible], northeast of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: 'N darasero

/413/ ♂ 'N darasero ♀ El [illegible] ♂ El [illegible] ♀ Masai

♂ ♀

♀ Masai.

Medium fat. Tissue of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead, chest, palm of hand gray-reddish-brown between 23 and 30; cheeks somewhat lighter (almost 30); back of hand dark-gray--reddish-brown (between 19 and 23); nipples somewhat darker (24). Color of the iris dark-gray--yellow-brown (?) with deep blue border. Palpebral fissure set very obliquely, slit medium wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, angular to rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Parietal protuberances protrude angularly. Crown is arched ad line toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face oval. Profile very slightly prognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead curved almost symmetrically from ear to ear. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose rather large, high, broad; root of nose flat toward the forehead; bridge straight; tip blunt and directed downward somewhat, nostrils oblique-oval, alae fl. Lips very moderately thick. The two medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The upper incisors are vertical. Teeth large. Both ear-lobes are considerably stretched, the upper edges of the auricles have been pierced twice. Breasts pendulous, conical, medium-sized, and rather full. Areola of the nipples large, of the color of the nipples, the latter medium-sized and projecting. Feet medium-arched. The first two toes jut out equally far. Hand medium slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy, straight. [illegible] has given birth to three children. & [143]

/413 cont./

No. XIX.

142 [illegible] ♀, about 24 years old, a native of [illegible]. Lineage: El [illegible].

♂ El [illegible] ♀ El [illegible]   ♂ El [illegible] ♀ [illegible]
♂   ♀
♀ [illegible]

Fr. Turgor of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: cheek and chest dark-gray--reddish-brown (30), forehead somewhat lighter (between 30 and 29), back of hand and nipples black-reddish-brown
[504] (27), palm of hand lighter, gray-reddish-brown (almost 30). Large tattooing on abdomen. Color of the iris black-brown (1) with bluish lustrous edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, angular to rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Parietal protuberances projecting angularly. Crown is arched and flat toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly shifted out. Face almost pointed-oval. Profile quite slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead curved almost symmetrically from ear to ear. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, distinct frontal protuberances. Nose small, high, narrow. Root of nose rather /414/ flat toward the forehead, bridge straight, tip pointed and directed downward, nostrils oblique-oval, alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips thin. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. Teeth medium-sized. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, each of the upper auricle-edges pierced twice. Breasts pendulous, conical, very large, and full. Areola of nipples very large, 5 cm. in diameter. Its color is a glimmer lighter than that of the nipple. The latter is large, broad, and rather flat. Foot medium-arched, the first and second toes jut out equally far. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. On both upper arms numerous horizontal scars from sores that arose from the chafing of the wire ornaments. On the back a larger scar, allegedly the result of a marital quarrel. [illegible] has
[illegible] three children, the youngest of which is about six months old. While she was being measured she kept asking whether she was pretty!

/414 cont./

No. XX.

142 [illegible].♀, about 24 years old, a native of [illegible]. Lineage: El maramai.

♂ El maramai ♀ El [illegible] ♂ El [illegible] ♀ L. [illegible]

♂ ♀

♀ [illegible]

Almost fat. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: cheek and chest almost dark-gray--reddish-brown (88), forehead somewhat darker, back of hand black-reddish-brown (87), nipples a glimmer lighter, palm of hand lighter, gray-reddish-brown (between 89 and [304] 91). Large tattooing on abdomen. Color of the iris black-brown (1) with bluish lustrous edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, angular to rounded, egg-shaped with strikingly narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput moderately high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead medium high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, low, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward the forehead. Bridge somewhat concave, tip blunt and directed straight out, nostrils set obliquely, alae flat. Lips thin. The middle lower incisors have been pried out. Between the corresponding upper ones, which are vertical, there is a natural gap 3 mm. wide. Teeth are rather large and very pretty in shape and color. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, the upper edges of the auricles pierced twice. Breasts pendulous, conical, very large and full. Areola of nipples very large, 8 cm. in diameter. Its color is the same as that of the nipple. The latter is large and rather flat. Foot medium-arched. The first and second toes jut out equally far. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. [illegible] has two children. # [illegible]

/[illegible]/

No. [illegible].

142 [illegible] ♀, about 27 years old, a native of [illegible]. Lineage: [illegible].

♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible] ♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]

♂ ♀

♀ [illegible]

Medium fat. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and back of hand dark-gray—reddish-brown (30), cheek and chest somewhat lighter (between 23 and 29), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (31), nipples black-reddish-brown (27). On the left upper arm numerous horizontal scars of sores from the chafing of the wire arm-ornaments. On the left rear side of the head two parallel scars, 8 cm. long, of wounds from the bite of a leopard. Color of the iris black-brown (?) with blue edge. Palpebral fissures set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and low toward the back. Occiput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Frontal protuberances. Cheekbones more forward. Nose medium-sized, low, broad. Root of nose moderately deep-set toward forehead; bridge somewhat concave; tip blunt, directed upward somewhat, "snub nose"; nostrils oblique-oval; alae very slightly puffed out, almost flat, their edge curved upward. Lips very moderately thick. The two middle incisors have been pried out. On the outer ones and the lower canines the enamel of the chewing surface is horizontal and almost entirely ground off. The two upper middle incisors are pushed forward somewhat obliquely; between them is a natural gap 3 mm. wide. Such gaps are also found between the left middle incisor and the left outer one, as well as between the latter and the remarkably large canine. The former is 3/4 mm. wide, the latter 3 mm. Otherwise the set of teeth is normal and intact. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged; upper auricle-edges pierced twice. The breasts are pendulous, conical, moderately large, and rather flat. The areola of the nipples is 5 cm.

[Text cont.]

0112 in diameter and the color of the nipple. The latter is medium-sized and projects 1/2 cm. Feet medium-arched. The second toe juts out, but only very little in front of the first one. On the right foot the second toe has been amputated, allegedly because of a suppurating wound. Hand medium slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy, straight. [illegible] has given birth to four children. [65]

No. XXII.

Hawa ♀, about 20 years old, a native of [illegible]. Lineage: El [illegible].

[Text] Medium fat. Traces of the soft parts firm. Skin colour: forehead, cheeks, palm of hand dark-gray—reddish-brown (between 23 and 24), chest somewhat darker (25), back of hand and nipples black-reddish-brown (27). Color of the iris black-brown (1) with blue edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved; head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. In the transverse profile of the occiput the crown projects angularly. The crown is roof-shaped to arched and low toward the back. Occiput almost low, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval; profile slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the forehead almost symmetrically curved from ear to ear. Forehead high, steep, distinct frontal protuberances. Nose small, low, broad. Root moderately depressed toward forehead. Bridge straight; tip medium-pointed, directed straight out; nostrils rounded; alae almost flat. Lips moderately thick. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. The two corresponding upper ones are directed somewhat sideways, so that the gap between them is 1 mm. wide above, 3 mm. wide below. Their front surfaces lie in a straight line that forms a tangent to the dental arch. The labia

/433 cont./

♀ [4/?] slightly enlarged. Upper edges of auricles pierced twice. Breasts are pendulous, conical to pear-shaped, large and full. The areola of the nipples is 5 cm. in diameter and the same color as the nipple. The latter is large and rather flat. Foot medium-arched. Second toe juts out. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. ♀ [4-1] Legs sturdy and bent somewhat inward. Siata has given birth to one child.

No. XXIII.

Saisia ♀, about 22 years old, a native of the steppes south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: El gidad.

♂ En gitton ♀ Masai   ♂ El mamasita ♀ Masai
♂   ♀
♀ Saisia

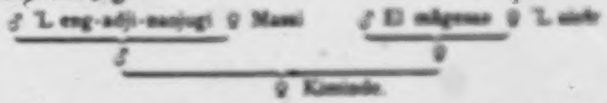
Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead dark gray-reddish-brown (between 33 and 39), chest and back of hand somewhat darker (33), cheek gray-reddish-brown (29), palm of hand considerably lighter (between 29 and 31), nipples dark brown (43). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown with bluish border. Palpebral fissure oblique, slit wide. Head hair shaved. Crown rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, rather strongly rounded at the occiput. Parietal protuberances projecting angularly. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead medium high, steep, full-arched, frontal protuberances. Nose small, medium high, narrow; root moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge somewhat concave; tip medium-pointed and directed straight out, nostrils roundish; /41?/ alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips very moderately thick. The two middle incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. By a pushing together of the other teeth the gap has closed in such a way that there are now equally wide spaces

/417 cont./

*142 between the two outer incisors and between them and the canines. The upper middle incisors are vertical. Teeth medium-sized, almost as long as they are broad. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper edges of the auricles each pierced twice. Breasts hemispherical, sagging, medium-sized. Areola of the nipples has the color of the nipple and a diameter of 5 cm. Nipple medium-sized, projecting. Foot medium-arched. Second toe juts out. Hand broad to medium slender, rather thick. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy, straight. The last two toes are strikingly far back. The distances of the tips of the toes from the heel amount to: first toe 21.8 cm., second toe 22, third toe 20.9, fourth and fifth toes 18.8 cm. Selele has one child. *[163]

No. XXIV.

Kiminde ♀, about 24 years old, a native of Kavinjiro. Lineage: 'L eng-adji-nanjugi.



Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: cheek and chest dark gray-reddish-brown (28), forehead somewhat darker (between 27 and 28), back of hand and nipples black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 29). Color of the iris: black-brown. On the iris of the right eye, near the pupil, a milky white spot the size of a barleycorn, allegedly a result of smallpox. Palpebral fissure set obliquely, slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, more strongly projecting at the occiput. In the transverse profile of the occiput the parietal protuberances project angularly. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval, profile orthognathous. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, moderately high, broad:

/417 cont./

p142 root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge somewhat concave; tip medium-pointed and directed straight out; nostrils roundish, alae almost flat. Lips almost thin. The medial incisors of the lower jaw pried out. Above, right canine is missing. The middle upper incisors vertical. Teeth medium-sized. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper edges of the auricles each pierced twice. Breasts pendulous, conical, rather large. Areola of nipples very large, its color the same as that of the nipple. Nipple medium-sized, rather flat. The breast runs out to a point at the nipple. Feet medium-arched. First toe juts /418/ out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are

p [143] broad. Legs sturdy, straight. Kinsinde has one child.

No. XXV.

Jagio ♀, a native of Mälinder, located three hours' march west of Mäunberg /lit. Marn/. Lineage: El hamerodge.

♂ El hamerodge ♀ [illegible] ♂ [illegible] ♀ El [illegible]

♂ ♀

♀ Jagio

Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark grey-reddish-brown (30), chest somewhat darker (between 27 and 30), back of hand and nipples black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand grey-reddish-brown (between 30 and 31). Large tattooing on abdomen. Color of the iris dark grey-yellow-brown with slate-blue border. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end. In the transverse profile of the occiput, the crown projects angularly. The crown is arched roof-shaped and low in the center. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face oval. Profile very slightly prognathous. Chin receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead rather low, steep, full-arched, slight frontal protuberances. Cheekbones directed more forward. Nose medium-sized, low, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead, bridge somewhat concave, tip blunt and

/418 cont./

#142 directed upward, nostrils roundish, alae slightly puffed out. Lips moderately thick. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out, the outer ones so ground down that the enamel has almost completely disappeared on the chewing surface. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper edges of the auricles each pierced four times. Breasts pendulous, conical, small, rather flat. Areola of the nipples large. Nipple large, projecting. Foot medium-arched. First toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. [illegible] has very many pockmarks on her body. On the right thigh is a burn scar covering half the outside of it. On her back is a beauty scar made by means of the fire [illegible] [illegible]). [illegible] has given birth to three children.

[304] [316] #[163]

No. XXVI.

[illegible], about 50 years old, a native of [illegible]. Lineage: El [illegible].

♂ El [illegible] ♀ El [illegible] ♂ [illegible] ♀ El [illegible]

♂ ♀

♀ [illegible]

Thin. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead, cheek, palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between [illegible] and [illegible]), chest somewhat darker ([illegible]), /419/ back of hand black-reddish-brown ([illegible]), nipples somewhat lighter (between [illegible] and [illegible]). Color of the iris black-brown. Palpebral fissure set obliquely, slit wide. Head hair 1 1/2 cm. long and very soft. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with broad front end, strongly projecting at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown arched roof-shaped, lying toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead medium high, steep, distinct frontal protuberances. Nose small, low, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead, bridge almost straight, tip blunt and directed straight out, nostrils roundish, alae slightly puffed out. Lips moderately thick. The middle lower

[XIV cont.]

#142 incisors have been pried out. Teeth large and quite broad. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, upper edges of the auricles each pierced three times. Breasts pendulous, conical, rather small. Areola of the color of the nipple, 7 cm. in diameter. Nipple large, projecting. Foot medium-arched. First toe juts out. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs thin and bent inward somewhat.

#[143] [illegible] has two children.

No. XXVII.

[illegible] ♀, about 35 years old, a native of [illegible]. Lineage [illegible].

♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible] ♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]

♀ [illegible]

Very fat. Tissue of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead, cheek, chest black-reddish-brown (37); back of hand and nipples darkest brown-black (41), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (30). Color of the iris black-brown. Palpebral fissure set obliquely, 4? wide. Right eye squints inward. Head hair recently shaved, now 1/5 cm. long. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and flat toward the back. Occiput high, occiput seems strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile almost orthognathous. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead medium high, steep, full-arched. Nose small, low, broad. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead, bridge straight; tip blunt, directed downward; nostrils roundish, alae almost flat. Lips very moderately thick. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out, through which a gap 10 mm. wide arose. The corresponding upper ones, between which there is a gap 4 mm. wide, are vertical and directed outward somewhat and extend, with the inner, deeper corners of the chewing surface, into the lower gap. The outer lower incisors have been ground down parallel, instead of the chewing surfaces

/XCII cont./

8 147 ian. The grinding down of the lower canines is directed obliquely toward the premolars. Teeth medium-sized, quite broad. The two /150/ ear-lobes are considerably enlarged, the upper edges of the auricles each pierced three times. Breasts pendulous, not from fatness, but from weight; very large and very full. Circumference of one breast 35 cm.! Areola of the nipples has the color of the nipple and a diameter of 4 cm. Nipple large, rather flat. Foot medium-arched. The second toe juts out a trace. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. Freckles, especially on the face. Naitaranga has not yet given birth. 9 [163]

No. XCVIII.

[illegible] ♀, about 20 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: L. [illegible].

♂ L. [illegible] ♀ El [illegible] ♂ El [illegible] ♀ [illegible]

♀ [illegible]

Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and chest gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30), cheek somewhat lighter (still also between 29 and 30), back of hand dark gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), nipples somewhat darker (28), palm of hand and also the spinal region light gray-reddish-brown (30). On [164] the abdomen large tattooing; numerous freckles, especially on the face. Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set obliquely, rather wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, very moderately rounded at the occiput. In the transverse profile of the occiput the parietal protuberances project angularly. Crown is arched and flat in the center. Occiput medium high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead symmetrically curved from ear to ear. Forehead medium high, steep, full-arched. Nose small, low, narrow. Root of nose moderately deepened toward

/481 cont./

192 forehead; bridge straight in the upper half, slightly concave in the lower one. Tip blunt and directed straight out; nostrils roundish; alae almost flat. Lips moderately thick. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. Into the gap arising from that the -- rather large -- right middle incisor of the upper jaw has fitted itself, whereas the left one sits wedged small above the left outer incisor of the lower jaw. The upper outer left incisor is missing and has allegedly fallen out. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper auricle-edge has been pierced twice on both ears. The breasts are pendulous, conical, moderately large, and rather flat. Areola of the nipples has the color of the nipple and is rather large. Nipple large and projecting. Foot medium-arched. First toe juts out. Hand almost broad. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy, straight. Nauthoitha has given birth to one child. # [84]

No. XXIX.

Sam♀, about 23 years old, a native of Mamabi. Lineage: El molige.

/481/ ♂ El molige ♀ Masai (aus Muruaben)   ♂ El mengana ♀ L. engais

♂   ♀

♀ Sam

/Aus Muhomaba = from Muhomaba./

Emaciated. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark grey-reddish-brown (35), chest somewhat darker (between 37 and 35), back of hand and nipples black-reddish-brown (37), palm of hand grey-reddish-brown (30). Color of the iris dark grey-yellow-brown (between 1 and 2) with slate-blue border. Palpebral fissure set obliquely, slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with broad front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. In the transverse profile of the occiput the parietal protuberances stand out clearly. Crown arched roof-shaped, flat toward the back. Occiput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin somewhat projecting.

/481 cont./

9/142 Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead high, steep, frontal protuberances. Nose small, low, narrow. Root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge somewhat convex; tip blunt and directed upward; nostrils oblique-oval; alae flat. Lips moderately thick. Through the prying out of the medial incisors of the lower jaw a gap 14 mm. wide has been produced. Into this, with their inner longer halves, jut the upper medial incisors, ground down obliquely outward on their chewing surfaces. The right one of them is vertical, the left one set forward somewhat obliquely. The outer lower incisors have been ground down obliquely toward the inside, the lower canines horizontally. The front teeth are long and narrow. Both ear-lobes somewhat enlarged. The upper edges of the auricles each pierced three times. The breasts are pendulous, conical, medium-sized, and rather flat. Areola of the nipples has the color of the nipples and is very large. Nipple large, projecting. Feet medium-arched. Five toes jut out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs thin, straight. She has given birth to three children. * [163]

No. XXX.

Ngirimeth ♀, about 24 years old, a native of Lengle. Lineage El ongiyau.

♂ El ongiyau
♀ Nam
♂ El barlimau
♀ Y dermeru
♂
♀
♀ Ngirimeth

Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: chest dark gray-reddish-brown (38), forehead somewhat lighter, cheek somewhat lighter than forehead (still between 30 and 33), back of hand very dark gray-reddish-brown (between 27 and 30), nipples black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 30 and 33). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown with dark-blue border. On the iris of the left eye, to the left below the pupil, an almost lentil-sized, milky white spot, allegedly acquired from

/481 cont./

#142 excellent. Palpebral fissure /482/ oblique, slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. At the occiput the parietal protuberances project somewhat angularly. Crown is arched roof-shaped and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile orthognathous. Chin projecting. Hair edging of the forehead almost symmetrically curved from ear to ear. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, high, narrow. Root of nose very moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge somewhat concave; tip blunt and directed straight out; nostrils almost longitudinal-oval; alae flat. Lips very moderately thick, almost thin. The medial lower incisors have been pried out, the gap has narrowed to 5 mm. through the pushing in of the other teeth. The upper middle incisors are almost vertical and are turned outward somewhat on their longitudinal axis -- the right one one to the right, the left one to the left. The outer lower incisors have been slightly ground down horizontally. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. Upper auricle-edge of each ear pierced three times each. The two breasts are shaped differently. The right one, which is considerably larger than the left one, is pendulous, conical, medium-sized; the left one is hemispherical and saggy. The areola of the nipples is the color of the nipples and measures 4 1/2 cm. in diameter. Nipple large and projecting. Feet medium-arched. First toe juts out. Hand medium-slender. Nails large, more long and narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. Ngoiseek has given birth to two children and is expecting the third one in five months.

*[61]

♂

♀

No. XXXII.

Noomeriko ♀, about 24 years old, a native of Kisongo. Lineage El mamasita.

♂ El mamasita ♀ [illegible]   ♂ [illegible] ♀ El [illegible]

♂   ♀

♀ [illegible]

1b [illegible]--677 G-5 (1890-ca.1918) 1911 FL13 [illegible] FL13

/485 cont./

142 Medium fat. Turgor of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek darker gray-reddish-brown (between 59 and 60), chest somewhat darker (59), back of hand black-reddish-brown (57), nipple somewhat lighter (between 57 and 58), palm of hand lighter, gray-reddish-brown (between 59 and 60). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown (3), which, toward the edge of the upper half-circle, passes over into a slate-blue shade, whose border appears milky-clouded. Palpebral fissures set obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with broad front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. In the transverse profile of the occiput the parietal protuberances project somewhat angularly. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval, profile orthognathous. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead slightly angular-rounded. Forehead medium high, steep, frontal protuberances. Nose small, medium high, narrow. Root of the nose moderately deepened toward forehead, bridge very slightly concave, tip medium-pointed and directed upward somewhat. /485/ nostrils oblique, almost longitudinal-oval, alae flat. Lips moderately thick. The middle lower incisors, by way of exception, have not been pried out. The upper middle incisors are almost vertical and are of normal size, whereas the outer ones are only half as long as the middle ones. On the chewing surfaces of the lower incisors a moderate grinding down is noticeable. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper edge of the auricle has been pierced twice on each ear. The breasts are pendulous, conical, rather large, and not very full. Areola of nipples large, nipple large and projecting. Foot medium-arched. First toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails medium-sized, long, and narrow. Legs sturdy and bent inward somewhat. [illegible] has given birth to two children. # [163]

No. XXXIII.

[illegible] ♀, about 20 years old, a native of the steppe north of Kilimanjaro. Lineage: [illegible]

♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]   ♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]

♀ [illegible]

/[illegible] cont./

192 Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color forehead, cheek, chest dark gray-reddish-brown (29), back of hand black-brown (27), nipples somewhat lighter (between 27 and 28), palm of hand light gray-reddish-brown. Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissures set somewhat obliquely and are wide. Head hair 3/4 cm. long, recently shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. In the transverse profile of the occiput the parietal protuberances project somewhat angularly. Crown is high-arched and flat toward the back. Occiput is almost low, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile prognathous. Mouth part remarkably strongly thrust forward for a Masai. Chin vertical. Hair edging of the forehead almost symmetrically curved from ear to ear. Forehead almost low, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, medium high, narrow rather than broad, root moderately deepened toward forehead, bridge almost straight, tip medium-pointed and directed straight out, nostrils oblique-oval, alae flat. Lips moderately thick. The middle incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out, through which a gap 8 mm. wide has been produced. Between the upper middle incisors, which are directed somewhat forward and outward, there is a gap 3 mm. wide. The chewing surfaces of these four teeth are directed obliquely upward-outward. The outer upper incisors are only half as long as the normal-sized inner ones. The teeth in general are large. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, upper auricle-edges pierced twice. Breasts hemispherical, erect. Nipple large, projecting. Foot medium-arched, second toe juts out. Hand slender, /thin/ long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. Has not yet given birth. (41)

No. XXXIX.

[illegible] ♀, about 20 years old, a native of the steppe near [illegible]. Lineage: [illegible]

♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]   ♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]

♀ [illegible]

18 [illegible]—378 G-5 (18[illegible]-ca.1908) 1913 PL23 [illegible] PL23

/[illegible] cont./

#192. Medium fat. Turgor of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek gray-reddish-brown (23), chest and nipples dark gray-reddish-brown (30), back of hand almost black-reddish-brown (between 27 and 30), palm of hand light gray-reddish-brown (31). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown (2) with slate-blue border, which appears reddish clouded at the edge. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. The crown is arched and low toward the back. Occiput high, occiput scale strongly arched out. Face broad-oval, profile slightly prognathous. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, medium high, slightly broad, root of the nose moderately deepened toward forehead, bridge almost straight, tip medium-pointed and directed straight out, nostrils roundish, alae flat. Lips moderately thick. The middle lower incisors have been broken out, the gap is 7 mm. wide. The chewing surfaces of the upper middle incisors, directed a trace forward, run obliquely upward sideways toward the outside. The outer lower incisors have been ground down obliquely toward the center and front, the lower canines obliquely toward the front. The front teeth are large, long, and narrow. Both ear-lobes are considerably enlarged. The upper edge of the auricle on each ear pierced four times. Breasts pendulous, conical, medium-sized. The areola of the nipples has the color of the nipple and is medium-sized. Nipple large, projecting. Feet medium-arched. Second toe juts out. Hands slender, nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy and straight. Large tattooing on the abdomen. [illegible] has given birth to one child. According to her statement, she is at most 25 years old, which, however, does not agree with her appearance. During the examination of her eyes she asserted several times that they are beautiful.

[illegible] #163

/[illegible] cont./

No. XXXIV.

192 [illegible], about [illegible] years old, a native of the steppe area [illegible]. Lineage [illegible].

♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible] ♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]
♂ ♀
♀ [illegible]

/[illegible]/ Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek gray-reddish-brown ([illegible]), chest darker ([illegible]), back of hand almost black-reddish-brown (between [illegible] and [illegible]), nipples somewhat darker ([illegible]), palm of hand lighter, gray-reddish-brown (between [illegible] and [illegible]). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. In the transverse profile of the occiput the parietal protuberances project angularly. Crown high-arched, low toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile exceptionally strongly prognathous. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, frontal protuberances recognizable. Nose medium-sized, medium high, broad, root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead, bridge straight, tip blunt and directed straight out, nostrils roundish, alae puffed out. Lips quite thick. The front teeth are long and narrow. The medial lower incisors have been pried out. The resulting gap is [illegible] mm. wide. The chewing surfaces of the upper middle incisors run obliquely outward sideways and up. Both ear-lobes are considerably enlarged. The upper edges of the auricles each pierced twice. The breasts are hemispherical and sloped, the right one is larger than the left. Areola of nipples large, its color matches that of the nipple. The latter is large and not very projecting. Foot medium-arched. [illegible] out. Hand almost broad. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy and straight. [illegible] has not yet given birth.

[illegible]

/[illegible]/

No. XXXV.

#142 Nagon[illegible], about 18 years old, a native of [illegible]. Lineage: [illegible].

[illegible]

Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek very dark gray-reddish-brown (between 27 and 28), chest somewhat darker (but still also between 27 and 28), back of the hand and nipples black-reddish-brown (27), palm of hand light gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown (between 3 and 4), with slate-blue border somewhat radially clouded at the edge. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and [illegible] wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the vertex view, rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. In the transverse profile of the occiput the parietal protuberances project angularly. Crown is high-arched and [illegible] toward the back. Occiput rather high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead slightly angular-rounded. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, high, broad; root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge straight; tip /[illegible]/ blunt and directed upward; a transverse nostrils oblique-oval; alae moderately puffed out. Lips rather thick. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The gap has almost closed. The middle incisors of the upper jaw are set somewhat obliquely forward. The teeth are [illegible]. Both ear lobes considerably enlarged. The upper ridges of the auricles each pierced four times. Breasts hemispherical, erect, small. The left breast is larger than the right one. Areola of the nipples large and considerably arched out. Its color [illegible] than of the nipple. The latter is large and projecting. Foot medium-arched. Toes [illegible] out. Hand medium slender. Nails rather large, long, narrow. Legs [illegible], straight. Nagon[illegible] has not yet given birth.

#(163)

/600 cont./

No. XXXIV.

#148 ndito, ♀, about 14 years old, a native of the steppe northeast of Kilimandscharo. Lineage El [illegible].

♂ El [illegible] ♀ El [illegible]   ♂ El [illegible] ♀ El [illegible]

♂   ♀

♀ Ndito

Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin colour forehead and chest dark grey-reddish-brown (30), cheeks somewhat lighter (between 33 and 30), back of hand and nipples very dark grey-reddish-brown (between 27 and 30), palm of hand light grey-reddish-brown (30). Color of the iris dark grey-yellow-brown (between 1 and 2) with slate-blue edge. Palpebral fissures set obliquely and [illegible] wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown is high-arched and low toward the back. Occiput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face round to broad-oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin receding. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose small, low, moderately broad. Root of nose slightly deepened toward forehead; bridge straight; tip blunt to medium-pointed and directed straight out; nostrils roundish; alae almost flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The central incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The gap is 8 1/2 mm. wide. The corresponding upper ones are set obliquely outward and somewhat forward; moreover, they are turned somewhat inward on their longitudinal axis, so that the outer edges, that is, the ones lying toward the outer incisors, jut out somewhat. Between them there is a gap 2 1/2 mm. wide. Furthermore a gap 1 1/2 mm. wide is found between each of them and the outer upper incisors. Both ear-lobes are considerably enlarged. The upper edges of the auricles are each pierced twice. The breasts are hemispherical, erect, small. Areola of the nipples has the color of the nipple, is large and considerably arched out. The nipples are larger; the left one is not very projecting and is somewhat drawn in and deepened in the center; the [left?] right one does not project at all and is even more markedly drawn in at the center. Foot medium-arched. The

[Text cont.]

9 1972 [illegible] equally [illegible]. Hand is medium slender. Nails medium-sized, almost as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy, straight.
4 (143) [illegible] has not yet given birth.

No. XXXVII.

Ngoja♀, about 20 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimanjaro. Lineage: [illegible].

♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]   ♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]

♂   ♀

♀ [illegible]

Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts firm. Skin colour forehead and cheek dark gray-reddish-brown (29), back of hand and nipples darker (between 27 and 28), cheek gray-reddish-brown (between 29 and 30), palm of hand light gray-reddish-brown. Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown. Palpebral fissure horizontal and quite narrowly slit. Head hair shaved. Head, from the vertex view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically rounded. Crown is high-arched and low toward the back. Forehead high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face oval. Profile [illegible] general proportions. Chin vertical. [illegible] edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, low, narrow. Root of nose flat toward forehead; bridge straight; tip blunt and directed upward somewhat; nostrils roundish; alae slightly puffed out; their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. Teeth in front large, long, narrow. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. The outer ones are set obliquely outward, sideways. The gap between them is 10 mm. wide at the gums, 10 mm. wide at the chewing surface. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged. The upper auricle edges each pierced twice. Breasts hemispherical, short, small; they are remarkably well placed on the thorax. Areola of the nipples has the colour of the nipple and is large and more considerably

[illegible]

[illegible] arched out. Nipple is large and not very projecting. Feet medium-arched. First toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails small, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy, straight. [illegible] has not yet given birth.

No. [illegible]

Woman ♀, about 18 years old, a native of the steppe area [illegible]. Lineage of ancestors.

♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]   ♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]

♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]

♀ [illegible]

[illegible] Medium fat. Traces of the [illegible]. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark gray-reddish brown ([illegible]), cheek somewhat lighter. Back of hand black-reddish brown ([illegible]), nipples somewhat lighter (between [illegible] and [illegible]), palm of hand light gray-reddish brown ([illegible]). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown (between [illegible] and [illegible]), a milky-clouded edge around the upper part. Palpebral fissure set obliquely and [illegible] wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the [illegible], rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occiput symmetrically rounded. Crown is high arched and low toward the back. Occiput quite low, occiput more strongly arched out. Face broad-oval. Profile moderate general prognathism. Chin somewhat receding. Hair edging of the forehead almost symmetrically curved from ear to ear. Forehead rather low, steep, full-arched. Nose medium short, rather high and broad; root of nose moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge almost straight; tip blunt and directed upward; nostrils roundish-oval; alae somewhat puffed out, their lower edge curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The two central incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. Otherwise the set of teeth is very pretty. Front teeth long and narrow. Both ear lobes slightly enlarged, the upper outside edge of each ear pierced two times. Breasts pointed hemispherical, almost conical, [illegible], rather large. Areola of the nipples large and considerably

/[illegible]/
arched out. In color matches that of the nipple. The latter is small and not very projecting. Foot medium-arched. Flat toe juts out. Hand slender. Nails medium-sized, as long as they are broad. Legs sturdy, straight. Woman has not yet given birth.

No. [illegible].

[illegible], about [illegible] years old, a native of the [illegible] area [illegible]. Lineage [illegible].

[illegible]

Though not exactly thin, nevertheless considerably emaciated. [illegible] of old subcutaneous tissue ruptures, especially on the thighs, the buttocks, the breasts, and the deltoid-muscle region give evidence of former overabundance. Tonus of the soft part medium firm. Skin color: forehead and chest dark gray-reddish-brown (28), cheek somewhat lighter, back of hand black-reddish-brown (27), nipples somewhat lighter (between 27 and 28), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between 23 and 28). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown (between 1 and 2), with broad bluish border, the edge of which appears [illegible] clouded. Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and [illegible] wide. Head hair [illegible]. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded at the occiput. In the [illegible] profile of the occiput the parietal protuberances stand out clearly. Crown is high-arched and flat toward the back. Occiput moderately /[illegible]/ high, occiput [illegible] strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the forehead somewhat angular-rounded. Forehead medium high, steep, full-arched. Nose quite large and high, medium broad. Root of nose moderately depressed toward forehead; bridge very slightly convex; tip medium-pointed and directed straight out; nostrils oblique-oval; alae flat, their lower edge curved upward. Lips almost thin. The medial incisors of the lower jaw have been [illegible] out. Of the corresponding upper ones the left one is set somewhat obliquely forward. Otherwise [illegible] /[illegible]/

[illegible] the set of teeth is splendid. Shape and color of the teeth are faultless. Both ear-lobes considerably enlarged, the upper auricle-edges pierced twice. Breasts pendulous, conical, medium-sized, and not very full. Areola of nipples has the color of the nipple and is large. Nipple large and projecting. Foot medium-arched. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails medium-sized, long, narrow. Legs sturdy, straight. [illegible] Large tattooing on the abdomen. On the right thigh, in front, six round ornamental burn-scars in a perpendicular line. On the right ear the upper part of the upper auricle-edge has been cut off horizontally. Her mother underwent this disfigurement shortly after the birth, "in order to prevent [illegible] from dying at a tender age, like her previous children." On her arms numerous scars of sores from chafing produced by the wire arm-ornaments.

[illegible]

No. XXXV.

Yagianai ♀, about 30 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: El kibuyiani.

♂ El kibuyiani ♀ El [illegible]   ♂ El [illegible] ♀ [illegible]

♂   ♀

♀ Yagianai.

Description. Tonus of the soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray-reddish-brown (between 30 and 35), chest somewhat darker (30), nipple only slightly darker than chest, back of hand almost black-reddish-brown (between 27 and 30), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 30). Color of the iris black-brown (1). Palpebral fissure is set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped, with narrow front end, rather flattened at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view is symmetrically rounded. Crown is arched and low toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face is broad-oval. Profile shows a very slight general prognathism. Chin somewhat projecting. The hair edging of the forehead is angular-rounded; the forehead high, steep, full-arched, with clearly recognizable frontal protuberances.

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] many smallpox scars on the face. Nose medium-sized and broad; root of the same rather flat toward the forehead; bridge slightly concave; tip medium-pointed and directed straight out; nostril roundish; alae moderately puffed out, their lower edge slightly curved upward. /491/ Lips very moderately thick. The two medial incisors of the lower jaw have been pried out. Between the corresponding upper ones, which are directed somewhat forward, there is a gap of [illegible] mm. The teeth are rather considerably ground down from the inside and tip toward the outside and bottom (outward grinding). For many nothing at all of the original contour of the chewing surfaces is present any longer. The teeth are medium-sized and rather broad, the latter in part conditioned by considerable grinding. The ear lobes are considerably enlarged; the upper outside edges pierced three times. The breasts are pendulous, conical, moderately large, and, with the emaciation of the individual, rather flat. They run out to a point at the nipple, without the latter appearing sharply set off at first glance. The areola of the nipple is large and of the color of the nipple. The latter is large and projecting. Foot medium-arched. [illegible] The hand is medium slender. Nails small, long, narrow. Legs rather thin. The [illegible] bear the marks of having [illegible]. [illegible] has given birth to one child. [illegible]

No. [illegible]

[illegible] ♀, about [illegible] years old, a native of the [illegible] of [illegible]. [illegible]

♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible] ♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]

♀ [illegible]

Emaciated. Because of this, as well as because of age, the soft parts are flabby. Skin color forehead, cheek, chest gray-reddish-brown ([illegible]), palm of hand and nipples dark gray-reddish-brown ([illegible]), a very rare dark coloring for the [illegible]. Back of hand black-reddish-brown ([illegible]). Color of the iris dark gray-yellow-brown ([illegible]). Palpebral

/[illegible] cont./

192 [illegible] seen somewhat obliquely and [illegible] wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, very moderately rounded, almost flattened at the occiput. Crown is arched and low toward the back. Occiput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile shows quite slight general prognathism. Chin projecting. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, high, broad. Root of nose flat [illegible] forehead. Bridge of nose straight, tip blunt and directed straight out. Nostrils roundish, also flat, their lower edge slightly curved upward. Lips thin. The two medial lower incisors have been pried out. Through this the two corresponding upper ones, between which there is a natural gap of [illegible] mm., have been ground off most strongly. The chewing surfaces on both teeth stand at an angle of [illegible]° to their inner lateral edges and have been ground off concave on the outer halves, convex on the inner ones. A very considerable grinding also appears on the outer upper and lower incisors and on the canines. The teeth are small and broad. Both ear-lobes considerably /sic/ stretched, the upper auricle-edges each pierced twice. The breasts are pendulous, conical, flat, and shrunken because of emaciation and age. Feet medium-arched, turned toe [illegible] out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails large, long, narrow. Legs thin, straight. The woman has given birth to four children. [65]

No. XXXII /doc: read XXXIII/.

[illegible]♀, about 50 years old, a native of the steppe south of the [illegible]. Lineage: [illegible].

♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible] ♂ [illegible] ♀ [illegible]
♂ ♀
♀ [illegible]

Medium fat. Tonus of the soft parts medium-firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark gray-reddish-brown (between [illegible] and [illegible]), chest somewhat darker ([illegible]), nipples a shade darker still (between [illegible] and [illegible]), back of hand black-reddish-brown ([illegible]), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (between [illegible] and [illegible]). Color of the iris dark-gray--yellow-brown

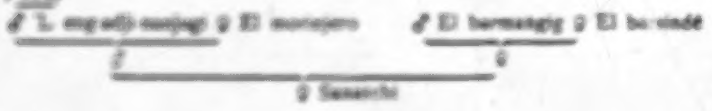
/431 cont./

192 (9). Palpebral fissure set somewhat obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, somewhat flattened at the occiput. From the occipital view, crown and parietal protuberances project angularly. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high, occiput more strongly arched out. Face is broad-oval and in profile orthognathous. Hair edging of the forehead angular-rounded. Forehead high, steep, full-arched. Nose medium-sized, low, rather broad, root of nose flat toward the forehead, bridge of nose somewhat concave, tip blunt and directed straight out, nostrils roundish, alae flat. Lips thin. The two middle lower incisors have been pried out. The gap arising from that has had the effect that the grinding down of the corresponding upper incisors has not taken place parallel to the original chewing surfaces. Rather, the latter stand at an angle of 75° to the (vertical) inner edges of their teeth. The left outer incisor of the upper jaw is missing. It has been pried out, allegedly because it was painful. In general the teeth are small and broad. The ear lobes are considerably enlarged, upper edges of the auricles doubly pierced. The breasts are pendulous, conical, and rather large. The areola of the nipples is very large and a glimmer lighter than the nipple. The latter is very large, strikingly big and projecting. Foot medium-arched. First toe juts out. Hand slender, long-fingered. Nails small, as long as they are broad. Legs thin and straight. Woman has given birth to four children, and is looking forward to her fifth confinement. A large tattooing on the abdomen. [163 D09]

No. XXXXIII.

Sasawchi.♀, about 30 years old, a native of the steppe south of Kilimandscharo. Lineage: 'L eng-adji-sanjugi.

/432/


♂ 'L eng-adji-sanjugi ♀ El moriajeru
♂ El barmangig ♀ El bo-indé
♂
♀
♀ Sasawchi

/432 cont./

142 Medium fat. Soft parts medium firm. Skin color: forehead and
cheek dark gray-reddish-brown (between 28 and 29), chest and palm
of hand somewhat darker (28), back of hand and nipple black-reddish-
[304] brown (27). Larger tattooing on the abdomen. Color of the iris: dark-
gray--yellow-brown (between 1 and 2). Palpebral fissure set some-
what obliquely and slit wide. Head hair shaved. Head, from the crown
view, rounded, egg-shaped with narrow front end, moderately rounded
at the occiput. Transverse profile of the occipital view symmetrically
rounded. Crown is arched and lies toward the back. Sinciput high,
occiput more strongly arched out. Face pointed-oval. Profile slight
general prognathism. Chin somewhat projecting. Hair edging of the
forehead angular-crooked. Forehead high, steep, full-arched, clearly
visible frontal protuberances. Nose medium-sized, low, broad; saddle
nose; root of nose very moderately deepened toward forehead; bridge
concave; tip blunt and directed straight out; nostrils roundish, alae flat,
their lower edge slightly curved upward. Lips moderately thick. The
two lower medial incisors have been pried out. Between the two cor-
responding upper ones there is a natural gap of 5 mm.; through grinding
the chewing surface of the left one stands at an angle of 60°, that of
the right one at an angle of 75°, to the (vertical) inner edge of its
tooth. Analagous to the grinding down of the middle incisors is that
of the outer ones and of the canines on each side. The set of teeth is
strikingly ugly because of the grinding down of the teeth. The teeth
are medium-sized to small. The ear lobes are considerably stretched,
the upper ear-edges doubly pierced. Breasts pendulous, conical, large,
rather flat. Areola of the nipples large and of the color of the nipple.
The latter is medium-sized and not very projecting. Foot medium-
arched; first toe juts out. Hand medium slender. Nails small, as long
as they are broad. Legs rather sturdy and, except for a rachitic curvature
[163] at the shanks, straight. Woman has given birth to four children.

/432 cont./

8. Physical Measurement.

M D 141 [125] During the taking of the measurements, the people appeared very reasonable and neither shy nor particularly awkward; I was, of course, no stranger to them, but rather an old acquaintance, who, through firm pressure of the legs of the calliper compass or beam compass, could even cause them slight pain without making them listless or anxious.

My instruments, besides the aforementioned compasses, which are part of the Bertillon case, consisted of an ordinary recruit measure and a steel measuring tape.

M D 141 125 /433/ Of the double numbers for the nipple height, the first number gives the height of the left nipple, the second one that of the right one.

Of the double numbers for the ear length, the first number shows the total length of the ear, the second one the distance from the upper ear-edge to the upper edge of the hole of the ear lobe. Where only one number is found, it gives the length of the "unbeautified," naturally formed ear.

The longitudinal circumference of the head was measured sagittally, the vertical circumference transversally.

The length of the head hair was included in the table of measurements because of its relationship to the head measurements.

The head measurements of the men Nos. 9 and 11 could not be taken precisely because of the impenetrable braid coiffure.

141

[illegible]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
[illegible]	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂

[illegible]

[illegible]

Running Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Sex	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible] /Pages [illegible] contain the index, which has not been translated; see the foreign text; Pl. 1-4 and an end map follow the index at the end of the original journal./

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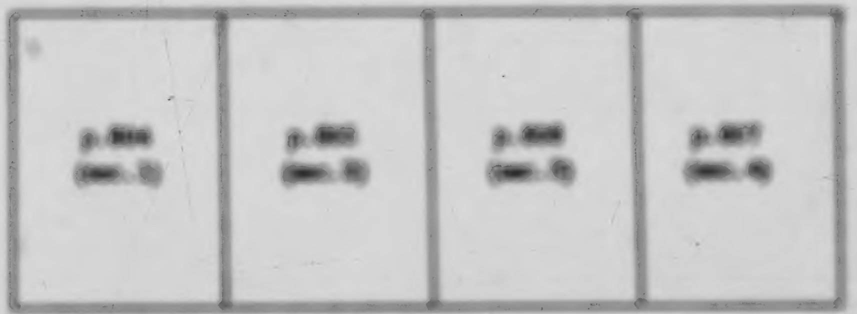

p. 684
(sec. 1)
p. 685
(sec. 2)
p. 686
(sec. 3)
p. 687
(sec. 4)

Chart of Positions of Bed Plate 1
[facing p. 694]

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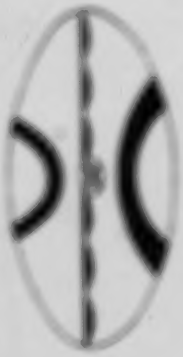

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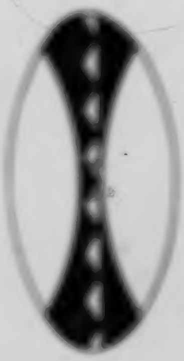

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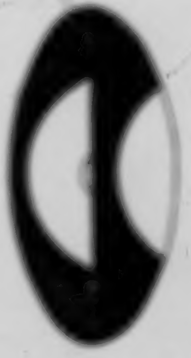

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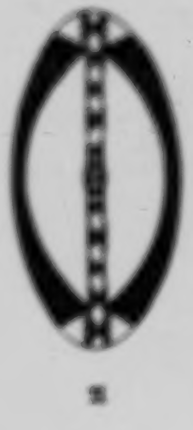

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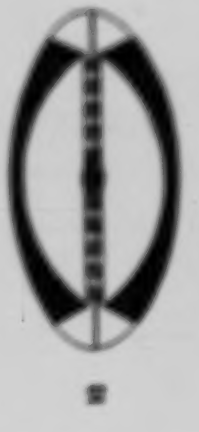

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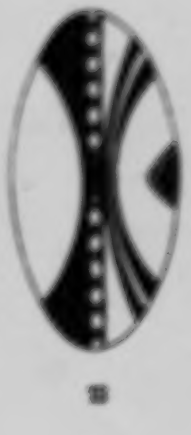

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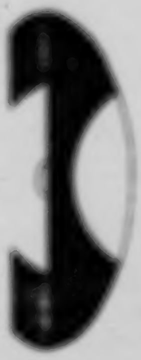
/Sec. 2 (second section from the left) of Plate 1/



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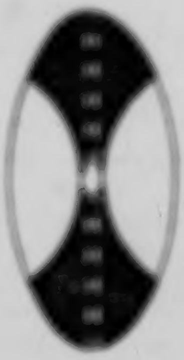

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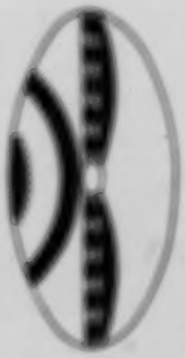

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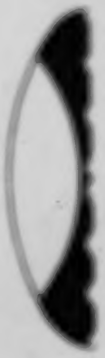

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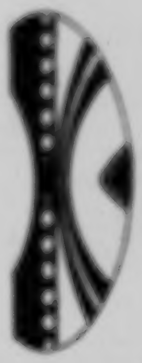

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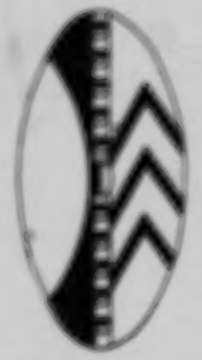

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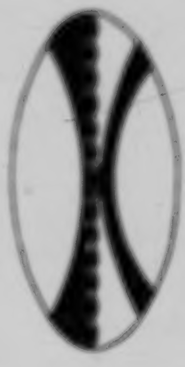

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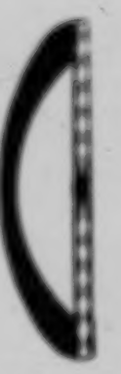
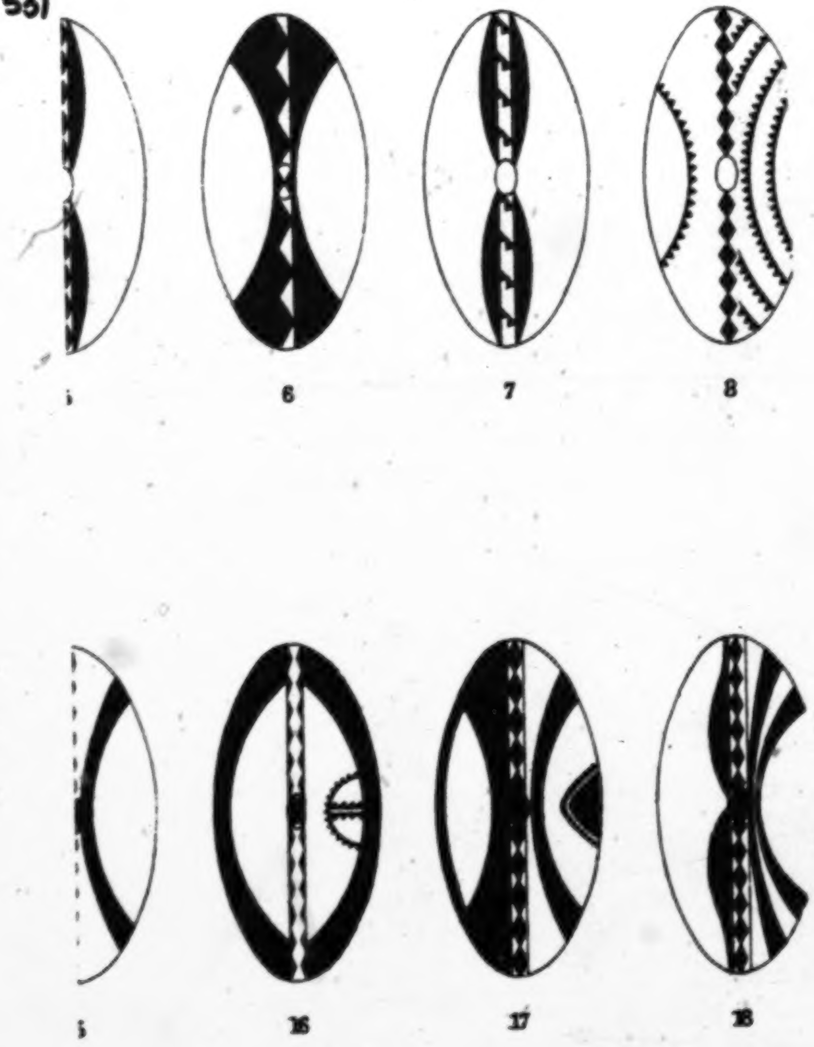


16

18: Merker--606 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Sec. 3 (third section from the left) of Plate 1/

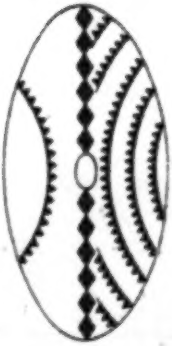
714
531



18: Merker--607 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

714
531

/Sec. 4 (right side) of Pl. 1/ Plate 1



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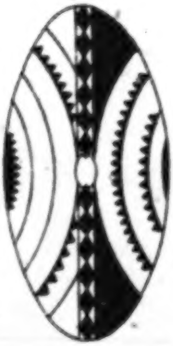

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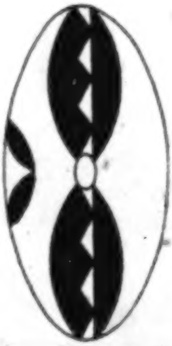

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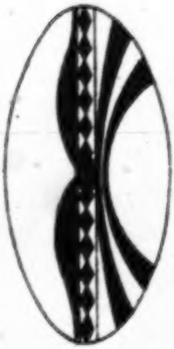

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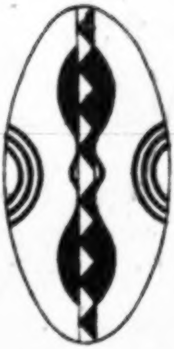


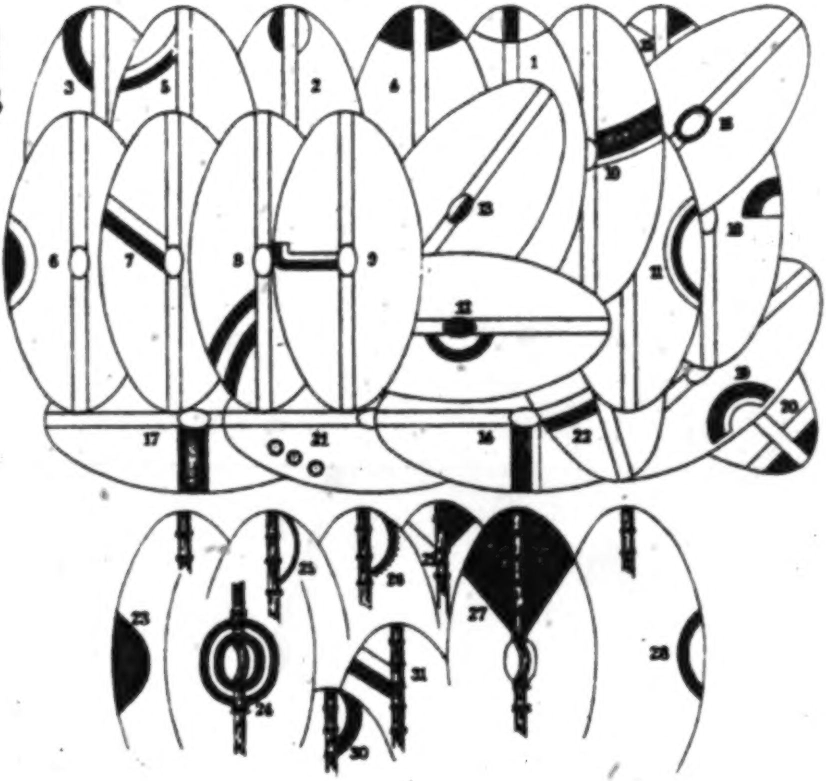
19

19 is a recently -- end of 1902 -- formed escutcheon, which was adopted by Zendeo's followers after the -- presumably temporary -- move to Ol bruggo, which took place in the middle of '02.

18: Merker--608 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Plate 2

714
531
613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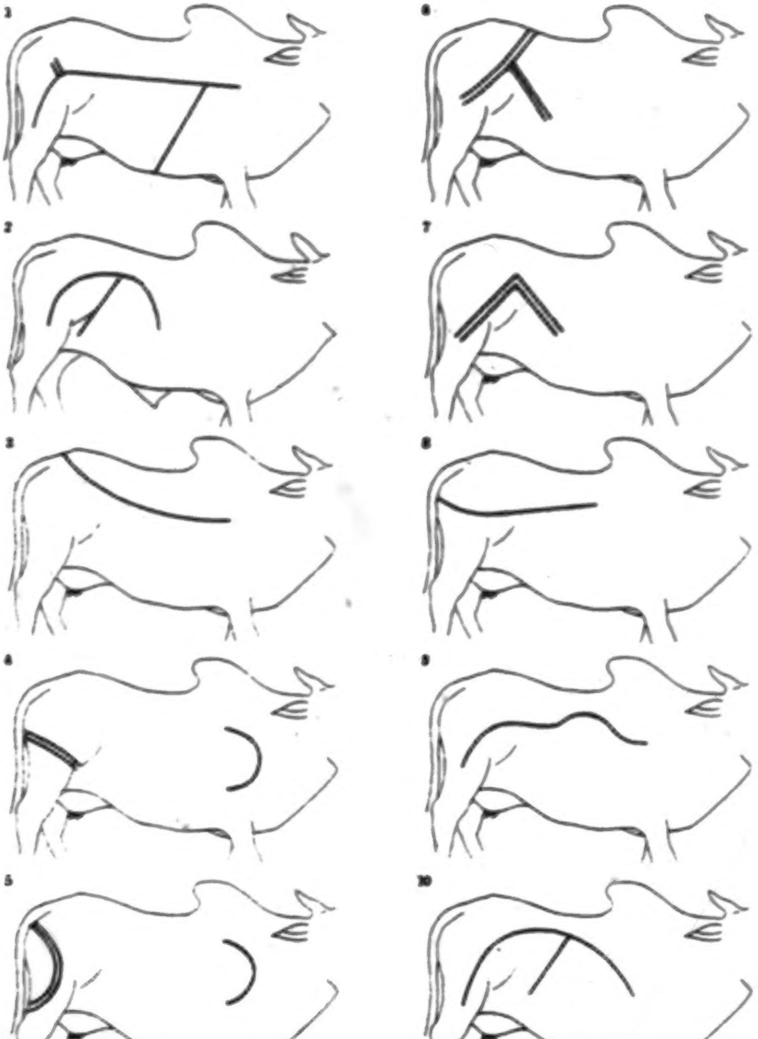
Lineage Emblems on Shields.

1 *'L eng adji nanyiugi*
2 *El barsois*
3 *El mahome*
4 *El barmaigig*
5 *El marawauch*
6 *El gisenkol*
7 *Es sunaga*
8 *El marumai, El marumi*
9 *El magaberia*
10 *El bedjur*
11 *El mamadjua*
12 *El barotigo*
13 *El ugumoi, Es sidalo*
14 *El magarero*
15 *El barsindo*
16 *El bartello*
17 *El kibgiani*
18 *El masarigua*
19 *El mojigo*
20 *'N daruaro*
21 *El bartalo*
22 *El kiboron*
23 *El barsabugge*
24 *El nemali, El mamasita*
25 *El dibiliti*
26 *El bartimaro*
27 *Es soroiginigi, 'L oitgiab*
28 *Es sirio*
29 *El barugoro*
30 *El magasoro*

18: Merker--609 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Left side of Plate 3a/

233
422
613



Property marks on the bodies of the cattle, more rarely of the donkeys too.

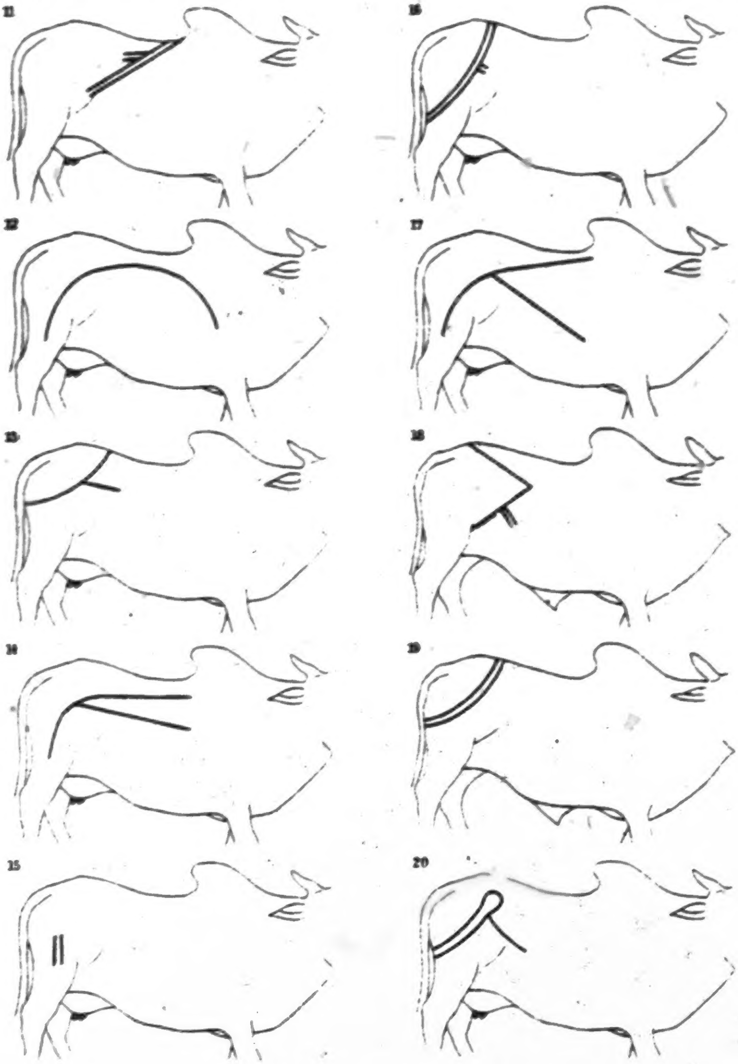
1 *En gidori*
2 *El baryenetti*
3 *El bartimaro*
4 *El marinjaro*
5 *El ebibeliti*
6 *El ganie*
7 *El barandugge*
8 *El baranigu*
9 *L aig adji nanjugi El gamarin*
10 *El barsingo*
11 *El agamei, Es aidaio*
12 *El mangarare, El baraindo*

/Nos. 11 and 12 are illustrated on p. 610/

/Right side of Plate 3a/

Plate 3a

233
422
613



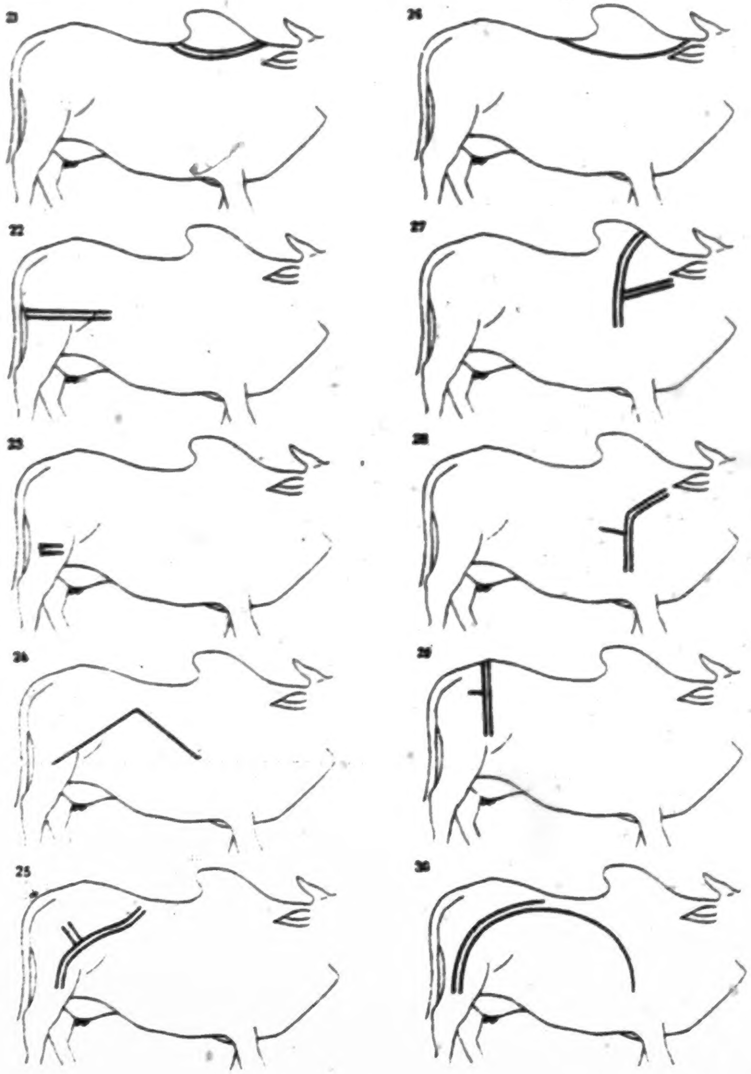
/Property marks on cattle; see p. 609 for 11 and 12./

13 *El barseraigo*
14 *El baruegero*
15 *El bartelle*
16 *El kibigiani*

17 *El barmaguani*
18 *El masarigua*
19 *El muirigo*
20 *El mamastia*, *El* [illegible]

/Left side of Plate 3b/

233
422
613



Property marks on the bodies of the cattle, more rarely of the donkeys too.

21 *El magasan*
22 *N darasero*
23 *El kiberon*
24 *Es seroiginigi, Es sumaga*
25 *El barasis*
26 *El gissikol*
27 *El mohono*
28 *El magarau*
29 *El barmaingig*
30 *Es siria*
31 *El bodjus*
32 *El eberet*

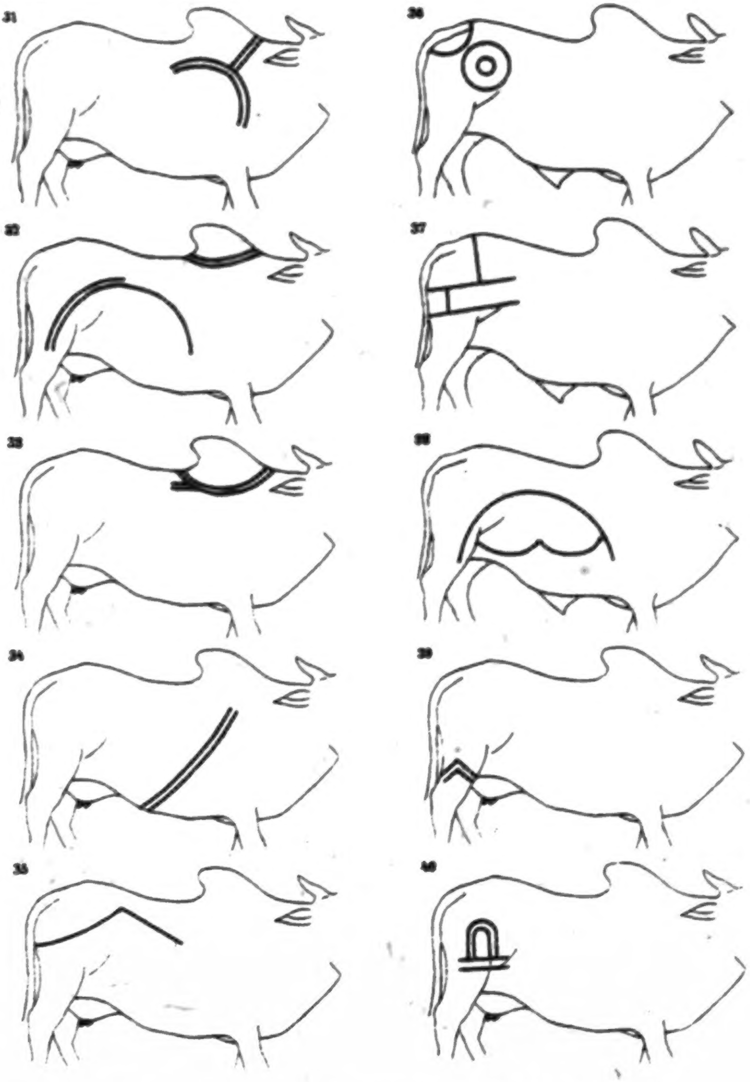
/Nos. 31 and 32 are illustrated on p. 612/

18: Merker--612 G-5 (1895-ca. 1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Right side of Plate 3b/

Plate 3b

233
422
613



/Property marks on cattle; see p. 611 for 31 and 32./

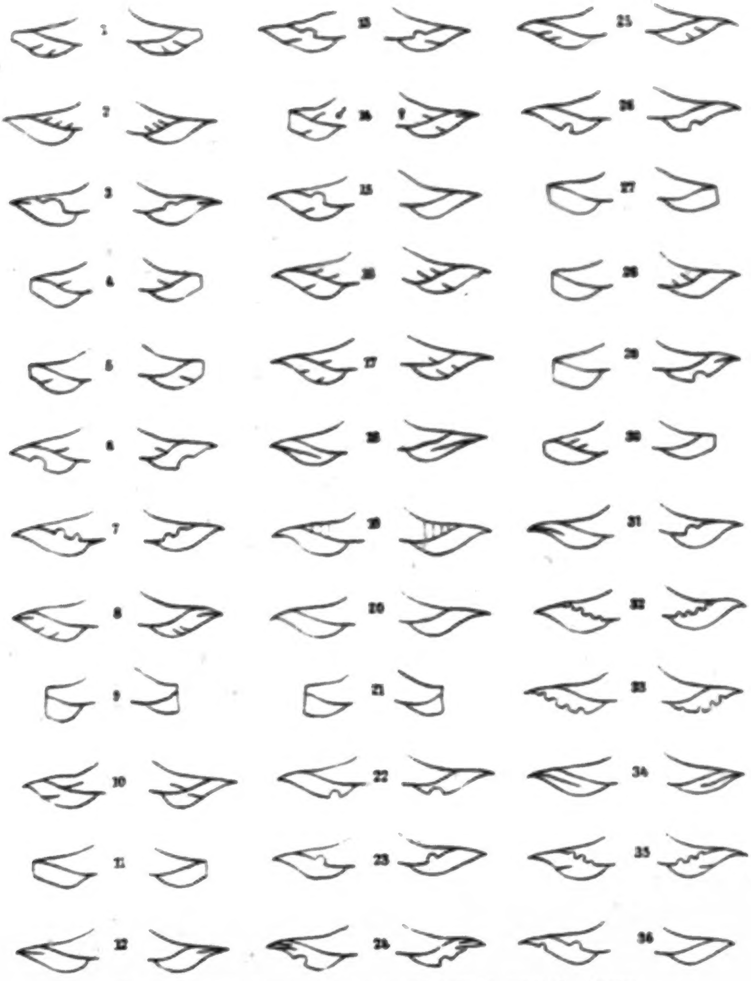
33 *El meruni*
34 *El masaudjina*
35 *El magaberia*
36 Decorative scars of bulls

37
38 } Signs of individual families
39
40

18: Merker--613 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

233
422
613

Plate 4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Property marks on the ears of cattle and donkeys.

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12. [illegible]
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14. [illegible]
15. [illegible]
16. [illegible]
17. [illegible]
18. [illegible]
19. [illegible]
20. [illegible]
21. [illegible]
22. [illegible]
23. [illegible]
24. [illegible]
25. [illegible]
26. [illegible]
27. [illegible]
28. [illegible]
29. [illegible]
30. [illegible]
31. [illegible]
32.–36. Signs of individual families

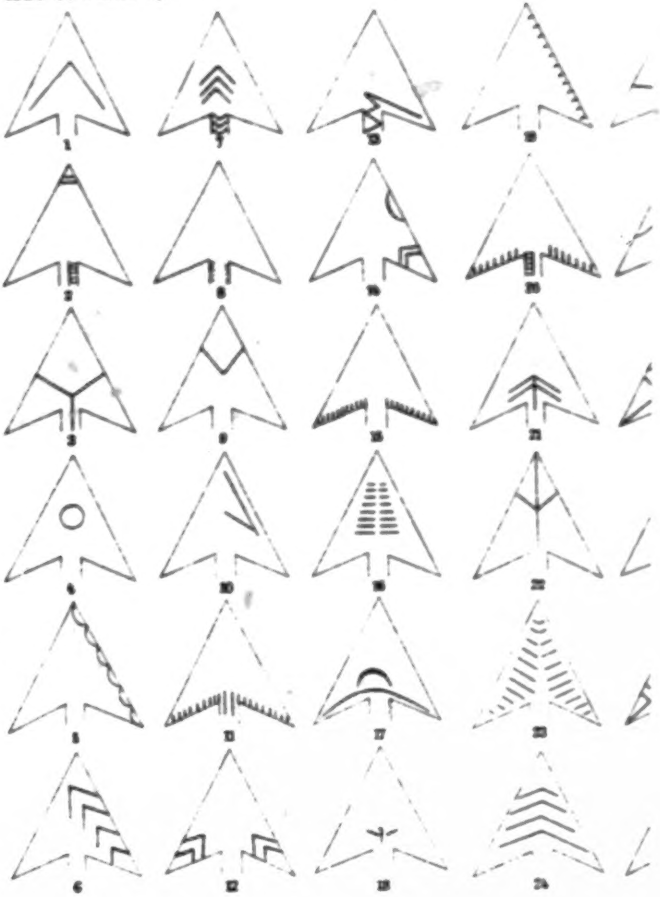
Sign 12 is also frequently found on twin animals

/For No. 20, ohne Schnitte = without cuts./

18: Merker--614 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Left side of Plate 5/

422
411
613



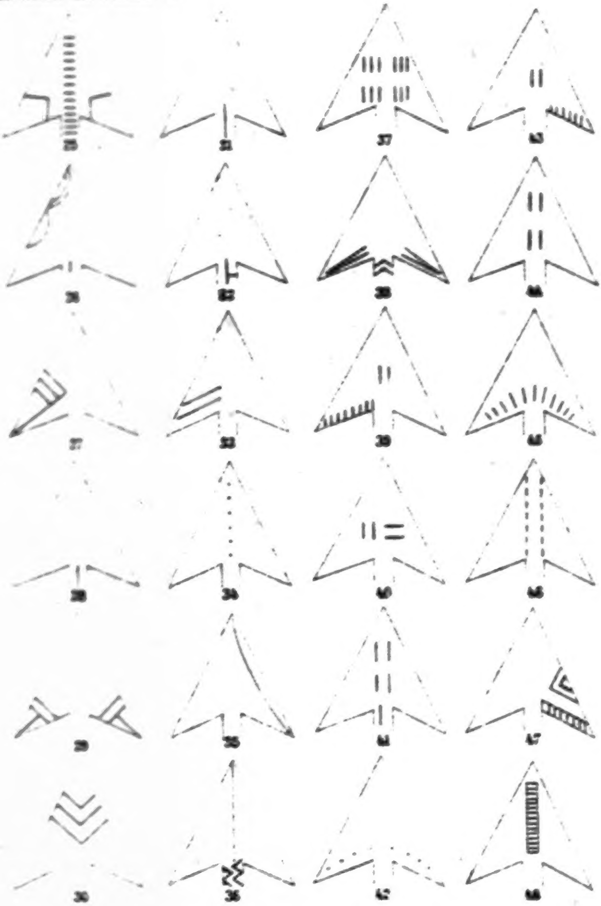
Property marks on arrow points.

1	*'L aiser*
2	*En gidari*
3	*El bergeretti*
4	*El bartimaro*
5	*El bulgs*
6	*El dibiliti*
7	*El egoio*
8	*El barsabugoo*
9	*El merinjaro*
10	*El bersariga*
11	*'Lang adji naryiagi. El gamarin.*
12	*El barsiigo*
13	*El ugamai*
14	*Es sidaio*
15	*El muleljan*
16	*El magarore*
17	*El barsinde*
18	*El barseraigo*
19	*El barielle*
20	*El baragaro*
21	*El kibujani*
22	*El barmaguari*
23	*El masarigua*
24	*El misungo*

/Right side of Plate 5/

Plate 5

422
411
613


25
31
37
43
26
32
38
44
27
33
39
45
28
34
40
46
29
35
41
47
30
36
42
48

/Property marks on arrow points./

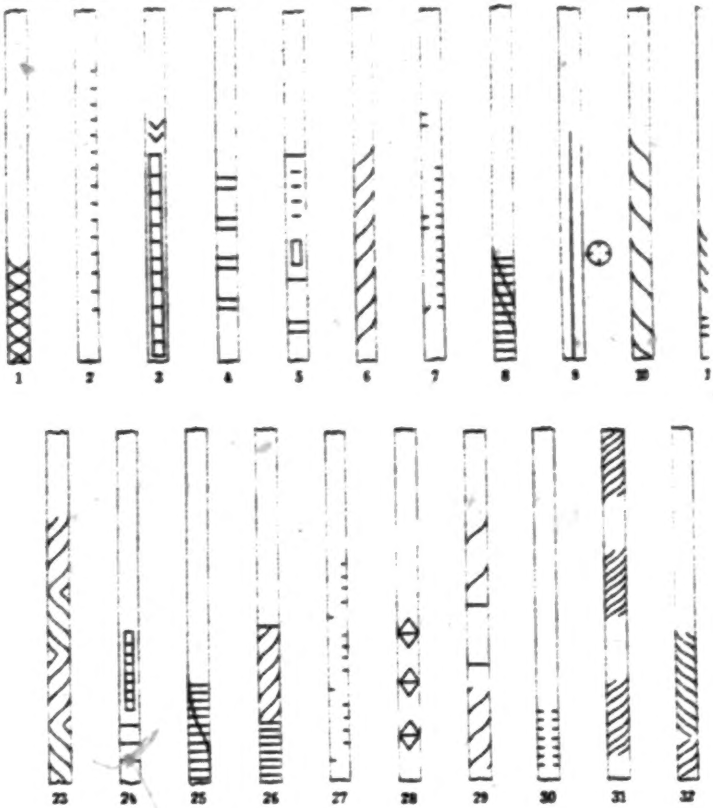
25 *El mamasita*
26 *El monai*
27 *El magroan*
28 *N'darasero*
29 *El tombaine*
30 *L'aitajuk*
31 *Es seroigiraigi*
32 *El barsois*
33 *El gisnikol*
34 *El mohono*
35 *El mageraus*
36 *El barmaigig*

37 *Es somaga*
38 *El meigana*
39 *El marumai*
40 *El magaberia*
41 *El bodjus*
42 *El eberet*
43 *El merani*
44 *El masaidjus*
45 *Es siria*
46
47 } Signs of individual families
48

18: Merker--616 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Left side of Plate 6/

422
411
613



Property marks on the tang of the arrow points.

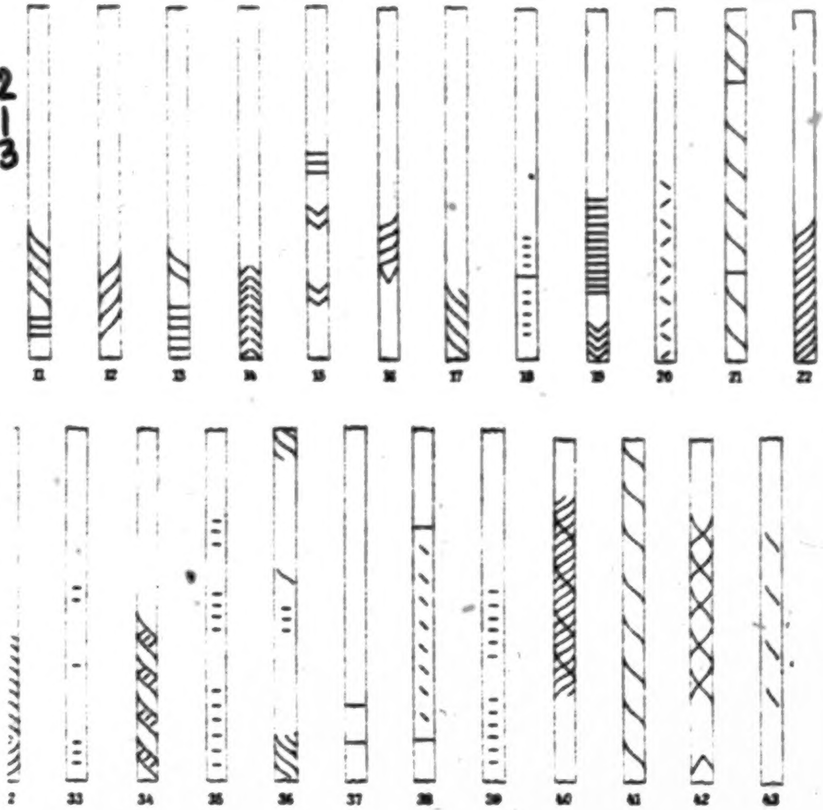
1 *En gidoni*
2 *El bargenetti*
3 *El bartimaro*
4 *El bedgo*
5 *El dibiliti*
6 *El gosio*
7 *El barsabuggo*
8 *El merinjiro*
9 *El barsanigo*
10 *L ong adji nanjingi*
El gumarin
11 *El barsiigo*
12 *El ugumoi*
13 *Er aidaio*
14 *El nagarara*
15 *El barsindo*
16 *El barsaroigo*
17 *El bartello*

/See p. 617 for the listing of Nos. 23-32 and the illustrations of Nos. 11-17./

/Right side of Plate 6/

Plate 6

422
411
613



/Property marks on the tang of the arrow points./

18 *El bersegero*
19 *El kibejuni*
20 *El barmaguani*
21 *El masarigue*
22 *El maiïge*
23 *El mamasila*
24 *El monai*
25 *El magesan*
26 *'N darasero*
27 *El tombaine*
28 *'L oitipish*
29 *Es seroigirigi*
30 *El barsois*
31 *El gissikol*
32 *El mohono*
33 *El magaran*
34 *El barmaigiy*
35 *Es somaget*
36 *El merigana*
37 *El marumai*
38 *El magubeia*
39 *El bodjus*
40 *El eberet*
41 *El meruni*
42 *El monenjus*
43 *Es sirio*

/See p. 616 for the listing of Nos. 11-17 and the illustrations for Nos. 23-32./

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

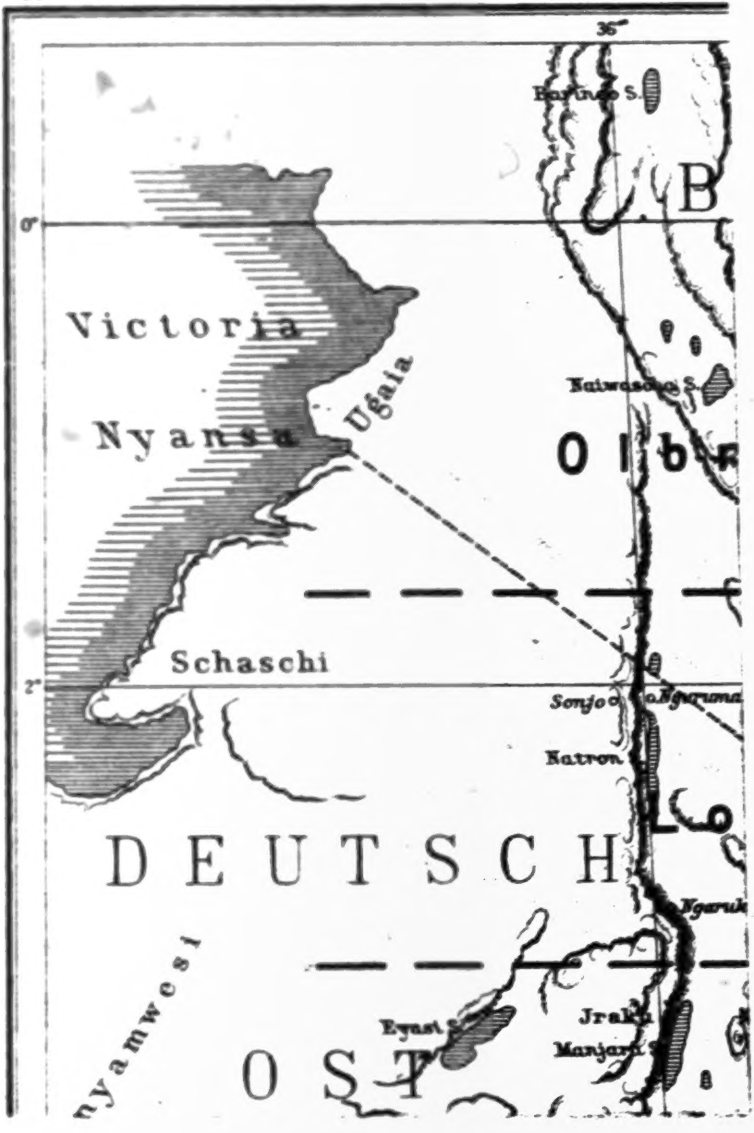
102
131
133

p. 618	p. 619	p. 620
p. 621	p. 622	p. 623

Chart of Positions of End Map
[facing p. 618]

/Upper left section of the map./

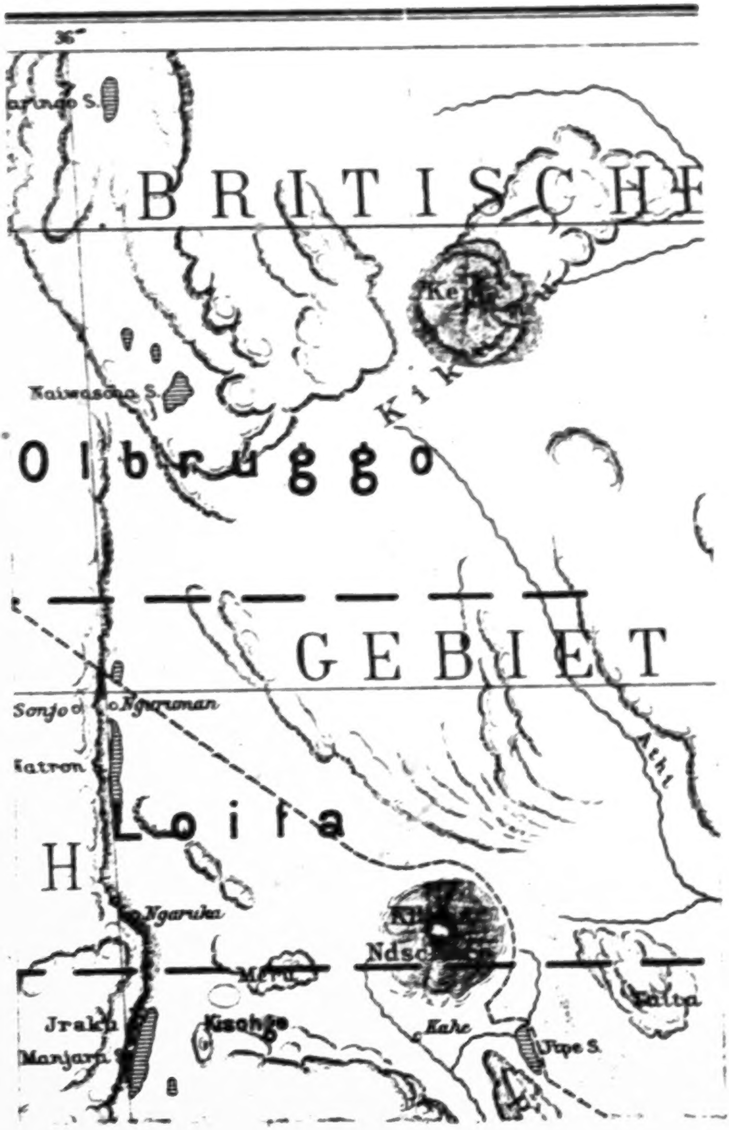
102
131
133


36°
Baringo S.
B
0°
Victoria
Nyansa
Ugaia
Naiwascha S.
O l b
Schaschi
2°
Sonjo
Ngaruma
Natron
L o
DEUTSCH
Ngaruk
nyamwesi
Eyasi S.
Jraku
Manjara S.
OST

18: Merker--619 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Upper center section of the map./

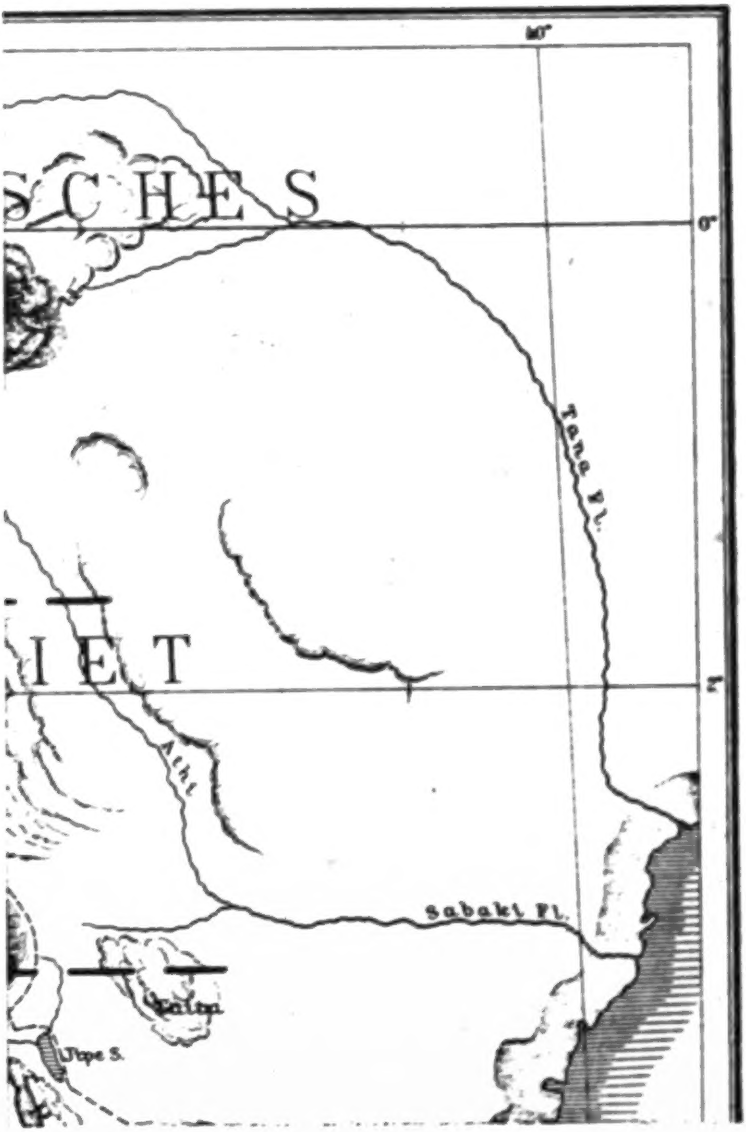
102
131
133


36°
aringo S.
BRITISCHE
Ke
Kik
Kaiwasoho S.
Olbruggo
GEBIET
Sonjo
Ngaruman
Natron
Loita
H
Athi
Ngaruka
Meru
Ndsch
Taita
Jraku
Kisongo
Kahe
Jipe S.
Manjara S.

18: Merker--620 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

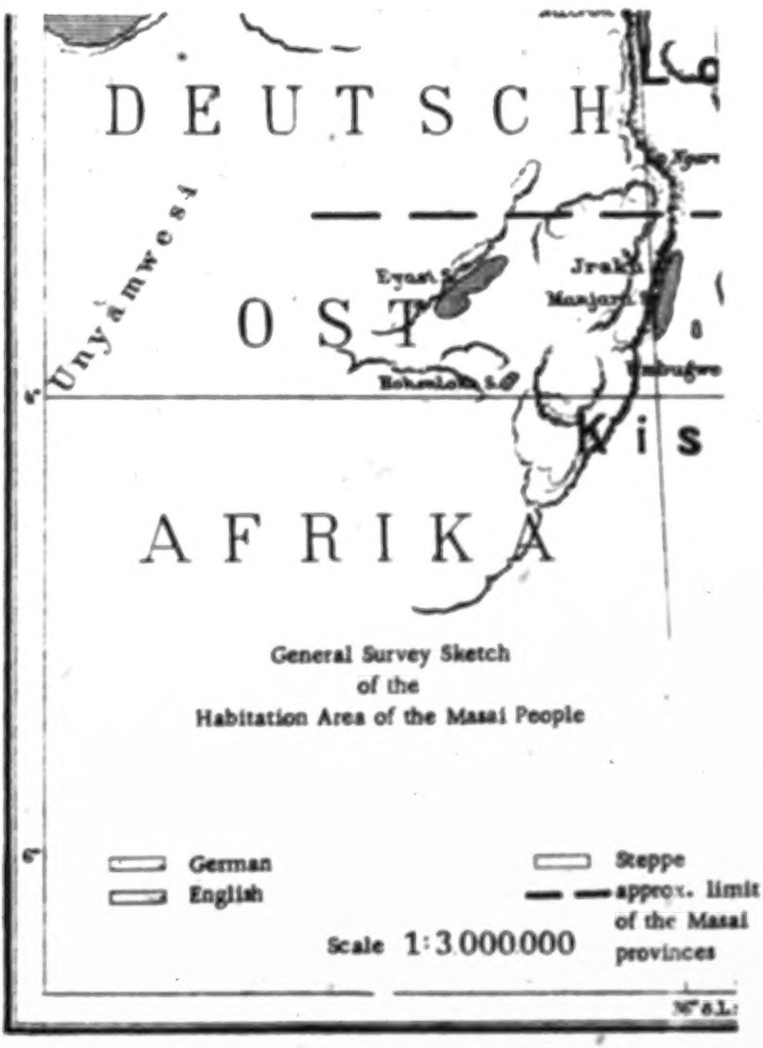
/Upper right section of the map./

102
131
133


40°
SCHES
0°
Tana Fl.
IET
2°
Athi
Sabaki Fl.
Taita
Jipe S.

/Lower left section of the map./

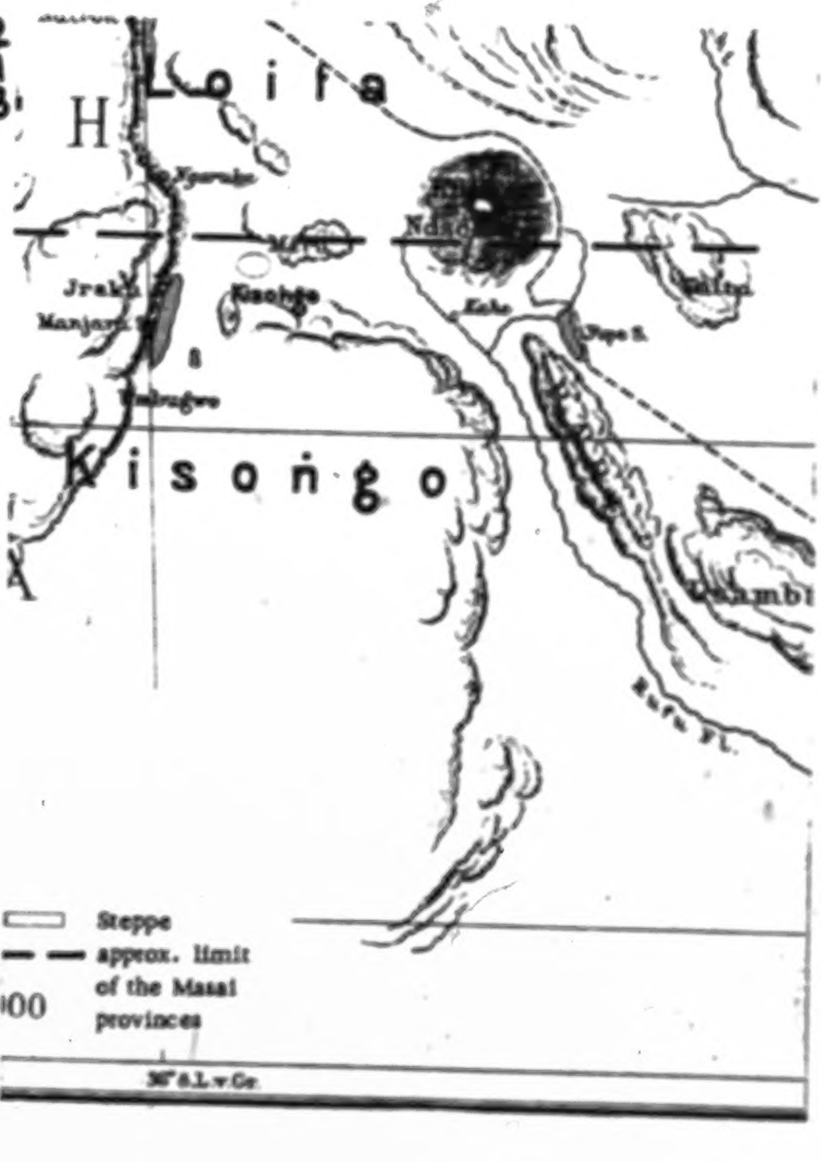
102
131
133


DEUTSCH
OST
AFRIKA
Unyamwesi
Eyasi S.
Jraku
Manjara S.
Hohenlohe S.
Umbugwe
Ngoru
Kis
General Survey Sketch
of the
Habitation Area of the Masai People
German
English
Steppe
approx. limit of the Masai provinces
Scale 1:3000000
6°
8°
36° ö.L.

18: Merker--622 G-5 (1895-ca.1905) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Lower center section of the map./

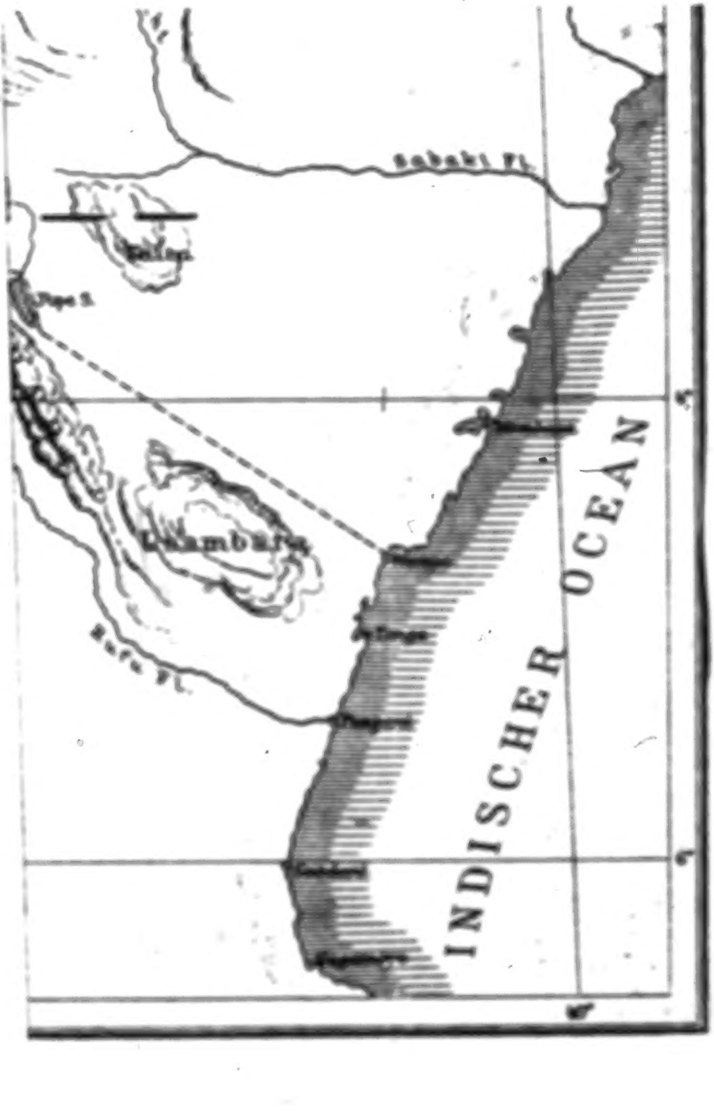
102
131
133


Loita
H
Nguruka
Ndaö
Jraku
Manjara
Ssobje
Kolo
Pipe S.
Umbugwe
Kisongo
A
Rufu Fl.
Steppe
approx. limit of the Masai provinces
000
36° ö.L.v.Gr.

18a Merker--623 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Lower right section of the map./

102
131
133


Sabaki Fl.
Rufu Fl.
INDISCHER OCEAN

18:Merker
104

FL12 Masai FL12--1

el gelat -- see ol gelata
el goiatek -- see ol goiatiki
em boschona -- a violent attack brought on by consumption of certain nerve stimulants
en dorosi -- a sort of Rütli oath
ėng aṅ el moruak -- kraals for the married
eṅ gebāta -- the circumcision festival for boys
eṅ giguana -- any gathering for a consultation
eṅ gischomi -- the "Tribe" (clan)
erta gonjek -- the evil eye
es sĕtăn -- sorcery
gituṅguat -- the painting of the body
ol abani -- surgeon
ol adji -- an association of two age classes
ol aigwenani -- speaker for a warrior age class
ol aunoni -- head of married men's class and also district leader
ol boror -- age class
ol gelata -- a lineage
ol gelata kitok -- principal lineages
ol gelat´ate -- sublineages
ol geretti -- a magical amulet that protects one against sorcery

18:Merker
104

FL12 Masai FL12--2

ol gibet -- one-half of the dual division of a warrior mess company
ol goiatiki -- sorcerer
ol kononi, el konono -- blacksmith
ol manjata -- warrior kraals
ol mẹgi, el mẹg -- unbeliever
ol momai -- ordeals for exacting truth from a defendent during trials
ol morani -- warriors
ol móruo -- married man
ol oiboni -- chief
ol oikob -- killers, rough, brutal persons used as an invective against the Masai
ol oscho' bo -- a province
os sandja -- a girl's lover
os sirit ol bul -- individual members of a warrior mess company
sirit' ol bul -- warrior mess companies

18: Merker

121

[For additional information on Merker's theoretical orientation vis a vis the origins of the Masai, see category 116, pp. 401-466.]

[For the scientific binomials of plants in common use by the Masai, see category 824.]

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

142

[For a physical description of 14 Masai men and 39 Masai women measured by the author in the field, see category 116, pp. 525-540, 545-586.]

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

163

[For information on the number of births per woman of the sample of 39 Masai women taken by Merker, see category 116, pp. 546, 548-550, 558-559, and 563-585.]

171

[For information on the occurrence of similar cultural elements in other societies (here in terms of mythology), see category 116, pp. 401-458.]

18: Merker

173

[For additional information on Masai tradition, see category 773.]

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

278

[For information on pharmacology, see categories 824 and 757.]

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

326

[For additional material on the social status of Masai blacksmiths, see also category 564.]

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

539

[For texts and critical analysis of myths and traditions, see category 116, pp. 356-385; 409-423; and 432-458.]

18: Merker FL12 Masai FL12

561

[For additional information on the Ol Morani (warriors) where age-class is not specifically stressed, and particularly for information on life in the warrior kraal, see category 701.]

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

701

[For additional information on Masai warrior age-class structure, see category 561.]

773

[For additional information on Masai mythology, see category 116, pp. 401-423; 432-458.]

137
232
276
752
757

[For generic names of plants and for their uses in animal husbandry, medicine, and nontherapeutic drug manufacture, see category 824.]

101
173
177
648
829
539

[For Masai traditions of contact with non-Masai peoples during the "primeval age of the Masai" migrations, along with a brief cultural sketch of each group, see category 116, pp. 385-400.]

231	613
233	614
262	643
304	721
411	754
524	759
564	802
595	805

[For mythological accounts of the origin of:

livestock and dogs	see category 539, p. 359
honey as a source of food	360
board game	361
club carved of wood	362
blood as a source of food	362
blacksmiths	364
clans and lineages	368-369
counting and number words	370
7-day week	376
polygamy	377
ol oiboni and chief	377
circumcision	382
double-edged knife	382
sorcerers	382
physicians	362
mandate for war on non- Masai	382-383.]